

THE
NOVELTY
OF
POPERY,

Opposed to
THE ANTIQUITY
Of True
CHRISTIANITY.

Against the Book of
Cardinal Du Perron,
Entituled,
A Reply to the Answer of the most
Serene *JAMES* King of Great Britain.

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University of *SEDAN*.

Translated out of French by the Authors eldest Son PETER DU MOULIN
D. D. Canon of *Canterbury*, one of his Majesties Chaplains.

PSALM 109. 28.
Let them curse, but bless thou.


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TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
The most Illustrious and Magnanimous Prince
IAMES
Duke of York and Albany, Lord High Admiral of England and Ireland, Constable of Dover-Castle, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Governour of Portsmouth, &c.

SIR,

 His work made for the defence and by the expresse command of your blessed and glorious Grandfather King *JAMES*, and after his decease presented by the Author to your incomparable Father, our great King and holy Martyr, is now humbly presented to your Royal Highness by the Translator, son and heir of the Authors Zeal to the vindication of Gods Truth, and the Rights of your sacred Family. The enemies we had to wrastle with in the late desolation of our beheaded Church and State, are the same that are impugned in this Book. For although the Kings enemies and yours were at open defiance with the Court of *Rome*, yet they were acted by that Court, and played the Popes game. Their common interest, which was most earnestly followed, was to force our King

and our Princes into the Romish superstition. And as the one side had made of *Dauids* complaint a *Motto* for them, *They have driven us this day from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, saying, Go serve other Gods*: So the other party left no way untryed to work upon the distresses of your sacred persons, and inrich their party with so great a prize. But God indowed your pious and magnanimous hearts with so much heroick strength, that the great Tempter offered in vain unto you, as unto Christ, the greatness and glory of the world to make you fall down to him and worship him: And your valour in the field, which hath got an immortal fame to your name, was yet inferiour to your valour in the temptation. By thus fighting the good fight and keeping the faith, you are become Conquerers of three Kingdoms, besides that of Heaven, and have engaged God in the defence of your Cause by sticking to his; with so much glorious success that all ages shall adore the excellency of his love in the miracles of your restitution. Go on, Generous Prince, in the strength of God, and in conjunction with our gracious King, to be the Protector of true Religion, the maintainer of Justice, the comfort of good men, the terrour of the evil, and the pattern of all vertues, the true way to be the example of all blessings. That all the blessings which heaven can shower down, and make the earth bring forth, may ever flow upon your Princely head, is the daily prayer of

Your Royal Highnesses most dutiful and most humble Servant,

P. Du Moulin.



THE
P R E F A C E
OF THE
TRANSLATOR.



FOR the Glory of GOD, the reduction of Strayed Sheep into Christs Fold, and the confirmation of good souls in Gods truth, against the attempts of the vigilant and unwearied adversary, this long desired Translation now comes forth, and is recommended to all the Lovers of sound Doctrine in *England*, that understand not the Authors Language. And truly the *English* Protestants have an especial Interest in this Work, since it was made for the defence both of their Religion and their King; That Great and Learned Defender of the Faith, King *James* of glorious memory, who had consecrated his Scepter and his Pen to maintain the true Catholick and Orthodox Doctrine, was extraordinarily maligned for it, and opposed by the Enemies of the same, who sought glory to themselves by the Greatness of their Adversary. Cardinal *du Perron* the chiefest of them, both in Wit and Learning, having written against the King, drew a solid confutation of his Book from his Majesty, who made use for it of the Learned Pen of the Great *Isaac Casaubon*. And when a voluminous reply of the Cardinal came forth, the strongest piece that ever came from any *Romanist* against the Reformed Religion, it pleased his Majesty to make choice of my Reverend Father of blessed memory to answer that book, having twice before made use of his Pen for the like service. Not for want of able men in his Kingdom to defend Gods cause and his, but partly because his adversary having written in *French*, there was need also of a *French* Pen to confute him. And partly to manifest unto the world that the Religion of *England* is not singular, as the Papists clamour, but the common cause of the Protestant Churches: And that our exceptions against *Rome* are the same that are made by the greatest searchers of holy Antiquity abroad. It is a great comfort to all lovers of Truth and Unity in the Church, to have their hands strengthened in this holy warfare by the concurrence of so many Auxiliaries and fellow-Souldiers that live in another ayre, and under another Government.

Among those Auxiliaries this Writer may very well be set in the Front, as a known Friend, not only to the Doctrine, but also to the Discipline of the Church of *England*, which he hath commended in many places of his published works, and even in his private Annotations to his Bible, which I keep by me.

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But we ought not to strike them out of the List of our Friends, who either out of the necessity of their condition, or by the fortune of their education differ from us in Discipline, though fully consenting with us in all the essentials of Doctrine: For I put not among the essential differences that about the points agitated in the Synod of *Dort*, upon which the most rational Divines cannot fully satisfy themselves, much less others; and about which our Divines at home differ, without breach of concord. Let not, I say, that difference be added to the score of our exceptions, against the different Discipline of our neighbours; to make dislike grow to hatred, and set us at a further distance.

In *Austins* and *Prosper's* time, there was the same difference between them and the *Gallian* Churches about the point of Predestination, as is now between the *Jansenians* and the *Molinists*; yet *Prosper* calls those Churches the *Servants of Christ* in an Epistle inserted in the seventh Tome of *St. Austin*. And *Hilarius Arelatensis*, in another Epistle next to it alledgeth their Authority to *St. Austin* for the excepting of the Book of Wisdom out of the Canon of Scripture. Whereby it is evident, that the difference about that point did not break Christian communion among them.

In the late Insurrection, when I took upon me that honour to be a Champion both of the King and the Church of *England* in three Languages, I laboured to justify the *English* Discipline to the *French*, and to excuse the *French* Discipline unto the *English*. But since by the iniquity of the times, and the difference of the Languages that which I got Printed in *French* was not seen enough in *England*, to give that satisfaction to our Church which I intended: It will be neither improper for this place, nor unseasonable for this time to put something here tending to that blessed work of peace and mutual good opinion of Churches living under different Disciplines.

Were I now speaking to the *French*, I would endeavour to let them see that we have more of the Primitive and Apostolick Church-Government in *England* than any other Church in the rest of the world. But speaking now to the *English*, and presenting to them the work of a *French* Divine, my proper work is to represent unto them, First, that the nature of that difference in Discipline is such as ought to move their compassion, not anger. And next, that if the good opinion of the *English* may be won by the good opinion that the *French* express of them, and by their desire to enjoy the same Government, if they might be so happy, certainly they have deserved it.

For the first, no equitable person will except against them, for not doing what they cannot do. If you look to the beginning of their Reformation, and to the persons that begun it, and the oppositions which they wrestled with in their work, it was not to be expected of Priests that rejected the errors of Popery, and preached the truth of the Gospel, according to their oath and calling, that if they could not convert their Bishops, they should set up new Bishops. And if they had done so, we that finde fault with their Discipline, as it is now, would have liked it no better. For if we object to their Ministers their want of Episcopal succession, because they were not ordained by Bishops, we might with more reason have laid that want upon their Bishops not created by Bishops but by Priests. In an *interregnum*, when the lawfull power is eclipsed in a Kingdom by disorder and violence, Officers may be sooner allowed to create other Officers, then to create a King. The condition of the *French* Protestant Church living under the Cross ever since the Reformation, is an *interregnum*, as for the Ecclesiastical power: Whereof if they have neither the right order, nor the full exercise, all that defect is the vice of the times, not of the persons, which ought no more to be blamed for it, then a workman that is manacled for doing a piece of necessary work as well as he can, not as well as it should be.

That it is not in their power to bring an Ecclesiastical subordination into their Church, it was justified not long since; for when some of their prime men that perceived and felt the inconveniences that follow the want of that subordination, moved Cardinal *Richelieu* to place it among them by his authority, pretending that

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that it would bring them neerer to the *Roman Church*, he flatly denied to give way to it, and told them, *If you had that order, you would look too like a Church.*

Wherefore the more inconveniencies are found in the Order of the *French* Protestants by those that are too angry with them, the more reason there is to pity them, since these inconveniencies are productions of the Cross, which they lye under. And among those productions of the sadness of their condition which deserveth pity, we must reckon the dislike that some of them have exprest of the Episcopal Order. For it is a weakness incident to all vulgar natures to turn long use into necessity, and necessity into doctrine, and to think nothing better then that custom which they were bred in. No wonder that the common people that see no Bishops, but such as are foul Hereticks, and their Persecutors, can hardly conceive of a Bishop under another Notion. But the generous and illuminate souls which in that brave Nation are in great numbers erected above the slavery of custom, and looking beyond the narrow limits of their necessitous condition, make no difficulty to acknowledge openly the scantness of their Church-Government; and that *their bed is shorter then that they can stretch themselves in it, and the covering narrower then that they can wrap themselves in it.* But as short and narrow as it is, they must keep it by an invincible necessity. For though they could break the people from their wonted Discipline to the Episcopal (which though never so ancient, is a new and uncouth thing to them that never tryed it) yet they could never obtain of the civil power a toleration of two Bishops of *Paris* or *Orleans* together, nor the adunation of many Reformed Diocesans under one Metropolitan, nor the exercise of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Such a strong knitting of the Protestant interest would give a great jealousy to the supream power, and the Council of State of contrary Religion. And their politick Statesmen will never give way to it.

Neither would the Episcopal Order fit the present posture of the *French* Protestant Churches; for it would be more easie for the Agents of the Court of *Rome* to corrupt some of their Bishops, and by them infect and disturb whole Diocesses, then it is now to win thousands of equal and scattered Ministers: for though those Court Divines have rare Organists among them, they have none that have fingers enough to serve so many stops.

Besides as long as the *French* Ministers profess no hatred against Episcopal Government (as indeed very few, if any of them, either profess it or harbor it in their breast) it is fitter for them to remain in an order fitted for obedience, and prepared for submission to their Diocesans, whensoever it shall please God to turn their hearts to assert the truth, and protect them. And how soon both Pastors and people may be brought to submit to Bishops, it hath been tryed by the Bishop of *Troyes*, and that of *Meaux*, who as soon as they began to forsake the errors of Popery, were acknowledged by the Protestant Churches within the verge of their jurisdiction for their Diocesans. The Archbishop of *Vienna* and the Bishops of *Orleans* were once about to have done as much, and would have found the like obedience from the Protestant party. But the great stream of the State proved too strong for them to swim against. Nothing hath been more eagerly opposed by the Pope and his creatures, then that the Protestants should have Bishops. Other Churches have found it in all places where Reformation hath been planted. And the English Church can say much of that by a late and smarting experience.

And whereas the Reformed Churches in *France* are so weak that they can hardly afford stipends to find a poor livelyhood to their Ministers; Can it be expected of them that they maintain the dignity of the Episcopal degree with their private contributions? They can find Bishops enough, but where are the Bishopricks?

This then being evident that by the influence which the Pope hath upon their Sovereigns, they are kept low, and altogether disabled from enjoying the Episcopal degree: I crave leave, with all mildness and humble respect, to make a

question to some of my dear and reverend brethren, and fellow-sufferers in the Cause of the King and the Church, who deny these poor Churches to be Churches, because they have no Bishops: Will they allow so much power to the Pope as to be able to hinder millions of true Believers from being members of Gods Church on earth, if he can but hinder them from Episcopal Ordination and Episcopal preheminance by a prevalent power, and an invincible impossibility? With this question I have smoothed the edge of the eagerness of some prime men in our Church who were most positive in that assertion, *No Bishop, no Church*, their charity getting the upperhand of their most resolved sentence against these objects of compassion; and I doubt not but it will work the like effect with others. For I hardly believe that any childe of God, and son of peace, who claims a right to that goodly legacy of Christ, *My peace I leave unto you*, will so far put off the bowels of mercy as to eject out of the Church of Christ those thousands of good Christians that have forsaken the world and denied themselves to follow Christ, and doomed themselves to poverty, and the publick hatred for his sake; and to un-Church them all, because they live without Bishops. That would be a great injury offered, not only to our fellow-members in Christ, but more to God, whose mercy will not be limited, nor his wisdom strait-laced by our positions, as if there were no way for him, but one, to maintain his Church in the world.

The allegation of the Divine Right of Episcopacy, and of the Apostolical Institution of the same, will not justify the severity of that Judgement. Let that stand as an undoubted truth that Episcopacy is of Apostolick institution, and therefore of Divine Right. It is acknowledged even by them that want it. But hence it follows not that where any of the Forms and Customs that are of Divine Right and Apostolick institution, is wanting, there is no Christian Church. Our great Bishop Andrews, one of the most rigid and rational Assertors of the Divine Right of Episcopacy, could say (writing to our Author of that holy Discipline, which many Reformed Churches have not) *Cæcus est, qui non videat sine ea stantes Ecclesias. Ferreus est qui neget—Nos non sumus illi ferrei. He is blind that seeth not Churches standing without that Discipline. He hath an iron breast that denyleth it. I am none of those iron-breasted men.*

To him I joyn the most Reverend and most learned Prelate Doctor Bramhall, now Lord Primate of Ireland, who in his golden Book, Intituled, *The Serpent Salve*, useth these judicious and charitable expressions about that matter. God is a mercifull God, and looks upon his creatures with all prejudices of Education, Habitation, &c. And giveth this wise and pious Caveat to our Divines; *Breach of charity is more dangerous to the soul then any error in Discipline.* And having most worthily defended the order of the English Church, he addeth; *I write not this to prejudge our neighbour Churches. I dare not limit the extraordinary operation of Gods Spirit, where ordinary means are wanting, without the default of the persons. He gave his people Manna for food whilst they were in the wilderness. Necessity is a strong plea. Many Protestant Churches lived under Kings and Bishops of another Communion. Others had particular reasons why they could not continue or introduce Bishops. But it is not so with us. It was as wisely as charitably said of St. Cyprian, If any of my Predecessors through ignorance or simplicity have not bolden that which our Lord hath taught, the mercy of the Lord might pardon them, &c. So if any Churches through necessity, or ignorance, or new-fangledness, or covetousness, have swerved from the Apostolick Rule, or Primitive Institution, the Lord may pardon them, and supply the defect of man; but we must not therefore presume. It is charity to think well of our neighbours, and good Divinity to look well to our selves. But the chief reason is, because I do not make this way simply necessary, but only shew what is safest where so many Christians are of another minde. I know what some choice Divines do write of the case of necessity; and there is a great difference between a valid and a regular ordination. And for my part I am apt to believe that God looks upon his people in mercy with all their prejudices; and that there is a great latitude left to particular Churches*

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Churches in the constitution of their Ecclesiastical regiment, according to the exigence of time and place, so as order and his own institution be observed. This is spoken like a right Father of the Church and a true Son of peace. And it is dubious, whether this sentence be more judicious or more charitable. Truly who so will consider with an equitable eye what sore combats the Protestant Churches continually sustain about the main doctrines of Religion, which to keep, neither goods nor life are precious unto them, shall not wonder that they are less careful and skilful in the matters of Discipline, succession, Episcopacy, and the like; and shall not look upon their defects with pitty, not anger. Non jam de imperio, sed de vita sunt solliciti.

This will help to answer an ordinary question, Why the *French* Divines do not come over into *England* to receive Episcopal Ordination? The Reformed Divines of *France*, busy to keep the vital parts of Religion against a vigilant and prevalent power, are less employed and less skilled in the points of Discipline, and are not yet perswaded of the absolute necessity of an immediate Episcopal Ordination: Which yet they will take when they may conveniently. Both the Prince of *Turenne* and the Duke *de la Foix* had their Chaplains ordained by a Bishop. Monsieur *Primerose* late Minister of *Roven* was ordained by a Bishop. And lately a Learned *French* Divine before he returned out of *England* into his Country, was presented by me to the Right Reverend and famous Bishop of *Lincoln*, who conferred the Holy Orders upon him.

To require all the *French* Reformed Divines to come over into *England* to receive Orders, is a fancy that cannot come into the brains of one that knows the world. Would their Sovereign allow it? Or would the Popish Clergy behold it with patience? The Protestant Students in Divinity are not so much as allowed by their King to take degrees in Divinity in our Universities, nor their Churches suffered to send Deputies to outlandish Synods, because his subjects shall not have forraign dependences; and to please the Court of *Rome*, which will not have the Protestant Churches to knit together, the chief work of our Adversaries being to disunite us, and break all our correspondences.

And although there were not such a bar in that design, the shortness of their means, and the remoteness of the places would be another unremovable bar. Scholars of *Bearn* and *Langnedock* (where Protestants are most numerous) kept in their Academies with a poor allowance out of charitable contributions, that they may once serve their Churches for a stipend much like that of our meanest Curats, could not finde means to travel three or four hundred leagues by sea and land to fetch their Orders: That would cost their Patrons more then all their breeding: Or if they travelled at their own charges, all their stipends to come would not quit that cost.

Such difficulties or rather impossibilities lying in that way, any wise Christian that is a little acquainted with the wayes of God, will judge that (as things are now with them) our way, though the most antient holy and Apostolick, is not the only way allowed them to come to the Ministry. For God never yet made the salvation of men to hang upon impossibilities: But wheresoever he invites them to it, he giveth them also the means to attain to the same; supplying by his grace the want of the ordinary wayes, and the defect of the extraordinary. So it was in all conversions of the several Nations to the Gospel; for in none of them could all things be regulated in the beginning. And I count the Reformation of the Protestant Churches living under the Cross to be still in its beginning, as being kept in the bud by contrary weather and not suffered to shoot up to a grown order.

I must not forget here, that the indulgence of our charity to those poor Churches which could not set up the Episcopal Apostolick government with their reformation, cannot be claimed upon the same account by those that reject Episcopacy amongus, and make bold to confer Orders without Bishops, since they have not the plea of necessity on thier side, as the others have. The *French* Protestant Divines never kickt out their Bishops that they might rule themselves,

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selves, nor cryed down Episcopacy as Antichristian. They ordain Ministers without Bishops, because they have no Bishops. But these having Bishops to whom they have sworn Canonical obedience, have given Ordination without and against their authority, invaded their power, and persecuted their persons.

But I see an objection at hand. That the *French* Discipline is grown out of the ejection of Bishops; and that *Calvin* and the Reformers of *Geneva* expelled their Bishop, whereupon the Discipline of parity began at *Geneva* for their own civil interest, and thence was propagated over all *France*.

This objection is false in all its parts. For the Reformation was in *France* ten or twelve years before it began at *Geneva*. And they had the same Discipline in substance as now, which was to shift as well as they could for an order without a Bishop, having their Bishops contrary. Neither had the expulsion of the Bishop of *Geneva* any reflection upon them.

As for the business of *Geneva*, I know it is a received tradition in *England*, that the Reformers of *Geneva*, *Calvin* especially, expelled their Bishop. And upon the faith of the first reporter, our Divines have taken it successively for a currant and undoubted truth, and built upon it divers fine and judicious inferences. But it is like the stories of the *Phoenix* and the singing of Swans before their death, never the truer for the number of ancient writers that affirm them, or for the curious similes and ingenious moralities that have been spun out of that stuff. What credit can we give to histories of things happened three thousand years ago, if in things done so lately, and so near us, gross mistakes will generally pass for undoubted truths? I say it is utterly false, first that *Calvin* was one of the Planters of Reformed Religion at *Geneva*. It is false likewise, that the Reformers of *Geneva* turned their Bishop out of doors. And false also, that the Bishop went away upon the quarrel of Religion. *Farel* and *Viret* were they that wrought under God the conversion of the City by their Sermons, and by a publick conference with the Fryers and the Clergy of *Geneva*, there being then no Bishop in that Town. Two years before the names of *Farel* and *Viret* were known at *Geneva* (for *Calvin* came long after) and before there was any stir about Religion, the Bishop was either turned out, or fled away for his safety, upon an insurrection of the people against him for his tyranny, and many adulteries with Citizens wives. And they that made him flee, and after his flight altered the civil Government into an Aristodemocracy, were strong Papists, and most of them mainly opposed the Reformation which followed two years after. They excuse that alteration of the State, by alledging that the City had *jura imperii* as much as (if not more then) the Bishop. With their then Bishop they could not agree, nor choose another. And when their Bishop dyed, they were used to live without one. This business is set forth in the book entituled *Le Citadin Genevois*. But I must thankfully acknowledge, that I owe the best part of this information to that great assertor of the truth of God by his learned writings, and long sufferings, and undaunted opposition of the adversaries, to the great danger of his life, my Lord Bishop of *Durham* my most noble and constant friend, who hath searched into that business of *Geneva* with great diligence. But howsoever matters were carried at *Geneva*, either in the change of Government, or in that of Religion, the Protestants of *France* are not answerable for their actions:

By the way, since we are upon mistakes about *Geneva*, the ordinary declaiming against the *Geneva* Bible is another. The translation so called, was made by the *English* exiles sojourning at *Geneva* in *Queen Maries* dayes, and set forth with marginal notes; some of which have a rank favour of rebellion and fanatick spirit; as saying that *Asha* should not only have removed his idolatrous mother from the managing of publick affairs, but killed her; And that the locusts of the bottomless pit are *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Batchelours*, *Masters of Arts*, &c. But whosoever had a hand in that Translation and those notes, it ought no more to be fathered upon *Geneva*, then a conspiracy plotted at *London* by *German* exiles

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exiles against their Prince or Country ought to be fathered upon the Londoners. The Genevians could have no hand in an *English* translation, and those notes are not to be found in the *French* Bibles printed at *Geneva*.

As for the objection, that by an express Article of their Confession parity of Ministers is asserted; If that Article be taken in the sense most contrary to the Discipline of *England*, yet it ought to move rather compassion than hatred. If after they had struggled many years against the tyranny of their Bishops, they have laid the fault of the persons upon the degree, that mistake was the product of a sore persecution.

But take it in the right sense and according to the letter of the Article, there is nothing in it contrary to the Episcopal preeminence. It is the thirtieth Article of their Confession, and it runs thus.

We believe that all true Pastours in what place so ever they be, have the same authority and equal power under one only head, the only Sovereign and only Universal Bishop Jesus Christ. And therefore that no Church ought to pretend any domination or Lordship over another.

It is manifest that this Article was purposely framed and intended against the Pope who stileth himself the Universal Bishop, and against the Church of *Rome* which usurpeth domination and Lordship over the other Churches. Neither hath it any reflection upon *England*, where no Church exerciseth domination or Lordship over other Churches. It speaks of Churches not of Bishops; who yet ought not to exercise domination over the Clergy or the people. The power of the *English* Bishops is not a domination or Lordship, but a fatherly government and Superintendency.

What is understood in the Article by that *equal power of all true Pastours*, our Author tells us in his *Buckler of the faith*, a book written for the vindication of the Confession of the Protestant Churches of *France*. In the exposition of that Article he saith, that *the equality of Pastors in the authority of announcing the Gospel, and administering the Sacraments, is held necessary in the French Churches; for (saith he) the announcing of the remission of sins is of equal dignity in the mouth of all Pastors, whether they be of great or small authority.* But that in matter of Ecclesiastical policy the *French* Churches should believe a necessity of equality between Pastors, that he denieth, and professeth a brotherly concord with the neighbouring Churches (meaning the *English*) where Bishops have a Superiority. Sect. 119.

In the second edition of that Book which is translated into *English*, he is far more positive for Episcopacy, and sets forth the inconveniencies of equality in degree. But all that I intend here is to shew what the *French* mean by the equality of Pastors in that Article of their Confession. The Author having made that book at the request of the Churches of *France*, to clear their Confession of a heavy charge laid against it before King *Lewis* the XIII. had the Churches of *France* disliked this plea and this exposition of the thirtieth Article of their Confession, they would have publicly disavowed it since three and forty years that it was published; as the Anglican Church would have publicly disavowed any particular writer, though set on to write by authority, if he had expounded the thirty sixth Article of the Church of *England* to the derogation of Episcopal preeminence. Wherefore our Authors exposition of that Article, not being contradicted by so many Synods that were held since, may with good reason be taken for a full declaration of the National Church of *France*; he especially being of that credit, that what he writ or said in the publick defence was approved with a general consent and applause. Besides no book of that nature is published by the *French* Protestant Divines, but with the approbation of the Synod of the Province.

But suppose that he gave to the Article another sense then they that made it; Is it not enough for him and us, that he express the sense of the *French* Churches of his time? and have we any reason to find fault with them for coming nearer us then their predecessors did?

And

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Petrus Molinæus Thesib. de Notis Ecclesiæ Part 2. Thes. 33. Episcopus Angliæ post conversionem ad fidem & ejuratum Papismum asserimus fuisse fideles servos Dei nec debuisse deservere munus vel titulum Episcopi.

And were they not come very neer us, when in a solemn act in the University this Thesis was set forth and defended by the Doctor of the Chair, our Author, We affirm that the Bishops of England after their conversion and abjuration of Popery were Gods faithful servants, and that they ought not to forsake the Office or title of Bishop. This Thesis was since printed among his Disputations.

This is the second thing that I would shew that they have deserved our good opinion by the good opinion which they have exprest of us, and of late. For what they said before, and how lovingly they agreed with the *English* Reformers both in embracing the same doctrine, and approving (though not practising) our Discipline, is a beaten subject, of which I have said much, and am loth to say the same over again. But the authority of the learned Nobleman *Plessis Mornay* was never yet (for any thing I know) used in *England* to this purpose. In a letter of his (now in the keeping of the famous *Daille Minister of Paris*) about Church government, he compareth the several formes thereof to the several governments of all the States of the earth; and findes that as the Presbyterian Discipline agreeth very well with the popular States (as at *Geneva* and in *Switzerland*, where a Bishop should stand too high above the Magistrate, which is chosen among Merchants only and plain Citizens) So in Kingdoms and Monarchies Episcopal government is necessary, because Presbytery should lie too far under the dignity of great Lords and crowned heads. So that as a Bishop should tread over the head of a popular Magistrate; on the other side Kings and great Lords should have the poor Presbyters too far under their feet. That therefore in Monarchical States Prelats were requisite for to sustain the dignity of the Church and shelter it from oppression. That there are some conjunctures in which the Presbyteries themselves ought to be very glad to have Bishops over them, as when it is question of making remonstrances, exhortations or censures to persons of quality. For whereas a poor Minister living in a low way, and conversing only with his petty Parishioners, might be put back with contempt if he took so much upon him, the admonitions of Bishops would be received with respect.

The above named Mr. *Daille* who was domestick of that Lord and much esteemed by him, relateth that he would often say, that the gifts of God were different. That according to that diversity some Ministers were fit to preach, some to write, who had not the gift of governing and moderating an Assembly. Whereas others were endowed by God with eminent qualities fit to conduct and march at the head of others, who yet had not the faculty to make books, or to teach. And that this distinction which Gods providence and the grace of his Spirit hath made among his servants, sheweth that some are called to preside and to conduct, and others are called to be conducted by those to whom God hath given meet talents for that work.

The sentence of that wise Statesman cannot but be acceptable and seasonable in the present posture of our Church and State, who are obliged for this intelligence to that deserving Gentleman Mr. *le Comteur* the Reverend Dean of *Farsey*. And though this and other testimonies from Protestants, living in another air, square not exactly with the rigidest positions of our Schools, all moderate wise men will think that this is much from them, and much for our purpose.

But all that I can say of their concurrence with us, seems to be dasht by the complaint of our Divines, who in their late exile beyond the seas found the *French* Protestants full of prejudices against the just cause of the King and the Church of *England*. Wherefore I must desire the equitable Readers to distinguish the times, and to make use of the Act of Oblivion towards them, as they are commanded to do with their Country-men. For which they have given us more reason then our Parliamenteers, having professed such a free self-condemnation of their former misapprehensions about the right or wrong of that great quarrel, as would have become those that were so high offenders against their King and their Church, and which hath been hitherto vainly expected from most of them.

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It is no wonder that they that owed nothing to us but Christian love, and whom we took no pains at all to satisfy or to inform of the wrong done to us, were won by our Adversaries, who made it their great business to court them, and to make of the concurrence of the Forraign Churches one of their chief pretences to make the insurrection at home general, and make of their quarrel a war of Religion. And it was not hard for them to prepossess the outlandish Churches with foul charges against us, they being but ill satisfied of us before, as having found of late years some abatement of that regard from *England* which they had in former times. It had been a wonder if the continual and earnest applications of our busie enemies backed with success, the most perswasive Rhetorick to common-spirited men, had not gotten some well-willers in that Protestant party.

What disadvantage that was to our cause, it was acknowledged, but not soon enough, by our late gracious King and glorious Martyr, who made a Declaration to satisfy them, and invited all that could write to justify his cause to the world abroad, to the Protestants especially. And this, as a Summon from God, was the reason that made me write once in *French*, and twice in *Latin* for the defence of the King and the Church.

Let us remember also, that our party did contribute to set them further from us, by forbearing to communicate with them, and to be present in their holy meetings; and by disgracing their Churches as no Churches, and their Ministers as no Ministers; not considering how unreasonable (that I say no worse) that contempt of their Brethren was, and how hurtfull to the Kings interest.

Well, notwithstanding all these endeavours of Satan to break the bond of love, and of faith too, between them and us; yet the palpable injustice of our enemies did so work upon their judgements and consciences, that even when the Kings businesses were at the lowest ebb, they did openly detest the long Parliaments Cause in their Sermons, and Books, and ordinary Discourses; and that with so much vigour and godly vehemency that more could not have come from the greatest Royalists of *England*. *Salmatus* and *Bochartus* the greatest Scholars of *France*, and of *Vincent Herault*, *Pettiville*, *Breux*, *Porrey*, men of note; and before them all the Epistle of the famous *Diodati* to the Parliament in the first year of the war, to exhort them to obey the King, and restore Episcopacy, shew sufficiently how the whole Protestant party was affected. And that their affection was not byassed by self interest, any reasonable man may answer for them; for what advantage could accrew unto them by declaring themselves for the King of *England* in those days?

But their affection was then chiefly seen when it pleased God by his miraculous mercy to make the stone which the builders had rejected, to become the head of the corner. The real joy which they manifested of his Majesties return, swelled to a height hard to be believed but by them that were eye-witnesses of their behaviour. More could not be expected from his Majesties natural and most loyal Subjects. That blessed conversion of businesses wrought so deep upon the renowned *Amirault* (howsoever he had been prejudiced before against us) that being sore troubled with the gout, suddenly he threw his Crutches away, and was cured meerly by his joy, that quickened his spirits, and diffused a fresh vigour into all his faculties.

At the same time a great cloud of *French* witnesses came over in favour of *Episcopacie*. So I call many Letters from the prime Divines of *France*, most of them written to that Gentleman of great worth, Doctor *Brevint*, one of his Majesties Chaplains, who committed them unto me, and I leaving *London* transmitted them to that deserving Divine Master *Dural*, as one better able then I to make good use of them, among many other intelligences of the like nature. His excellent Book about this matter, the substance whereof he was pleased to impart unto me, will ease me of that labour, and shorten my task; For I must sincerely acknowledge, that all that we, or others, have written hitherto about the concurrence of other Churches with ours, comes short of the industry of

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this worthy Gentleman; so pregnant he is in his reasons, so diligent in his searches, and so ingenious in his Charity, that no more remains for me to attain to the end I aim at in this Discourse, but to recommend his to the carefull perusing of all lovers of truth and peace.

But because in point of charity, examples are more perswasive then reasons, I will back this reasoning about our condescension unto those Churches that are inferiour to us in point of Government, with the vertuous practice of that eminent Prelate in goodness and Learning, My Lord Bishop of *Durham*. In a Letter of his dated from *Paris*, April the sixth, 1658. (the place and time of his exile) he vindicates himself against Mr. *Fuller*, who in his Church History of *Brittain* referreth to his praise and commendation, that he joynd not with the French Protestants at *Charenton* since he got into France. But the worthy man (then stiled Dean of *Peterborough*) giveth him no thanks for that commendation. I would (saith he) that he and all the world should know it, I never refused to joyn with the Protestants either there, or any where else, in all things wherein they joyn with the Church of England. Many of them have been here at our Churches, and we have been at theirs. I have buried divers of our people at *Charenton*, and they permit us to make use of their peculiar and decent cemetery here in *Paris* for that purpose. Which if they did not, we should be forced to bury our dead in a ditch. I have baptized many of their children at the request of their own Ministers, with whom I have good acquaintance, and find them to be very deserving and learned men, great lovers and honourers of our Church, notwithstanding the loss which she hath lately received in external matters, wherein we are agreed that the essence of Religion doth not consist. Many of their people (and of the best sort and quality among them) have frequented our Common Prayers with great reverence, and I have delivered the Holy Communion to them according to our own Order, which they observed religiously. I have married divers persons of good condition among them: And I have presented some of their Scholars to be ordained Deacons and Priests here by our own Bishops (whereof *Monsieur de Turenne's* Chaplain is one, and the *Duke de la Force's* Chaplain another) and the Church of *Charenton* approved of it. And I preached here publicly at their Ordination. Besides I have been (as often as I had spare time from attending our own Congregation) to pray and sing Psalms with them, and to hear both the weekly and the Sunday Sermons at *Charenton*; whither two of my children also (enslaved here in a Protestant family at *Paris*) have daily repaired for that purpose with the Gentlewoman that Governed them.

After all this, if any be curious to pick out of their Authors all that is not consonant to the constitution of our Church and State, and register all the prejudicate opinions of particular men of those Churches, instilled into them by our Adversaries at home; I will spend no more labour to make evident unto them that their late and best Divines have amended what may be found amiss in the old, and that the late demonstrations of their concurrence with us have made amends for their former misapprehensions. I will but ask those curious searchers of matters of discontent, and occasions of falling out with them, *Cui bono?* What benefit ariseth to this Church or State by searching out iniquities among our neighbours, and accomplishing a diligent search of that which were far better buried in oblivion, or smoothed over with Charity, helped with a little winking at that which we cannot mend? Since they make a considerable part of Christendom, and are not subject unto, or to be disposed by our Civil or Ecclesiastical Government; is it not better for us to have them friends then enemies? Is it not a wiser course to confound our dissentors at home with the testimonies of *Calvin* and *Beza*, as most averse from their principles and practice, then to make weapons ready to their hand out of those Authors, and give it to them for granted, that they have the famousst men abroad for Patrons of Faction, disobedience, and unconfornity? For these diligent searchers know how to pick out of the same Authors passages enough to make them unfay what they have said against us.

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It could never yet enter into my apprehension what advantage it is to us to cast contempt upon all the Protestants of the world but our selves, and despise all the respects that we may have from them. They will all vail to us, and defer unto us (as they ought) the Primacy, if we will but open them the arms of our charity and brotherly communion. And it is not our insulting over their weakness and wants, or requiring of them impossibilities, that will win them.

Truly, because our disturbers at home lean much upon the authority of a few Outlandish Writers, it is wisely done to invalidate their authority. But that work is ready done, and I shall think it overdone if it end in uncharitableness, and if the generality of the party be made guilty of the fault of some few men to whom they never swore obedience. Whereas the ready way to invalidate the authority of those Authors, is to shew that they are contradicted by their own party, and even by themselves.

Certainly when we have made them no Churches, our Church shall be never the more a Church for that. Rather by unchurching so many Churches, and despising Communion with them, we shall confine our Communion within a very narrow scantling. With the *Roman Church* we dare not joyn till the Court of *Rome* forsake and renounce her usurped right over our Church and State, and other errors of greater importance. With the Separatists of *England* we will not joyn till they yield to a holy Conformity with us. And if with so many Protestant Churches abroad we refuse to joyn till they do what they are not able to do, truly we scant our selves to a very slender communion in this West of the world. Whereas the *holy Catholick Church*, which with good reason we call our Mother, embraceth multitudes of dissenting children in her compassionate armes: And the *Communion of Saints* allyeth us with God and his Christ, and all his members in heaven and earth by charity, which is the bond of perfectness. *Grace be with all that love the Lord Jesus Christ with sincerity.*

Eph. 6. 24.

We that are strong (saith St. Paul) ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please our selves. We ought not to please and exalt our selves with comparing our strength with the infirmities of our brethren. When we have made the worst of the defects of those poor Churches, they are infirmities, which should make us compassionate, not overweening. And we shall make ill use of our strength, if we imploy it to triumph over the weak, instead of remembering them that suffer adversity as being our selves also in the body. Let us not turn our fellow members out of the body because they suffer adversity; for when all is said, the things that we finde amiss among them, are the sad effects of their adversity. The *Anglican Church* had Kings for her nursing Fathers, and Queens for her nursing mothers: Whereas the *French Churches* were crucified from the Cradle with all the strength and indignation of their Kings and Queens: And the *Dutch Clergy* are kept low by their Superiours who have converted the whole Patrimony of the Church to the defence of their State. The same hand that hath exalted us above them may bring us as low as them: And we have learned of late how soon God can pull down that which he hath built up, *Let us not be high-minded, but fear.*

Rom. 15. 1.

Heb 13. 3.

Could it once sink into our minds what hand the Papists have in this distaste of ours against our Brethren: what advantage they get by the disunion of the Reformed Churches: and what stain and hinderance, both before God and men, we bring upon us by giving the least suspicion that we have got some fermentation of their leaven, we would be as carefull to avoid offence with the Protestant Churches abroad, as wary and stout against the opposers of our Discipline at home.

For it is an evident truth, and not to be winked at, that the great Agent here in the confusion of Religions, in the ruine of the Church, in the insurrection of the people, and in the murder of our King, was the Court of *Rome*. That is indeed *fundis nostris calamitas*, that spring of all mischief and misery among us, that powerfull and working enemy, against whom all that have shaken off the yoke

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of *Rome*, ought to joyn unanimously, opening no gap of division for that Beast to creep in, and work our destruction by our separation. God forbid that any of us joyn with that grand enemy of our Church and State to Church so many Churches that are inrolled with us in the same good warfare against his tyrannie, and to deny them that communion with us which they have with Christ, and which they crave at our hands, and have had a long time with the *Anglican* Church.

But if notwithstanding all the considerations here represented, some will believe that it is Christianly and Charitably done to un-Church all the Protestant Churches that have no Bishops, let them enjoy their fancy. But I will maintain to them (and so will all wise men with me) that it is most unpolitickly done. Let them consult the Politick heads, that understand the compofure of the States of Christendom, and the posture of ours; and are acquainted with our Gracious Sovereigns high concerns, and Royal inclinations. And they will confirm this; wherewith I confidently shut up this discourse, not fearing to be called in question for it; *It is neither his Majesties Pleasure nor Interest that the Protestant Churches abroad be disgraced among us as no Churches.*

THE



THE AUTHORS LIFE.



Here is no great need to register those mens lives who have made them memorable by their works; for they bear up their fame with their own strength; *Let their own works praise them in the gates.* And yet no men deserve more to have their actions recorded then they that need it less. Very few persons deserve it more and need it less then this Author so known to the world by his great services to the Church of God. And truly he hath shewed sufficiently by the memoirs of his life which he left to his family, how little ambitious he was that the History of his life should be set forth: For he passeth by those actions and passages which have got him most credit, recording only the great mercies of God to him, and the signal experiences of his assistance and providence; as also all his conversation hath manifested unto the world that he sought Gods glory, not his own. Never did I see a man more impatient of praise; none that sought more to glorifie God, less to magnifie himself. Then for Gods glory, not his, I intend in this plain relation to make his light to shine before men, and together to pay a filial duty to the precious memory of my dear and reverend Father.

The rumour which the Papists have confidently spread, both in Books and Pulpits, that he was an Apostat Fryers Son, obligeth me to say something of his Parents and descent. His Grandfather *Joakim Du Moulin* dying at *Orleans* in the *Roman* Profession about the year 1540. left two children Infants, a Son of his name, and a Daughter, and made his wife executrix of a plentiful estate. She took an especial care of the education of her Son, and sent him to *Paris* to a famous Schoolmaster of singular piety and learning: Who having a secret affection to the Reformed Religion, of which there was no free Profession in *Paris*, bred his Scholars in it; and so well grounded my Grandfather in Orthodox Principles, that when he returned home, neither the proffer of worldly advancement, nor his Mothers severity threatning to forsake and disinherit him, could turn him from his holy purpose, in which he persevered all his dayes. His mother kept her word with him; for she used him most hardly all her lifetime, and disinherited him at her death, leaving the whole estate to his sister;

from

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from whom he never attempted to recover it by Law; and it had been a vain attempt, the times being so contrary to persons of his Religion and Calling, for he was honoured with the Ministry of the Gospel. Yet did he by the gracious assistance of God lead an honourable life, bearing in his presence and conversation the character of a man well born and of gentle breeding. Besides his singular ability in his holy calling, he had the virtues of conversation in an eminent degree. Sir Henry Wotton gave him this commendation, that he had not met with a wiser and better-spoken man in his Travels. Had my Grandfather been a Monk, and then converted and married, I should think it no stain to our blood. But it is known at Orleans (the place of his Origine) that he never led a monastical life. And to speak in my Fathers words in the seventh Book of this work, where he answereth that objection, *His honourable conversation, his brave mind in his continual afflictions for the Gospel which he bore cheerfully, his fervent zeal, his vigilance in his calling, his pleasing and affable behaviour which he seasoned with a weak gravity; These, I say, were as far from the air of the Cloyster as the Heaven is from the Earth, and the Mass from the Gospel.*

In the year 1564. he married Frances the Daughter of an eminent Gentleman both in place and virtue, *Innocent Gabet Royal Judge at Vienna in Dauphine*, who dyed a Martyr for the Profession of the Gospel in the year 1572. (the famous Massacre of St. Bartholomew having spread from Paris over all France) leaving to his Posterity the honour to be the seed of a Martyr, which is no small nobility. By her he had four children; 1. *Esther* married to a Noble and Religious Gentleman *Rene Bochart* Minister of the Gospel at *Roven*, by whom she was Mother of the famous *Samuel Bochart*, now Minister at *Caen*, a miracle for learning, and a great Ornament of our age. 2. *Joachim* who dyed young. 3. *Peter* the Author of this Book. 4. *Eleazar* who inherited his Grandfathers Martyrdome, for being taken prisoner of war by the Leaguers, after a long and valorous resistance in a Fort which he commanded for his King, he was known to be a Ministers Son, whereupon the barbarous enemy cut off his fingers and toes and buried him alive.

By a second Wife a Gentlewoman of the house of *Anserville*, my Grandfather among other children had *Mary* the Wife of that great Champion of the truth, Doctor *Andrew Rivet*.

Our Author was born in the year 1568. the eighteenth day of October at *Bubi* in the Country of *Vexin* in *Normandy*, where his Father and Mother flying from a sharp persecution, were received by Monsieur de *Bubi Mornay*, elder Brother to the renowned Monsieur du *Plessis Mornay*. The said M. du *Plessis* and our Author were born in the same room.

At *Bubi* he was left at nurse till the peace of the year 1570. when his Father being called to be Minister at *Cænures* near *Soissons* gathered there his Family. The Protectour of that Church was Monsieur d'Estree, called since *Marques de Cænures*, who then profest the Protestant Religion. But when he heard of the great Massacre of Paris, August. 24. 1572. and that the like was to be speedily executed over all France, he forsook presently the Protestant Profession, and to approve himself a true convert, expelled my Grandfather out of *Cænures*.

Then was the good man in great extremity. In all the Towns about there was a general slaughter of Protestants, and the Murtherers were seeking for him; and how to dispose of his Wife and his four little children he knew not. To take them along with him, or to leave them behinde, was alike dangerous. This he did; he left his children with a woman of contrary Religion halfe a mile from *Cænures*; himself with his Wife fled to *Muret* a Town belonging to the Prince of *Conde*, then a Protestant, and so to *Sedan* with the Duke of *Bavillon* of the house of *la March*, who past that way flying from the Court. The Murtherers that were sent to kill my Grandfather and his Family (for they spared neither age nor sex) found the womans house where the children were left. *Ruffini* (it is the womans name worthy to be thankfully recorded) hid the children in the straw of a bed, the ordinary bottom of beds of the lower sort in

France,

France, and laid a featherbed and a blanket over them; scarce had she laid the blanket when the murderers came into the room and searcht it, but lookt not in the bed: *Peter* the Author of this Book, then under four years of age, not liking to be thus laid up would cry; but his Sister *Esther* then seven years old who had been made apprehensive of their danger, stopt his mouth with her hand, whereby she made him struggle and make some noise: which to drown with another, *Raffina* pretending to reach something upon a shelve made the Pewter fall, and then took it up again with much rustling till the Murderers were gone: as soon as they were out of doors she ran to help the child, whom she found well nigh smothered with the stopping of his wind: but he soon recovered, and the children were kept safe in her house till their Parents sent for them. The gentle Reader will bear with this familiar relation, and adore in these small particulars the great and never sufficiently admired care of the Almighty to preserve the infancy of his servants from the rage of Satan and the world.

Peter Du Moulin had his first rudiments of learning in the Colledge and Academy of *Sedan*, founded in the year 1577. where he had for his Schoolfellow that great Scholar *Jacobus Capellus*. Both made in that Colledge a great Proficiency, and came out together from the first Classis; *Du Moulin* being publickly honoured with the first prize (after the custom of the French Schools) and *Capellus* with the second.

In the year 1588. *Du Moulin* being twenty years old was sent by his Father to the Universities of England. After some stay at London he went to Cambridge, and was received in *Bennet* Colledge, being a diligent hearer of the Lectures of Doctor *Whitaker*; but passing the long vacation at London, where he made his first tryals of Preaching before the Consistory of the French Church, A French Gentleman *Monsieur de la Faye* after he had heard him, being much taken with the excellency of his parts, (for his gifts and learning were beyond his years) asked him whether he would serve the Church of Paris; *Du Moulin* answered that he could not think of serving a Church that was not. The Gentleman told him, that there was hope of a speedy reestablishment of that Church, and that he was charged to look out a fit person to serve it, and therefore according to his best judgement made choice of him as the fittest person he knew. *Du Moulin* thanked him, and the Gentleman made his word good; for the Church of Paris demanded him since, and had him; but it was many years after.

I will relate here a passage which shews the integrity and generosity of his soul, his contempt of the world, and his trust in Gods assistance. Being once at the end of his money in London, as he was pensively looking up to the ceiling of his Chamber, he perceived in a dark corner between two rafters a little white rag: he made means to get up and reach to it, and found that it was the end of an handkerchief, which having pulled out of a hole, he found in it a considerable quantity of gold: he presently enquired in the house whether any would claim the handkerchief: and when the people of this house disowned it, he enquired who lived in his Chamber before; they told him, that an Italian dyed in it a little before he came: he asked again whether he had any of his blood in London, and being told that he had a kinsman whom he had made his heir, he never left till he had found him and given him all that gold; though he was not sure that the money belonged to the deceased. But God in whom he trusted, did not forsake him. Soon after this, relief came to him out of his Country, and ever since he had money constantly sent to him, both to England and to Holland, till he writ that he would have no more.

Having lived four years in England, hearing that *Franciscus Junius* was newly come to Leyden to be Professor in Divinity, he would go thither; and embarked himself with the Duke of Wittenberg to go to Zeland in September 1592. being recommended to that Duke by Monsieur de Beaunais la Nocle Embassador of France in England. They were tossed with a most furious tempest which constrained the Seamen to throw the Canon and the burden of the Ship into

into the Sea, among other things *Du Moulin's* books and cloaths. They were wracked by *Ramekin* in Zealand.

Being come to *Leyden*, he set forth a Latine Poeme, intituled *Votiva Tabella*, where he described the storm and the shipwrack, and offered his thanksgiving to God. A piece of Poetry of the highest strain, which got him great esteem, and many friends. It is certain, that for Latine Elegancy, height of conceit, and neatness of expression, whether in prose or in verse, few in his age went beyond him.

At his first coming into *Holland*, he got the acquaintance of the French Embassadour *Monsieur de Buzanval*; for King *Henry* the Fourth in those dayes sent Protestant Embassadors to the Protestant Princes and States. That Embassadour was ever since his most real and intimate friend. By him he was presented to the Princess of *Orange*, a Frenchwoman, daughter to the Admiral *Gaspar de Coligny*, and mother to *Henry* Prince of *Orange*, then seven years old. That Princess was since very favourable to him.

Two moneths after his coming to *Leyden*, he was desired to accept the place of Corrector of the Colledge of the States, where he taught Logick, and Greek, and *Horace*. These things he performed with so much Learning, and such a pleasing facility, that he got the special love of the Students, but together the bitter hatred of the Principal, who envied his praise, and never left vexing him as long as he was in the place. But his Ingenuity and Uprightness so pleaded for him, that alwayes the Moderators and Magistrates maintained him against the injustice of the Principal, till once being brought to a Tertian Ague through vexation, he asked some dayes of respite from his ordinary exercise, to look to his health, and went to the Embassadors House at the *Hague*, where he was so well used, that in a seveninght he was well again. In his absence the Principal went to the Magistrates and Moderators, and with many tears besought them to remove from the Colledge that new Frenchman, who made his life bitter. They hearkened to him, and sending for *Du Moulin*, told him, that not for any misdeemeanour of his, but for the peace of the Colledge they discharged him: And to shew that they were well pleased with him, they gave him the double of that was due to him for his Salary. He continued eight moneths in that place.

This cross fell to his greater advantage; for two moneths after the Place of Professor of Philosophy being vacant, *Du Moulin* was admitted to be tryed among others that offered themselves for the place. In the Trial he was preferred before his Competitors, and established Professor of Philosophy. A young Doctor of the Chair, of four and twenty years of age. At the newes of his reception, the Principal of the Colledge, who had so persecuted him, was seized with such a deep grief, that he died immediately by a sudden suffocation.

Du Moulin read in publick the *Organ of Aristotle* in Greek, *Libros Physicorum*, *De Caelo*, *De generatione & corruptione*, *De Anima*, *De Meteoris*; kept frequent disputations, and had alwayes a very full Auditory. Most of those that have been since Professors at *Leyden*, or famous men in the Low Countries, were his Scholars. *Hugo Grotius* was one of them. This exercise for five or six years was his Fencing-School, whereby he was enabled for the many Encounters and Conferences which he had afterwards upon the greatest Stage of *Europe*. As indeed of all his intellectual abilities, the most eminent was his skill in Dispute, having, besides the art of disputing, confirmed by long use, a rare vigour and readines of wit, matched with a stayed, cool, and judicious temper, never confounded with passion, the ordinary dissolver of Conferences.

At *Leyden* he dined at *Scaliger's* table, who had him in great esteem, and being pleasant with him, called him often *Domine Professor*. When he saw his Logick which he publishd at *Leyden* in the year 1596. he commended especially the Preface *Ad studiosam juventutem*, and said of it, *Hec Epistola non est hujus avi*. That Logick was printed thirteen times in few years in several Countries, and

and had the credit to be read in many Universities and Colledges, as one that enricheth the flock of Philosophy, especially in the Topicks.

At *Scaligers* table many persons of quality, both Papists and Protestants, were boarded, whereby *Du Moulin* had occasion to get many acquaintances of the best rank; among others these French Noblemen, The one *Monsieur de la Rochepose* or *Rupipozeau*, afterwards Bishop of *Poitiers*, a man known by his Writings; *Monsieur de Gournes*, since President at *Bordeaux*, and another whose name I have forgot, who since became a great Abbot. These renewed their acquaintance with him in *France*, and were instruments of the Court of *Rome* and the Popish Clergy, to tempt him from time to time with great preferments to forsake the Protestant cause.

Besides his Philosophical Profession, he read Greek Lectures in the Divinity-Colledge, a Tongue in which he was extraordinarily learned. I have seen elegant Orations of his in Greek, made since he was fifty years old, and Greek Letters. This work against *Du Perron*, where he discovereth in so many places the Cardinals small skill in Greek, sheweth sufficiently his great skill in that Language.

That skill, and his facility in speaking *Italian*, made him to be invited to the Journey of *Constantinople*, with an Embassadour whom King *Henry* the Fourth prepared to send to the Grand Signiors *Porta*, as one fit to commune with the *Grecians*, and to be employed in the businesses of the *Levant*. A condition which *Mr. de Buzannal* his great friend exhorted him by all means to embrace rather than the Ministry, representing to him the poverty annexed to that Profession, the continual toyl, the dangers, the hatred of the Roman Clergy, in *Paris* especially, where he should have a sore labour and great oppositions. The truth is, that the comeliness of his Person, the dexterity of his Wit, and his pleasant and charming Conversation, seemed to invite him rather to the businesses of the world, then to those of the Church. But the King having altered his mind, and chosen another Embassadour, *Du Moulin* took it as a Divine declaration that God would not have him to think of another employment then that holy Office to which he had invited him before.

Every year in the long vacation *Mr. de Buzannal*, who loved him most dearly, would have him near him, and sometimes would bring him to the Army, where he beheld the conduct of a Siege, and learned to sleep without a bed. In his Diary he describeth the delight he took in the taking of *Groninghen*, where he saw the Fryars packing up their trinkets, and a bonfire made of wooden images in the Market-place.

He lived with great credit and comfort in *Holland*, which he used to call his second Countrey: Yet being continually solicited by the Church of *Paris*, and more by an especial invitation of God to take upon him the holy Calling of the Ministry, he took his leave of the Curators of the University, who put the Learned *Everardus Vorstius* in his place. For a Farewel to the University he dedicated to the Curators a Poeme called *Batavia*, an Elegant piece, printed among his Philosophical works.

He left *Leyden* in August 1598. and went to the *Hague* to his great Friend the Embassadour *Monsieur de Buzannal*, to whom he declared his desire to go into *France* through the Arch-Dukes Countrey, to see *Antwerp* and *Brussels*: But a great obstacle to that desire, was, the sharp war between *Holland* and the Archduke, and the great cost, and the long time required to get a pass from him. The Embassadour told him he could help him to go to *Antwerp* without a Pass, and innocently gave him a most pernicious counsel, though in this respect most useful, that it made him feel one of the rarest experiences of Gods Fatherly Love and watchful Providence that ever befell to any of Gods children.

The Counsel was this. The Embassadour knew a Merchant of *Rotterdam* named *Vandermeek*, an intimate friend of the Governour of *Antwerp*, *Alonso Mexia*: For that Governours Brother being taken prisoner in a Combat by

Prince *Maurice*, this *Vanderweck* paid his Ransom, and sent him to his Brother, who ever since that great kindness admitted *Vanderwecks* Letters to him as a Pass for any that carried them, and his Letters the Embassadour undertook to procure for *Du Moulin*. This being confirmed by many others that *Vanderwecks* Letters were a sure Pass, *Du Moulin* went to him with the Embassadours Letters, and got other Letters from him to recommend him to the Governour of *Antwerp*. Trusting on that pass, he imbarqued himself at *Rotterdam* in a Barque bound for *Antwerp*. The Barque cast Anchor before *Ordham*, a place garrison'd by the Spaniard, not daring to go further, because there the Passes of the passengers were to be examined. They of the garrison seeing the Barque anchored, sent another Barque with souldiers to examine the Passes; and the Master of the *Holland* Barque called upon all the passengers to have their passes ready. *Du Moulin* answered that he had none but *Vanderwecks* Letters to the Governour *Alphonso Mexia*. You are undone (said the Master) for a little before we cast anchor, a ship coming from *Antwerp* pass'd by us, and the Sailers told us that the souldiers of the Cittadel of *Antwerp* had mutined against the Governour, and made him prisoner; and now these Spaniards that are coming to us will carry you prisoner to *Ordham*, and miserably torment you, especially when they know who you are. In the mean while the Spanish Barque drew nigh, when by the admirable providence of God, another ship coming from *Zealand* came near; in which *Du Moulin* knew a friend of his, brother to *Mr. Aurelius*, Minister of the French Church of *London*, and told him his distress. He having related this to his fellow-passengers, called to *Du Moulin*, and told him, Sir, pass to our ship in all haste, for here we have a German Gentleman that hath a Pass for himself and his servant, who being fallen sick, his Master hath left him in *Zealand*: If you come to us, you may pass for his man. So then *Du Moulin* did, and put on that servants Livery-coat, which the Gentleman had with him in the ship, and thus escap'd that horrible imminent danger, for which he praised God all the days of his life.

Being come safe into *France*, and to *Paris*, the place where he was expected, he would not make himself known unto the Church there, till he had made himself fit for their service; but went to his Father at *Jargeau*, near *Orleans*, and there stay'd three moneths, disposing himself with prayers and study for that great work. Neither would he then go to *Paris*, saying that he would begin his Prebendship somewhere else then in the Church of *Paris*. The Church of *Blois* happening at the same time to be without a Pastour, desired his help till they were otherwise provided, which he accepted, and preached there two moneths. In the mean while the Church of *Paris* was sending him many summons, which finally he obeyed, and came to *Paris* the last day of *February*, 1599. A few dayes before, *Henry* the Fourths Sister, *Katharine de Bourbon*, who after her Brothers revolt, persevered in the Protestant Religion until death, was married to the Duke of *Bar*, Sonto the Duke of *Lorraine*. She used to be attended in her house by the Ministers of *Paris*, who served her by turns every one a quarter of a year. Being then to go into *Lorraine* with her Husband, the Church appointed *Monsieur de Montigni*, an ancient Minister, to attend her in that Journey. But *Du Moulin* then coming to *Paris*, the old Gentleman desired to be excused, and that the new Minister, as fitter to travel by reason of his age, might be chosen for that service. To which motion the Princes presently inclined, having an especial liking to *Du Moulin*. He took then that journey, and because the Princes was entertained in Bishops Palaces and Abbeyes, he did officiate in the Palace of the Bishop of *Meaux*, in that of the Bishop of *Chalons*, and in the Abbey of *Soverre*.

The Harbingers of the Princes being come to *Vitry le Francois*, a Town of *Champagne*, address'd themselves to the chief Magistrate of the Town to prepare quarters for the Princes and her Court. A fair Cousin of the Magistrates, a young Widow, hearing of the coming of that Court, and fearing lest some disorderly person should be quarred in her house, came to desire him that she might

might have the Minister for her guest; for she had heard from *Paris* that an old Minister was chosen to attend the Princess. Since then she would have the Minister, she had him, and was won to be his wife. She brought to him a fair Estate, and the best portion of all, a rare piety and exemplary virtue; God having appointed it so by a sweet providence, that the comfort that was to make him happy, should demand him.

Her name was *Marie de Colignon*, one of the two coheirs of the House of *Chalotte*.

Since his establishment at *Paris*, till the death of the Kings Sister, which was five years after, he made a journey into *Lorraine* every Spring, either with her or to her, and having served his quarter at her Court, returned to *Paris*. There the Princess was most part of the year, and would have *Du Moulin* daily with her, though out of his quarter, and sent often for his son, a little child, to play with him. *Du Moulin* made use of that favour to confirm her Highness in the true Religion, of which there was great need: For the Pope prest the King to make his Sister turn Catholick; and the King to please the Pope, did what he could for it, employing the most learned and subtil of his Clergy to seduce her, especially *Du Perron*, then Bishop of *Eureux*, and Father *Cotton*. These two had several bickerings with him, but yet had soon done; for being worsted, and not used to deal with such an Adversary, they did avoid to meet with him; leaving others of the Court-Clergy to try their fortune with him. By them he was baited and provoked continually, but alwayes with such ill success for them, that he became generally feared and esteemed together, and none but bold new comers, and such as knew him not, durst grapple with him. The Author in the 7th. Book of this work, in the 3d. Controversie, 2 Ch. giveth account of an occasional encounter of his with *M. Du Perron*. But they had another which was a pitched field. It was at the Court before a few, but grave and select Assistants. After some Dispute, when *Du Perron* gave back to the force of an argument; and was at a loss, some body hid behind the hanging cryed up *One*. And when the like happened to him the second time, the same voice cryed up *two*, and so till *five*. Upon which *Du Perron* complaining of interruption, broke the Conference. But before they parted, the company obliged the two Disputants never to publish any thing about that meeting, which *Du Moulin* promis'd and kept; but I never promis'd it, and am not bound to keep all my Fathers promises. Since that meeting these two Adversaries bore a mutual respect the one to the other. The Baron of *Mountataire* told me, that being at Cardinal *Du Perrons* table, and some discourse of Religion and Ministers being moved, one *President Chevalier* said that *Du Moulin* was an *Ass*; Upon which the Cardinal answered the President, *You do him wrong Sir; He is such an Ass, that no man ever rubbed against him, but returned with a kick*. And I have often heard my Father commending *Du Perron* as the nimblest adversary that ever he met with. In his Preface to this work, he giveth him his due commendation.

One *Beaulieu Bonju*, a young Clergyman, having got some Manuscripts of *Du Perron* about the Eucharist, made use of them to write against *Du Moulin*, who thereby was provoked to answer him, and confute him. There are letters extant and printed among *Du Perron's* works, wherein he chides that *Beaulieu Bonju*, both for stealing, and more for ill using his Meditations, and tells him in substance, that though he could get his weapon, yet he could not wield it. But when *Du Perron* would wield his own weapon, he had no better success, as it is justified by this work.

King *Henry* the 4th. to satisfy the Court of *Rome* and the French Clergy of the care he took of his Sisters Conversion, would often desire her to hear the Sermons of his Chaplains, which she would not yield unto, till once being made sensible how the Kings credit was interested that she should once at the least hear one Court Sermon, she condescended so far to the request of a King and a Brother, as to promise to hear Father *Cotton*; Who therefore was appointed to preach before the King and her, immediately after *Du Moulins* Sermon, and in the same room: For those two contrary services were performed in that room every Lords day-morning, as long as the Princess lived, and was at the Court.

The Authors Life.

The Princess, to strengthen her self against that assault, gave notice of it to *Du Moulin*, and after his Sermon brought him into a private room, whence he might hear the Jesuites Oratory. It will not be unpleasant to the Reader to have a taste of it. His subject was of the dwelling of the Holy Ghost in the soul, and he made his entry into that matter after this manner. *I went once to visit the Hospital of fools, where a grave old man received me kindly at the door, and went about with me to shew me the distracted persons, and inform me about their several kinds of folly. Here is one (said he) that thinks himself made of snow, and will not come neer the fire for fear of melting. This thinks himself metamorphosed into an earthen pitcher, and will not come neer a wall, nor suffer any to come neer him, for fear of being broken with a knock. These four have a more refined kind of folly, for they think themselves top-full with the Spirit of Prophecie. One will be Elias, another Jeremiah, another Daniel, another S. Paul. But I that am the Holy Ghost, can assure you Sir, that they are all either fools or impostors, for I never sent them. Thus the reverend Senior, after he had given me the character of other fools, gave me his own; and I could not find any grain of folly in him, so wisely and rationally he spoke, till he took upon him to be the Holy Ghost. The like folly is to be seen among those of the pretended Reformed Religion: There you shall find wise and Religious Princesses [intimating the Kings Sister] wise and faithful Treasurers [intimating the Duke of Sully] wise and valiant Generals of Armies [intimating the Duke of Bevilton] wise and learned Councillours of State [intimating Mr. du Plessis Mornay] all wise in all things, but that they think they have the Holy Ghost, and have it not. The Sermon was suitable to the Preface, and wrought a suitable effect in the hearers, making them all merry, but no Converts.*

In the end of the year 1601. time and place being appointed for a Conference between *Du Moulin* and *Cayer*, sometimes a Minister, and then a Doctor of *Sorbon*, *Cayer* put off the meeting several times, till the Kings Sister going to *Lorrain*, took *Du Moulin* along with her. In his absence *Cayer* put forth a Book with this Inscription, *A Conference by Ministers granted, and by themselves refused*. In which Book he accused *Du Moulin* of deserting his cause, and running away. But *Du Moulin* being returned in May to *Paris*, the challenge was renewed on both sides: So they met May 28. 1602. in a house next to the Kings Sisters house. The Conference held a fortnight. They had Scribes on both sides; a world of hearers, and good order kept. The questions agitated, propounded by *Cayer* himself, were, *Of the Sacrifice of the Mass; Of the Adoration of the Pope; and of the veneration of holy Images*. *Cayer* was assisted with two Doctors, *Carmelites*. *Du Moulin* had no Assistant. Towards the midst of the Conference the Faculty of *Sorbon* grievously censured *Cayer* for ill defending the Catholick Cause, and suffering the Adversary to wade too deep into questions: And the Bishop of *Paris* forbid him to sign that which he had indicated to the Scribes. Since that time the Popish party sought occasions to break. The *Carmelites* feigned to be afraid, because there were so many swords in the company. Gentlemen of their own party bade them to fear nothing, representing to them that Gentlemen will seldom appear abroad without their swords: That they were more in number then the Protestants, and that *Paris* wanted neither Lawes nor Justices. The Protestants said for their part, that they were of old in possession of suffering, and that violence was as remote from their thoughts, as it would be disadvantageous for them, considering their small number, and the place and condition they lived in. So the Conference continued; but *Cayer* remembring that he had been chid, would make frequent protestations that he was not authorized to confer, and that he did it meerly out of his own zeal. But the Doctors of *Sorbon* perceiving that the more the Conference continued, the more their cause was discredited, came in a body to the Kings Advocate in the Court of Parliament, to complain of that Conference, saying, that it was a pernicious thing, tending to sedition; that they had contrived how to break it, and that the effects of it would shortly appear. This hindered
not

not *Du Moulin* from coming to the ordinary place where he was befor *Cayer*. He found the door shut and a great croud of people at the door. The Master of the house came to him, and shewed him Letters without subscription from a person of quality, who advised him to lend his house no more for that Conference, shewing him the inconvenience that might follow, and threatening him of imprisonment: Wherefore the Gentleman desired *Du Moulin* to seek another house for the Conference. *Du Moulin* answered, that it was a trick to break off, which he had been warned of before, and desired him not to be moved with groundless fears, and that he would but let him come into his yard. This was denied. But *Cayer* coming soon after, the door was opened to him, and the people pressing in after him, *Du Moulin* got in with the croud. There they considered how to get another place for their meeting. But the Conference being, though not forbidden, yet discountenanced by authority, no body durst offer his house for it. So the parties agreed to continue the Conference in writing, and to publish nothing but by mutual consent. But *Du Moulin* asked two conditions, upon which *Cayer* brake. The one that the Conference should be limited, and that it should not be permitted to make replies *in infinitum*, but *Cayer* would have no limitation. The other, that *Cayer* should sign the Acts of that Conference till that day, which *Cayer* utterly refused, saying, It was enough that it was subscribed by the Scribes. When *Du Moulin* represented to him what disgrace he put upon himself and his cause, and challenged and dared him, saying, That he durst not stand to that he had spoken, and indited himself: *Cayer* answered, that he cared neither for the talk of people, nor for darings and challenges. And to get out of that mire he moved a question to *Du Moulin*, Whether he could tell after what manner of Creation the Angels were Created: *Du Moulin*, knowing that this was their last meeting, answered, that the question in hand was only of subscribing the Acts. But *Cayer* refused it again, turned his back, and said, You shall hear of me: And so went away to the great scandal of the Romanists there present, who could not conceal their indignation. A Protestant made the company laugh, saying, That *Cayer* was not yet of age to sign.

Cayer being gone forth, and *Du Moulin* yet in the Hall of the house, *Cayer's* friends flockt about him in the street, and represented to him the great wrong he did to himself, and the cause, by denying to sign; not knowing that he had done more harm to himself and the *Roman* Church if he had signed. They prest him then to return, and to sign. But not being able to perswade him to it, they returned to *Du Moulin*, and desired him not to prest *Cayer* to sign presently, and to limit only the time of every reply, not the number of the replies. *Du Moulin* answered, that he persevered in that he had said publicly, That it was too late to contend after that *Cayer* was fled. And that he had to do with *Cayer*, not with them.

Thus was the Conference broken to the great satisfaction of many faithfull souls, and the instruction of many ignorant Papists, who since gave glory to God by an open profession of the Truth.

This was a famous Conference, done with great order and fair dealing, in a very full audience, and in the greatest light of *France*. The Acts of the Conference are extant published by *Archibald Adaire* a Reverend Bishop of *Scotland*. What was the end of that Doctor *Cayer*, I choose rather to let the Reader know it by others then by me.

The Doctors of the faculty of *Sorbon*, stung with the ill success of this Conference, provoked him to another, in which the body of the University took interest. They were to oppose three days upon what points they thought best: And *Du Moulin* was to oppose three days also, and choose what points he pleased. He was then Respondent for three days, and found in the Dispute that blessing of God which never was wanting to him in the defense of his Truth. After the dispute of the third day, he being returned home, and retired to his Study, a man in a *Priests* habit came in the dark evening up the stairs, and knockt

knockt at his study door : when *Du Moulin* had half opened it, the man thrust the door with all his strength to have rusht in ; and *Du Moulin* with all his strength, in which he was inferiour to few men of his size , kept him out, and called for help. They were a while thrusting one against the other, till the man hearing some stirring below at *Du Moulin's* call, ran down the stairs in great haste, and so into the street. We suppose, upon probable ground, that the man was come to kill him before he presented himself to be Opponent, according to the Covenants of the Conferenre ; which the Adversaries would by no means suffer him to be, as it appeared the next morrow ; for when he went to the appointed place, he met with a prohibition from the King to continue that Conference any longer.

These passages raised his reputation very high, whereby God was glorified, his Truth confirmed, and his Church edified, and increased with many Converts.

About that time a passage of another nature contributed to advance his esteem in the world. His wife being grievously sick, he desired the Kings Physicians, with whom, by reason of his ordinary waiting at the Court, he was well acquainted, to visit her, and make a consultation about her. He had then at once five or six of the most renowned Physicians of the time ; among others, *Durctus*, *Quercetanus*, *Laurentius*, *Gorrhaus*, men that have left a great fame behind them. And as the manner of Physicians is in *France*, in their consultations, they made learned and elegant Latine discourses about the business which they were called for. *Du Moulin* craved leave, though no Physician, yet as husband to the patient, acquainted with the disposition of her body, to speak among them. Which he did, and with his Latine elegance and facility, made them a deep discourse of *Anatomy*, and of the indications and cure of the disease, which brought these Physicians to a great admiration, and they both praised, and followed his advice. Doctor *James Primrose*, the Learned Physician of *Hull*, hath told me divers times, that when our two Fathers had made an exchange of their eldest Sons for a year or two, my Father made him private Lectures upon the Aphorisms of *Hippocrates*, with great judgement and learning. These two passages I relate together, because of the likeness of the subject, though the last was twelve years posteriour.

But to return to his proper sphere. The last sickness of the Kings sister gave a great exercise to his zeal and industry, whereby he did faithfully and constantly assist her in that extremity. And there was need of constancy and courage in that service ; for the Court-Clergy, *Du Perron* especially, did their utmost to pervert her, and to fright him away. When she drew neer to her end, *Du Moulin* standing by her Bed-side, *Du Perron* came and said he was sent by the King, and would remove him by plain force. But *Du Moulin* held fast the Bed post ; and when *Du Perron* told him, that he was to take place of him in all companies, *Du Moulin* answered that his place was before *Du Perron*s at the Princesses Bed-side, and in that service. The threatnings made to him in the Kings name he valued not, and said, he believed not that the King would offer violence to his Sisters conscience, appealing to her self, and beseeching her Highness to declare her pleasure. She declared that she would die in the Reformed Religion, and that she would have *Du Moulin* to stay by her. Whereupon *Du Perron* withdrew, and the good Princess persevered in Gods holy Truth to her last breath. The King wisht she had died in the *Roman* profession, and did all he could, without violence, to pleasure the Court of *Rome* in that point. And *Du Moulin* had an opinion ever since that the King bore him ill will for thus crossing his intentions. The Princess left to *Du Moulin* a great Rose of Diamonds for a Legacy ; but her Executors sent him one of false stones.

Besides verbal Conferences which he had very frequently, he had many conferences in writing, and answered many Books written against him, whence he had occasion to treat of all the controversies between us and the Church of *Rome*, and to publish divers Books, which were blessed instruments in Gods hand

hand for the conversion of many. The pureness of his French, and the ingenious simplicity of his stile generally esteemed, was a great introduction for his Books into all Companies. Many of the *Romanists* would read his Books and hear his Sermons, only for the Language, and many times were happily deceived, finding in his Language that which they sought not, and were converted by the evidence of Spirit and power that was in his words.

In one of his Books dedicated to his Father, a friend of his did write, and ingeniously apply to him these verses of *Virgil*.

*Et nos tela, Pater, ferrumque hand debile dextra
Spargimus, & nostro sequitur de vulnere sanguis.*

King *James* of blessed and glorious memory before his coming to the Crown of *England*, sent expressions of Royal favour to the Consistory of *Paris*, who chose *Du Moulin* to address their humble thanks by Letters to his Majesty. And when his Majesty published his Confession of Faith, against which *Coeffeteau* (since Bishop of *Marseille*) wrote an eloquent Book, *Du Moulin* undertook the Defence of the Kings Confession, and wrote a French Book with that Title, which was most welcome to the King, and to the English Clergy; and his Majesty made Royal and bountifull expressions of his acceptance. Since that time the King honoured *Du Moulin* with his Letters, and required many Letters from him, having an especial liking for all that came from his Pen.

And because other Adversaries besides *Coeffeteau* had writ against the King, *Du Moulin* wrote another Book in his defence in Latin, intituled, *De Monarchia Pontificis Romani*.

Although *Henry* the fourth was displeased with *Du Moulin* for crossing his intentions about his sister; yet he esteemed him. A little before he was stabbed in the midst of his preparations for an Expedition into *Flanders*, he called an old Protestant, his trusty Servant, called *La Chesnaye*, and spoke thus to him; *La Chesnaye*, I am preparing for a great journey, and have used my best care that all may be quiet in my Kingdom in my absence. Two sorts of stirring wits I consider as apt to cause disturbance, Jesuits and young Ministers. For Jesuits, I have employed fit Agents to deal with them. For Ministers, you must be one of my Agents. When I am gone, go to *Du Moulin*, Tell him that I remember his good services to my sister, That I desire him to pray for the prosperity of my person and journey, and to be quiet in my absence, sending no challenges and receiving none; And give him this purse from me: After the Kings death, which was very few days after, *La Chesnaye* delivered the message from the King to *Du Moulin*, and presented him with the purse. *Du Moulin* never inquired what was in it, but refused it; Most men would have made no scruple to take it; and it is like that the Gentleman made no scruple to keep it for himself.

Upon the murder of that great King, *Du Moulin* put forth that famous Book called *Anticoton*; in which he proved, that the Jesuits were Authors of that horrible parricide. Though he put not his name to it, the Jesuits soon knew that it was his Work, and made an answer to it directed unto him; because there was in the *Anticoton* an Anagram of *Father Cotton*, which fathered the Kings death upon him thus;

PIERRE COTON
PERCE-TON-ROIS

They also made this Anagram upon *Du Moulin*s name,

PETRUS DU MOULIN
ERIT MUNDO LUPUS

With these Verses:

Petri hostis Petrus Christi insidiatur ovilli

Quo deglubere, quo dilaniare queat.

Mores lupi: & vere lupus est cui nomen & omen

Et mores insunt ingeniumque lupi.

Which

Which Verses *Du Moulin* answered thus.

*Quisquis es insulso qui fundis acumine versus,
Hellepontiaco victima digna Deo;
Quam frustra vacuum scalpisti sinciput? O quos
Risus Hybrida vox semilatrina movet!
Dum tua mens varie turbata elementa pererrat,
Et spargis virus nomen in innocuum:
Quin & in hoc casu quadam est industria, dum tu
In laudem imprudens nomina nostra trahis.
Namque lupo cohibemus equos; agitator equorum
Improbioris equi comprimit ora lupo;
Qui in gyrum cogit, faciliq; peritus habena
Compositos gressus agglomerare docet.
Ergo lupo mundo est, qui fraxans ora lupato
Dura, per errorum devia monstrat iter.
Nec mirum si nos, Papalis verna culina,
Si cinislo Satana, dixerit esse lupos:
Cum Christum Satanam Phariseus dicat apella,
Nemo bonus secum mitius optet agi.
Ergo Dei servum vanis latratibus urgens,
Meque lupum appellans desinat esse canis.*

King *James's* love to *Du Moulin* increasing, he would see him, and by Sir *Theodore Mayerne* who took a journey to *Paris* in *February*, 1615. he invited him very earnestly to come over to him. The Consistory of *Paris* opposed that motion, being persuaded that if he went once over into *England*, he would never return. But *Du Moulin* removed that jealousy by his solemn promise with an oath made in publick to the Church of *Paris*; that he would return shortly. So he obtained his leave, and in *March* following went over into *England* with Sir *Theodore Mayerne*, taking along with him Captain *John Du Moulin* his half brother.

The King received him with extraordinary favour, and would have him near his person very often. Almost every day while the King was at dinner, *Du Moulin* stood behind his Chair; and several times the King shut up himself with Sir *Theodore Mayerne* and *Du Moulin*, for no other business but to enjoy their company; which his Majesty was extraordinarily pleased with. And the truth is, that he could hardly have pickt in all the world two persons of a more ingenious and pleasant conversation.

Two moneths before *Du Moulin's* coming into *England*, *Du Perron* had made an Oration in the States of *Blois*, where he had maintained that the Pope had the power to depose Kings, and had used King *James* very ill; and having published it in Print, he sent it to his Majesty: To answer that Oration his Majesty made use of *Du Moulin's* service for the *French* Language, and it was printed the first time in *French* while *Du Moulin* was in *England*, in that year 1615. before it was Printed in *English*.

The King going to *Cambridge* carried *Du Moulin* along with him, and made him take the degree of Doctor: Then was *Ignoramus* acted the second time before the King. Doctor *Du Moulin* would have excused himself from seeing that Play, but the King would needs have him to see it: Yet the King could not make him conceal the offence he took, when he was told that sundry of the Actors were men in Orders; and that some that had acted it the first time, were sent for from the Churches to which they had been promoted, to act it the second time.

Of this he expressed his dislike, even in the pulpit, and before the King; for his Majesty having commanded him to preach in *French* before him in *Greenwich* Chappel, he took for his Text, *Rom. 1. 15.* and was so ill a Courtier in his Sermon, as to say that the Ministers of the Gospel in the antient Church would

not be spectators, and much less would have been Actors of Stage Plays. Yet the Sermon was so well accepted at the Court, that the most illustrious Prince of *Walrus* (since King *Charles* the first) was pleased to require a copy of it, and gave a fair Diamond Ring to the Doctor.

After three moneths stay the King going to his Progress, he took his leave of his Majesty, who would have staid him in *England*, and highly advanced him. And when nothing would perswade him to stay, the King said to him, not without some anger, that he was unworthy to have the love of a King, and gave him a Prebend at *Canterbury*, and to his brother a chain of gold.

In that time of his stay in *England* he contracted friendship with many worthy Divines, especially with Doctor *Andrews* the Reverend and Learned Bishop of *Ely*, and since of *Winchester*, who was very favourable to him, and renewed many of his old acquaintances of *Cambridge*.

In his return he was installed in his Canons place at *Canterbury*. In his admission the Dean and Chapter offered him the Oath of Allegiance, and the Oath of Canonical obedience which he took, but with this exception, which was allowed him, *As far as it doth not prejudice the Allegiance due to my King.*

Two or three years after, the King gave him a Rectory *sine cura*: These two Benefices were rented for 200*l.* per annum.

The Doctor landed at *Bullen* where Monsieur de *Campagnoles* was Governor for the Duke of *Espernon*. It was the time when the French Princes began to stir against *Mary* the Queen Mother of *France*. And because the Prince of *Conde* was courting the Reformed Churches to joyn with him in that design, the Doctor was suspected, as having taken that journey to procure help from *England* for the Princes. Wherefore *Campagnoles* was charged to arrest him at his landing, which he did, and committed him to the guard of two Souldiers, seized upon his Trunks and Papers, and searched them. But after two days he released him, and desired him to tell no body of the wrong he had done him.

How ill grounded that suspicion was, his following actions did justify: For the Doctor finding at his return, that the Protestants began to engage with the Princes against the Queen Mother, and in effect against the King, who was then declared Major by the Parliament, he dissuaded them from it as much as he could, both by Sermons and Letters. And to him the Court was obliged, that all the Protestant Towns on this side of *Loire* kept in the Kings obedience. He shewed, that he did it not to serve the times, but God. For the Queen having sent the same Monsieur de *la Chesnaye* (who had been sent to him before from *Henry* the fourth) to thank him for his good service to the King, and to give him a present in money, and exhort him to continue his good affection; The Doctor answered, that he needed no money to be loyal to his King, and refused to take it. When *la Chesnaye* urged him to it, saying, That it was a disrespect to refuse a Royal Liberality: The Doctor answered, that if he would give it him in presence of the Consistory of *Paris* he would take it; but it was more then *la Chesnaye* had Commission to do. The declaring of the Politick Assembly of the Protestants for the Prince of *Conde* in the year 1616. was the greatest error that ever they committed. And they smarted for it (as *Du Moulin* had foretold them) when once the young King had got more age and vigour.

Doctor *Du Moulin* after his return out of *England* was persecuted more then ever with disputes. The Jesuit *Arnoux*, a Court Preacher, sent a Challenge to the Ministers of *Paris*, to appear before the Queen Mother to give account of their Religion, preach fire and sword against them before their Majesties, and sent them a Pamphlet full of heavy accusations. The Doctor was charged by his Colleagues to make an answer to it. Which he did, and addressed it to the King. In that answer by way of just recrimination, he affirmed, that he had seen in the Colledge of the Jesuits at *la Fleche*, a picture of the Martyrs of their Order, and in that rank some Traitors who had been executed for conspiring against the life of their Kings. That the maxims of the Jesuits were pernicious to Kings whereas the doctrine of the Protestants maintained their life,

their authority, and their States : And the Pastours of the Reformed Churches taught their people fidelity and obedience to the King. Then he represented the many perils and combats which the Protestants had sustained for the defence of King Henry the Fourth, till they had brought him to the Crown. Of which services, they that had been the Kings Enemy received the reward. This Answer of the Ministers was presented to the King by the Duke of Rohan.

Such a bold address to the Sovereign power, did irritate the great Officers of the Crown, of whom not a few, or their Fathers, had been of the party of the League. The Jesuites therefore letting their challenge fall, indicted the Ministers of Treason, although all the ground they could find for it, was, that the Ministers called the reformed Churches *their people*, as if they had pretended some sovereignty over them.

The Chamber of the Edict (a Court consisting half of Papists, half of Protestant Judges) would take knowledge of that business. But the Great Chamber would not let them, pretending that to the Great Chamber belonged the cognizance of crimes of Treason. Three weeks they were contending about that. At the end of whiche the Council of State took the cognizance of it from them both, and by that time the heat of the Statesmens wrath was allayed. The Ministers being summoned before the Council, the indictment of Treason was not much urged, as being but a cavil. And it was wittily eluded ; for whereas it was objected to them that they called their Churches *nos peuples*, it was answered, that the *N* was a *u* turned upside down, and should be read *vos peuples*, so that the Ministers speaking to the King, call'd their Churches *your* not *our* people. The Lords of the Council smiled, and were contented to have one cavil wiped off with another. Only after grave admonitions and high threatnings by Chancellor *Bryssart*, they dismissed them.

That challenge of *Arnoult*, and a Pamphlet of his against the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches of *France*, occasioned the Doctor to write his Buckler of the Faith.

The Jesuites, who compass sea and land to make a Profelyte, had devised this feat of Legerdemain, that when they saw a person of quality (for those especially they hunt after) little grounded in the Protestant Religion, ill stored with piety, and gaping after preferments (which are all confined to the Popish party) they tempted him to change his profession ; and after they had partly by arguments, partly by promises, won him to their side, they made him promise not to declare his resolution to change till after a Conference between two Divines of the two Religions, that his declaration might assign the victory of the Conference to their side. But when they would give fire to that mine, commonly it turned upon them that had sprung it : For thereby the perverted persons were either reclaimed in good earnest, or by the evident ill success of the Jesuites compelled for shame to remain in their former profession. Divers times these Jesuites have tryed to serve Doctor *Du Moulin* with that trick, but unfortunately. A Gentleman called *Lieembrune*, corrupted by the Jesuite *Gontier*, had promis'd him to declare himself a Roman Catholick after a Conference of the said Jesuite with Doctor *Du Moulin*. And having taken his lodging at the same street as the Doctor, with whom he had got some familiarity, he drew him once into his chamber, where the Doctor found a great company of persons of quality, most of them Ladies, who, as they had been instructed by *Gontier*, began to question the Doctor about his calling. And upon that *Gontier* came to the door in a coach full of books, and being come up to the company, he asked what they were speaking of ? A Lady said, *I was desiring Monsieur Du Moulin to satisfy my curiosity about his calling*. The Doctor, to put the Jesuite upon the defensive part, said, *I answered the Lady, that a man of your sort, that will question another about his calling, obligeth himself to prove his own*. And since the calling of Priest in the Roman Church is to be a sacrificer of the body of Christ, I desire you, Sir, to shew me the institution of that Priesthood, and in what place of Scripture God commanded that the body of his Son should be sacrificed. The Jesuite

Jesuite answered, that it might easily be proved, called for Bibles and Concordances, and was seeking and turning leaves a great while. But being unable to find a thing that is not, he retired silent, full of anguish and confusion into a corner of the room. Upon which Liembrune grew angry, and told Gontier, Father, you told me, that if I brought a Minister before you, you would confound him; Here is one, and you stand dumb before him. After that Conference Liembrune defamed Gontier everywhere, and was confirmed in the true Religion.

Another Jesuite came to the Doctors study to dispute with him. Monsieur de Monginot, a famous Physician, was present at the Conference, whereby he was converted, and set out an excellent Book of the reasons why he abjured Popery.

An Eminent Protestant Lady, widow to the Marshal of Ferraquet, Governour of Normandy, being sick to death, was very much solicited, by the Prince of Joinville, called since Duke of Chersse, whom she intended to marry, to change Religion on her death-bed; and he used the interest he had in her, to make her a Roman Catholick. The Doctor going to visit her, could not be admitted till Monsieur de Roissy, a person of high quality, went in with a great attendance, and with him the Doctor came to her bed-side. As he began to speak to the sick Lady, Monsieur de Salles, the titular Bishop of Geneva, came in, sent by the Princess of Piemont, the Kings Sister, to exhort her to die in the Roman profession. Whereupon, when some contestation arose, between the Bishop and Doctor Du Moulin, Monsieur de Roissy spake thus to the sick Lady; Madam, it is no more time to dissimble, speak openly, Will you have my Lord Bishop of Geneva to comfort you, and pray by you, or will you have Monsieur Du Moulin to do that office? The Lady answered, I desire Monsieur Du Moulin to take that pains. Then the Bishop and many Roman Catholicks went out of the room. Some remained, who while the Doctor was praying, made mouths at him, to abuse and interrupt him. He did his part to dispose and strengthen her in her last combat. After he had been there half an hour or more, three Lords, one of them Monsieur d'Andelot, came up to him, and told him, Monsieur du Moulin, there is below a company of Princesses and great Ladies that desire to see you confer with my Lord Bishop. The Doctor answered, My Lords, do you not make that motion purposely to take me off from the last office which I do to this Lady, and to keep me from returning hither? All three promis'd upon their honour, that after the Conference ended, they would let him into the room to continue the Office which he was about. The Doctor followed them into a large room, where the Dutchess Dowager of Longueville was with many other great persons, and asked them upon what point they would have the Bishop and him to confer; The Ladies desired that they should speak of those words of Christ, This is my body.

The Doctor said, that the clear Exposition of those words was given by S. Paul, 1 Cor. 10. 16. The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? The Bishop answered, that the same Apostle affirmeth that it is the very body of Christ that we eat, 1 Cor. 11. 24. Christ said to his Disciples, Take, eat, this is my body. I wonder (said the Doctor to the Bishop) how you have the confidence to alledge that Text which your Church hath so foully falsified. For whereas St. Paul relates how Christ said, Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you, The Roman Church hath put in her version, which shall be delivered for you, lest that it should be known that Christ speaks of a body which may be broken in the Sacrament, which cannot be said of the true body of Christ. The Bishop then taxed the Doctor with calumny, maintaining that in the vulgat Roman version it was set down, which is broken. Bibles were brought forth, and it was found that the Doctor said true. This silenced the Bishop, and broke the Conference. The Dutchess of Longueville took the Doctor aside, and told him that she had heard much of him; but now that she had both seen and heard him, it would be an excess of joy to her if he would turn Catholick. The Doctor answered, that he

would willingly do it, and in her sense, if it might be shewed him in the word of God, that God hath commanded the Priest to sacrifice the body of Christ. Then taking leave of the company, he went up to the sick Lady, who soon after gave up the ghost.

These are few of his many encounters. If I would relate all his Conferences, they might fill a great volume. Scarce was he a week without one, while he lived in *Paris*, and some of them were very long. He was the object of the publick hatred of the *Romanists*. His name was the general Theam of libels cryed up in the street, of railing Sermons in all pulpits, and of the curses of ignorant zealots. They that durst not come near that Lion, barked at him afar off. And because the Adversaries could not overcome him in conference, they tried two other wayes.

The one was to win him by preferments from the Reformed party. I will not make this Relation so Romance-like, as to say all that he might have had from the Court of *France*, and that of *Rome*. I will relate but one passage of my particular remembrance; That one of the prime men of *Paris* came to him; how haughtily he lookt upon us all, I remember still. His errand to the Doctor was to this purpose. "Sir, my name is *N. N.* You cannot but know that it is "the best name of the civil Corporation of *Paris*. I come to declare unto you "the great compassion I have, that a man of such eminent parts as your self, "should be employed to defend Heresie, and engaged with the sordid *Hugonot* "party; Among whom, after all your services, and all the hatred which you "sustain for their sakes, you can leave your Family but meanly provided for: "Whereas if you will embrace the Catholick Cause, I that speak to you, will provide for your Family, and I undertake for my self and others of my name in *Paris* to settle eight thousand livres *per annum* in good land upon your self and "your heirs for ever. The Doctor imitating his haughty way, answered him; "Sir, I perceive that you value me at a very low rate; for if I could be won to commit that great wickedness, I might have twenty times more. No other thanks did he give him, and no more discourse would he have with him. I remember that they parted very abruptly.

It was at
that time
full 800 l.
a year.

That way succeeding not, they went about to make him away. Divers Attempts were made against his life, besides that which I related before. One evening after Sun-set, two men with long black cloaks came to his house; One of them staid at the door to keep the egress free for his fellow, who went softly into the parlour, and so to the Doctor, without speaking a word, keeping his hands under his cloak. The Doctor judging by his countenance that he came with a mischievous intent, removed further, and put a chair in the mans way. The man turned about the chair and the table, pursuing him: Then came the Doctors servant, a proper strong man, who repulsed the fellow with threatnings, and put him out of the house.

Another came to the same parlour while the Doctor was at dinner, and came near him with his hands under his cloak. The same servant took up a daggers scabbard which the man had let fall, and gave it him, saying, Get you gone, you have mist your blow for this time. The fellow, without answering one word, took his scabbard and went away.

Another came to his house with the like intent, in all likelihood, at seven a clock at night in the short days, and asked to speak with the Doctor. But when he began to speak, he faltered in his speech, and quaked, and changed colour; which Mrs. *du Moulin* perceiving, slept between her husband and the man, and told him, Friend, you are come with a wicked design. The man made no Apology, and departed.

One night, about two or three a clock, when the Doctor and his Family were abed, one knockt at the door with great noise, and being told from within that the Doctor was asleep, he answered, that he must be awaked, for he must speak with him, and so continued knocking till the door was opened, and he would be brought to the Doctors bed-side; To whom he said, "Sir, You will pardon "me this unmannerly address to you at this undue hour, when you know that "my

"my errand is to save your life. I came this night to this City, in the Boat of *Montrean*, where a man acquainted me, that he had a present of Prunella's for you, which would rid the world of you. The bearer is easie to know, for he is blind of an eye; and will bring you these Prunella's from such a friend of yours; but taste them not, for they are poisoned. The next day a man blind of an eye did not fail to come to him with Boxes of Prunella's, but the Doctor would not speak with him, and sent him back with his Boxes.

Twice was his house besieged by a rabble of people to destroy him and his Family, but brought no greater Artillery then Muskets, wherewith they shot through the gate in several places: they assayed to break the door, but could not. These many attempts, made his Friends to desire him that he should never go abroad unattended, nor be at home without defence. He hearkened to their counsel; and got two stout servants, that had been Souldiers, that attended him with their swords: Yet that he walked so long among wilde beasts, and was not devoured, it is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

While Doctor *Du Moulin* lived in *Paris*, he was invited by many Universities to accept of the Chair of Divinity; but the Church of *Paris* would never part with him. That University which did most constantly and unweariedly wooe him, was that of *Leyden*, considering him still as a member of their body. They began in the year, 1611. and offered him the place of *Arminius*, then newly dead: And not only the Curators by frequent addresses to the Church of *Paris* and to him, but the States by their Embassadors, and the Prince of *Orange* by his Letters, did from time to time demand him.

In the year, 1617. when the States of the United Provinces had desired the Churches of *England*, *France*, *Germany*, &c. to send some able Divines to the Synod of *Dort*, the Churches of *France* named four, Doctor *Du Moulin*, *Chamier*, *Rivet* and *Chaune*. But when the Doctor was making readie for his journey, he was forbidden by a Messenger of the Council of State of *France* to go out of the Kingdom, upon pain of Life: The like prohibition was made to the three other Divines.

The Lords States accepted of his good will very thankfully, and sent him the same present which they gave to the Deputies of their Synod, A large golden Medal with a chain of Gold, and two hundred Crowns of Gold.

A year after, the Lords States and the Curators of the University of *Leyden* renewed their former demand of Doctor *Du Moulin* to be their Divinity Reader. The Learned *Erpenius* was sent twice into *France* on that errand: And when he could not be obtained from the Church of *Paris*, they demanded, by the same *Erpenius*, the famous *Rivet*, and had him.

But the Church of *Paris* could keep no longer their dear Pastour whom they held so fast; and the ruine then ready to fall upon the generality of the French Churches did light upon him first. In the year 1620. a National Synod being called at *Alais* in *Languedok*, Doctor *Du Moulin* was sent Deputy to it, and he made account in his return to go out of the way to see *Rochel*. A little before he took that journey, My Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, then Embassador of *England* in the Court of *France*, urged him very much to write to the King his Master, to exhort him to undertake vigorously the defence of his Son in Law the King of *Bohemia*. The Doctor represented to his Lordship, that it was too high a business for a man of his sort. My Lord *Herbert* represented to him again that his Letters were always very acceptable to his Majesty, and might work very much upon him. So the Doctor writ to the King, and delivered his Letters to the Lord Embassadors Secretary. Then immediatly he went to *Alais* where he was chosen President of the Synod.

In the mean while his Letters to King *James* went the wrong way, and were delivered to the Council of State of *France*; how, or by whom, the Doctor could never learn, or whether his Majesty ever received them. Howsoever it was, scarce was he in *Languedok*, when it was concluded at *Paris* in the Council of State, that he should be apprehended, and committed prisoner for exhorting

horting a Forraign King to take Arms for the defence of the Protestant Churches. And because the Council was informed that the Doctor would return by *Rochel* (a place which then gave great jealousies to the Court) they would not take him before he had been there, the Informers against him intending to make his going to *Rochel* an Article of his Indictment. Doctor *Du Monlin* knowing nothing of all this, was sitting in the Synod, where he heard first the ill news of the taking of *Pragne*, the overthrow of the King of *Bohemia*, and the ruine of many Churches in that Country. And at the same time the waste made in the Churches of *Bearn* by the Armies of King *Lewis*, and how the Protestants would keep a Politick Assembly at *Rochel* against the Kings will, which proved the cause of so many ruines that followed. Wherefore the Synod being ended, the Doctor Judged that it was an ill conjuncture of time for him to go to *Rochel*, and took the way of *Lyons*. In that resolution he was guided by a good providence; for if he had gone to *Rochel*, he should have been apprehended not far from that town after his coming out of it. At *Lyons* he received a Letter from Monsieur *Dyrelincourt* Minister of *Paris*, which gave him notice of his danger. This warning made him baulk the high way: yet he went to *Paris*, and entering the City in the night went directly to my Lord *Herbert*, who bade him to flee in haste for his life, which was in danger by the interception of his Letters to the King his Master. That very night then without so much as going to his house, he went out of *Paris* with his brother Capt. *John Du Monlin* to *Lumigny* a house of the Count de la *Suze* ten leagues from the City: There two Elders of the Church of *Paris* came to him from the Consistory, to desire him to remove himself out of the reach of those that waited for his Life: Which he did, and the next night travelled towards *Sedan*, a place then acknowledging the old Duke of *Bovillon* a Protestant Prince for Sovereign, where he came safe, by Gods mercy, in the beginning of the year, 1621. and was kindly received by the Duke to his house and table.

This was his parting with the Church of *Paris*; for although great means were made to appeale the Court, and although many years after, the Indictment against him was taken off, and leave was given him to live in *France*, yet it was with that exception, that he should not live in *Paris*.

Being come to that separation, I cannot but cast a parting look upon that best part of his life, the time he lived in that great light of *Paris* which was one and twenty years: A time truly honourable to him, since in it he did much to the honour of God; whether we consider his publick service in the Church, which he edified with his frequent preaching full of evidence of spirit and power, seconded with the prime eloquence of the time, and encouraged with the thronest concurrence, and the greatest applause; or the many combats that he sustained for Gods Truth, which still ended in so many Victories; Or the godliness and charity of his conversation: Or the fervent mutual love between him and his Floek; Or the envy and invectives of the adversaries; Or the favour of great Princes abroad; Or his great esteem in the opinion of his Sovereign, who courted him, though they hated him.

Paris being the great resort, not only of all *France*, but of all *Europe*, his house also was the resort of all the eminent persons of the Protestant Religion that came to *Paris*: seldom was his door in the afternoon without Coaches before it.

Being visited by *Englishmen*, *Germans*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Polanders*, &c. he held himself especially engaged to love and serve the *English* Travellers, who also bore to him a singular respect: It was from them that the learned Doctor *Heylin* had that saying of his about the scruple of preaching with a Surplice; which I must confirm, as having heard it from his mouth: That he wist that the *Queen Regent* would give him leave to preach before her, though it were in a *Fryers coat*. Doctor *Heylins* Friend told him in a *Fools Coat*: But the difference is not so great, but that a man may take the one for the other without misprision.

Being known abroad by those that had never seen him, he received Letters out of

of most parts of *Europe* from the greatest persons of the Protestant party: The chief of them King *James* of glorious and blessed memory, his great and good Patron, from whom he had many Letters, which his children keep carefully, as precious monuments of his religious mind; and of his Royal favour. He also being thus emboldened by his Majesty writ to him many Letters, which I have seen sowed up into a Book, kept in the Kings Paper Office, where I suppose they are still. He received also several presents from abroad, which did rather honour, then enrich him.

I remember when he received from a Merchant of *Dantzick*, unknown to him, a present of Sables for a furred Gown, and he put them to that use, saying pleasantly, That they would have been too dear for him to buy, but that they were not too good to keep him warm.

Being come to *Sedan*, he was presently desired to accept of the place of Minister of that Church; and of the chair of Divinity, then lately left by *Tilenus* in discontent, and by *Andrew Melvin* by death. He accepted of these places, but conditionally, in case that he could not obtain his restitution to the Church of *Paris*.

He found at *Sedan* much respect, and love from the Prince, and the Church, and the Academy; yet his parting from *Paris* proved very ruinous to him, and his Family; For having sold his wives Land in the Dutchy of *Bar*, and laid the money upon a piece of Land near *Paris*, which was extended for debts, and bought the right of the first Creditor, the other Creditors took advantage of his absence, and disgrace, and got the Land adjudged unto them; for which he never got any redress.

Of these private losses he was less sensible, because the sad condition of the Reformed Churches did totally possess his thoughts and cares. And having had time and occasion while he was President of the Synod of *Alais*, and in his long journey to it and from it, to know the evil posture of their affairs, he found himself prest in spirit to write to the Assembly of *Rochel*, that which his knowledge and his zeal prompted to him.

Because that Epistle is a piece that giveth much light to the History of that time, and a wholesom lesson to all that pretend conscience and Religion for their resistance to their Sovereign by force of Armes, I will insert it here:

Gentlemen,

I Do not write to you to pour my sorrows into your bosom, or to entertain you with my private crosses: Upon that I need no comforter; accounting it a great honour that in the public affliction of the Church God would have me to march in the Front. And I would account it a great happiness, if all the storm should light on my head, so that I were the only sufferer, and the Church of God should enjoy peace and prosperity. A more smarting care had moved me to write to you, & forced me to go beyond my nature, which was always averis from meddling with publick businesses, and from moving out of the sphere of my proper calling. For seeing the general body of the Church in eminent danger, and upon the brink of a dismal precipice, it was not possible for me to keep silence: Nay, I cannot be silent in this urgent necessity without drawing upon me the guilt of insensibility; and cruelty, towards the Church of God. And I am full of hope, that while I deliver my mind to you about publick businesses, my domestick affliction will free me from jealousies in your opinion: If it be not believed, at least I shall be excused: It becomes me not indeed to take upon me to give counsel to an Assembly of persons chosen out of the whole Kingdom to bear the burden of the publick affairs in a time so full of difficulties. Yet I think it is usefull for you to be truly informed what the sense, and what

what the disposition is of our Churches, by persons that have a particular knowledge of it.

The question being then whether you ought to separate your Assembly, to obey his Majesty, or keep together to give order to the affairs of the Churches; I am obliged to tell you, that the general desire of our Churches is, that it may please God to continue our peace, in our obedience to his Majesty. And that seeing the King resolved to make himself obeyed by the force of his arms, they trust that you will do your best to avoid that storm, and rather yield unto necessity then to engage them in a War, which most certainly will ruine great part of our Churches, and will bring us into a trouble, of which we see the beginning, but can see no end. By obeying the King you shall take away the pretence used by those that set on his Majesty to persecute us: And if we must be persecuted, all that fear God, desire that it may be for the profession of the Gospel, and that our persecution may truly be the cross of Christ. In one word, I can assure you, Gentlemen, that the greatest and best part of our Churches wisheth for your separation, if it may be with the safety of your persons: Yea that many of the *Roman* Church, desiring the publick peace, are continually about us, beseeching and exhorting us, that we do not by casting our selves headlong, involve them in the same ruine.

Hereupon we need not represent unto you, how terribly and generally our poor flocks are frightened and dismayed, casting their eyes upon you, as persons that may procure their rest, and by yeilding to the present necessity, blow away the storm hanging over their heads. Many already have forsaken the Land; Many have forsaken their Religion; whence you may judge what dissipation is like to follow, if this exasperation go on further.

No more do I need to recommend unto you to have a tender care of the preservation of our poor Churches, knowing, that you would choose death rather then to draw that reproach upon you, that you have hastened the persecution of the Church, and destroyed that which the zeal of our Fathers had planted, and put this State in confusion.

I am not ignorant, that many reasons are alledged to perswade you, to continue your Assembly. They tell you that the King hath granted it, But for that grant of his Majesty you can shew no warrant, nor any written Declaration, without which all promises are but words lost in the ayre: For Kings believe they have power to forbid that which they have permitted, and to revoke that which they have granted, when they judge it expedient for the good of their affairs. Neither is there any of you, after he hath sent his servant, or given him leave to go to some place, that thinks not that he hath power to call him back: Sovereign Princes especially are very unwilling to keep their promises when they have been extorted.

Also great numbers of grievances and contraventions to the Kings Edicts are represented unto you, which complaints to our great grief are too true; But besides that, we have given occasion to many of those evils our own selves; the difficulty lyeth not in representing our griefs, but in finding the remedies. Consider then whether the subsistence of your Assembly can heal all these sores; whether your sitting can give a shelter to our Churches, provide all things necessary for a War, where the parties are so unequal, raise forces, and make a stock of money to pay them; whether all the good that your sitting can produce, can countervail the dissipation of so many Churches, that lye open to the wrath of their enemies? whether when they are fallen you can raise them again? Whether in the evident division that is among us you are able to rallie the scattered parts of that divided body, which if it were well united, yet would be too weak to stand upon the defensive part.

Pardon me Gentlemen, if I tell you, that you shall not find all our Protestants inclined alike to obey your resolutions, and that the fire being kindled all about, you shall remain helpless beholders, of the ruine you have provoked,

Neither

Neither can it be unknown to you, that many of the best quality among us, and best able to defend us, openly blame your actions, holding and professing that suffering for this cause, is not suffering for the cause of God. These making no resistance, and opening the gates of their places, or joyning their arms with the Kings, you may easily judge what loss, and what weakening of the party that will be: How many of our Nobility will forsake you, some out of conscience, some out of treachery, some out of weakness! Even they who in an Assembly are most vehement in their votes, and to shew themselves zealous are altogether for violent wayes, are very often they that first revolt and betray their brethren. They bring our distressed Churches to the hottest danger, and there leave them, going away after they have set the house on fire.

If there be once fighting, or besieging of our Towns, whatsoever may the issue be of the Combat or the Siege, all that while it will be hard to keep the people animated against us from falling upon our Churches, that have neither retreat nor defence. And what order soever the Magistrates of contrary Religion take about it, they shall never be able to compas it.

I might also represent unto you many reasons out of the state of our Churches, both within and without the Kingdom, to shew you that this stirring of yours is altogether unseasonable, and that you set sail against wind and tide. But you are clear-sighted enough to see it, and to consider in what posture your neighbours are, and from whence you may look for help; Whether among you the vertue, and the concord, and the qualitie of the heads is grown or diminished. Certainly this is not the time when the troubling of this pool can heal our diseases. And certain it is, that if any thing can help so much weakness, it must be the zeal of Religion, which in the time of our Fathers hath upholden us, when we had less strength and more vertue: But in this cause you shall find that zeal languishing, because most of our people believe that this evil might have been avoided without any breach to our Conscience. Be ye sure that there will be alwaies disunion among us every time that we shall stir for civil causes, and not directly for the cause of the Gospel.

Against this it is objected that our enemies have determined our ruine; That they undermine us by little and little; That it is better to begin now then to stay longer. Truly that man should be void of common sense that should doubt of their ill will. And yet when I call to mind our several losses, as that of *LeEsoure*, *Privas*, and *Bearn*, I find that we our selves have contributed to them; and it is no wonder that our enemies take no care to remedie our faults, and joy with us to do us harm. But hence it follows not that we must throw the helve after the hatchet, and set our house on fire our selves, because others are resolved to burn it; or take in hand to remedie particular losses by means weak to redress them, but strong and certain to ruine the general. God who hath so many times diverted the counsels taken for our ruine, hath neither lost his power, nor altered his will. We shall find him the same still, if we have the grace to wait for his assistance, not casting our selves headlong by our impatience, or setting our minds obstinately upon impossibilities. Take this for certain, that although our enemies seek our ruine, they will never undertake it openly, without some pretence, other and better then that of Religion, which we must not give them; For if we keep our selves in the obedience which subjects owe to their Sovereign, you shall see that while our enemies hope in vain that we shall make our selves guilty by some disobedience, God will give them some other work, and afford us occasions to shew to his Majesty that we are a body useful to his State, and put him in mind of the signal services that our Churches have done to the late King of glorious memory. But if we are so unfortunate, that while we keep our selves to our duty, the calumnies of our enemies prevail, at least we shall get so much, that we shall keep all the right on our side, and make it appear that we love the peace of the State.

Notwithstanding all this, Gentlemen, you may and ought to take order for

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the safety of your persons : For whereas his Majesty and his Council have said often, that if you separate your selves, he will let our Churches enjoy peace, and the benefit of his Edicts, it is not reasonable that your separation be done with the peril of your persons : And whensoever you petition for your safe dissolution, I trust it will be easie to obtain it, if you make possible requests, and such as the misery of the time and the present necessity can bear. And in the mean while you may advise before you part what should be done, if notwithstanding your separation we should be oppress'd. That order your prudence may find, and it is not my part to suggest it unto you.

If by propounding these things unto you, I have exceeded the limits of discretion, you will be pleas'd to impute it to my zeal for the good and preservation of the Church. And if this advice of mine is reject'd as unworthy of your consideration, this comfort I shall have, that I have discharged my conscience, and retiring my self unto some forreign Countrey, there I will end those few days I have yet to live, lamenting the loss of the Church, and the destruction of the Temple ; for the building whereof, I have laboured with much more courage and fidelity then success. The Lord turn away his wrath from us, direct your Assembly, and preserve your persons. I rest, &c.

From *Sedan*, Feb. 12. 1621.

These Letters being read in the Assembly, rais'd much contestation. In the end the violent party overcoming, it was resolv'd that *Monsieur de la Millediere* should write to Doctor *Du Moulin* in the name of the Assembly, to desire him that he would not impart the said Letters to any, and to tell him that his advice was not approved.

Yet his advice was so relish'd by some of the Assembly, that they arose and presently left it, and never returned to it again.

One would have thought that this advice of peace and obedience to the Assembly of *Rochel*, should have made the Doctors peace with the Council of State ; but I believe that it made the Kings Council more averse from granting his return to *Paris* ; for the violent men in the Assembly did good service to the Court by their violence, and were see'd by the Court to thrust their brethren into a precipice, and give to the King the long desired occasion to take from the Protestants the places granted to them by his Fathers Edict. The forenamed *Miltiere* was one of those violent men, who afterwards forsook his Party and his Religion ; and by his working and unhappy wit, he hath created many sorrows unto the French Churches.

Neither did the Jesuites work Doctor *Du Moulin*'s expulsion out of *Paris* for any greater reason then because by preaching obedience upon occasions, he cross'd their long-winded design to undo the Reformed Churches of *France*, by suggesting violent counsels unto them by their secret instruments. Some of which having gotten places of Trust by their counterfeit zeal, betrayed them, and got money for them, doing open service to those whom they had served before in secret.

At *Sedan*, in the year 1623. Doctor *Du Moulin* being a Widower, married a vertuous Gentlewoman, that had with great constancy resist'd the severity of her Father Capt. *de Gelhay*, who having left the Protestant Religion, would force her to do the same.

About that time came forth the famous Book of Cardinal *Du Perron* against the most excellent King *James*. That Book was extolled by the *Romanists* with great praises and brags ; and the truth is, that it is the most learned and subtil piece of work that ever appeared in French in defence of Popery. His Majesty being especially interest'd and provok'd by that book, was pleas'd to recommend the confutation of that to his old Champion Doctor *Du Moulin*, who undertook it upon his Majesties command.

That he might attend that work with more leisure and helps, his Majesty invited

vited him to come into *England*. And together being moved with compassion by the adversities the Doctor had suffered for his sake, he offered him a refuge in *England*, promising to take care of him, and to imploy him in one of his Universities.

He accepted that Royal favour. And because it was dangerous for him to travel through *France*, he got a pass to go from the Spanish Netherlands to *Holland*.

He set out of *Sedan* in *March* 1624. and went to *Bruxels* and *Antwerp*, and so to *Holland*. Whence after some dayes stay at the *Hague* with his worthy Brother-in-law Doctor *Rivet*, he took shipping for *England*.

He was graciously received by his Majesty. And about half a year after his coming, the Hospital of *Savoy* falling vacant, he would have bestowed it upon him, and gave him his word for it. Yet his Majesty was perswaded by the Scots that waited in his chamber, to give it to Doctor *Belcanqual*, and to offer to Doctor *Du Monlin* a Living of inconsiderable value, representing it to his Majesty as equivalent to the *Savoy*; but the Doctor would not accept of it.

He never was a good hunter of preferments; but then worse then ever: God having visited him with a grievous sickness, by an heavy oppression in his hypocondries, with an inflammation of black choler, which seldom let him sleep, and kept him in perpetual agony. Yet being a man of great vigour, he went about and walked much; yea in that sore affliction he spent much time in this great work against Cardinal *du Perron*, and preacht often in the French Church. The great Physician Sir *Theodore Mayerne* took him into his house to cure him; but the malignancy of that melancholy stood out against his Remedies. Sir *Theodore* taking a journey into *France*, Mr. *Philip Burlamachi* received him, and entertained him in his house half a year together, yea when his wife, and family, and three of his Nephews, hearing of his sickness, came over to assist him, that bountiful and magnificent Gentleman entertained them all.

My duty to such a Father having called me from *Leyden* to *London*, I had the happiness to be his daily attendant, and to sit up with him a hundred nights, which he passed almost all without sleep, in deep anguish, and holy discourses, imploying all the strength of his Faith, and of his pregnant rational brains, to fight against the pain of his body, and the temptations of the darkest melancholy with the comforts of Heaven. So that he might say after *David*, that in the multitude of his thoughts which he had within him, Gods comforts refreshed his soul. If sometimes I had the happiness to suggest some thought to him in which he found comfort, he would bestow upon me most hearty blessings, with fervent prayers to God, of which I find the benefit to this day. Could I remember all the divine and vertuous discourses which I heard from his mouth in that time of my attendance, it would conduce very much to make me grow in grace, and in all good gifts.

In the depth of his pain and anguish, he was beyond measure afflicted with the persecutions that ruined the Churches of *France*, and the divisions increasing in the Church of *England*. He might say with *St. Paul*, that he was in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often. And that besides those things that that came upon him, the care of all the Churches oppressed him. To that purpose he was once saying to me; *Son, considering the face of the times, I fear very much that the deadly wound of the Beast will heal up, at least it will skin over. Yet we have given her the blow that will serve her turn. She must die of it soon or late. Haec lateri lethalis arundo.*

There was at *London* at that time the Marquis *d'Effiat*, extraordinary Ambassador of *France*, a zealous Papist, who upon a false information of *Fisher* and others Jesuites that were about him, that Doctor *Du Monlin*, by his long watchings and melancholy fumes, was decayed in his intellectuals, did maliciously invite him to his house, to engage him in a Conference, and insult over his weakness. The good man perceived well enough the trap that was laid for him; yet he went in the strength of the Lord, praying after *David*, *Let not those that seek*

thee be confounded for my sake, O God of Israel. I attended my Father to the Embassador, who received us with some face of kindness, and made us dine with him. After dinner the Embassador desired him to hear a Scottishman, who would tell him the reasons that made him leave the Protestant Religion to embrace the Catholick. The Scottishman, then assisted by Fisher & others of his sort, made an elaborate discourse half an hour long of the Church, of S. Peters Primacy, of succession of Chairs, and the like. When he had done, the Doctor resumed all his points and allegations in the same order, and answered them with his ordinary vigour and presence of wit. And because the principal matter in question was about the marks of the true Church, he maintained that the profession of the true Doctrine was the mark of the true Church, and thence took occasion to lay open the foulness of the errors of Popery with so much pregnancie, that the Embassador, a cholerick man, rose from his seat in great fury, and gave many foul words to the Doctor, who upon that went out and returned home.

The Embassadour repenting himself of his violence, sent his Coach to him the next day, and desired his company to dinner. The work and success of that day, was like that of the day before: For after dinner the Scottishman spoke again of the same points; and when the Doctor in his answer had turned his Dispute against the grossest errors of Popery incompatible with the true Church, Fisher would have taken the Scottishmans part; but the Embassadors passion gave him no time to answer, but broke out worse then the day before (yet without foul words) saying that he could hear no longer that one should revile before him the Catholick Religion, and maintain to him that he did wilfully damn himself, his wife, and his children. We left him to his own passion, and went out of his house. Whatsoever the effect might be of these Conferences upon the hearers, they shewed the gracious and indeed miraculous assistance of God to his servant: For neither he, nor we that tended him in his sickness, and saw his perpetual torment, could expect of him the strength, patience, and readiness requisite in such an important occurrence, and before persons of great respect, and his Adversaries.

The Embassador was less too blame for giving him ill words, then for entertaining him at his table. For seeing that there was a criminal process against the Doctor in the Council of State of France, for his correspondence with England, it was a great error in an Embassador of France to shew him any countenance, especially in England. All that can be said for him, is, that his zeal and hope to get credit to his party by the Doctors discredit, made him run into that great oversight in point of State, and that greater fault in point of charity and ordinary humanity, to seek to pick advantages out of a sick mans weakness. But he came short of that end, and the Doctor might say to God after this, as after all his other Conferences; *By this I know that thou favourest me, because mine enemy doth not triumph over me.*

The Doctor continuing sick, the King sent twice his Chaplain Doctor Young to visit him; and to comfort him, offered him a Living, which he took not. And at the same time that great and good King fell sick of the sickness of which he died. That death of his Royal Patron, and the plague raging in London, soon perswaded the Doctor to return to Sedan, hoping that God would give him strength for that journey, and that the change of Air would mend his health. To return the way he came, through the Spanish Dominions of Flanders and Brabant, he could not for want of a Pass; and to go through France, it was dangerous for him: Yet he ventured it, and taking me along with him; and giving order to the rest of his Family to come after him a week after, he went from London secretly to Dover, where he imbarqued himself in a French bottom full of Frenchmen of both Religions, who had attended the Queen when her Majesty came over the first time. Though he was in a gray suit, disguised with a periwig, he was known by some Lawyers of Rouen of contrary Religion, who knowing that he was gone out of France upon a criminal indictment, plotted together

gether, yet not so secretly, but that I heard it, to give notice of him to the Governour of *Deep* to arrest him.

The Duke of *Langueville*, Governour of *Normandy*, was then at *Deep*, and lay in the Castle; but because the Castle did not open but late, they that had plotted our ruine, could not give notice of us, neither to the Duke, nor to the Governour before we were gone; for being landed before Sun-rising, we hastied away to *Roven*.

The Duke hearing that we had taken horses for *Roven*, sent three Messengers to apprehend us, or if they missed us, to give order to the first President of *Roven* to secure the Doctor. The messengers overtook us half a mile from the City, and enquired of our Inn at *Roven*, and rid before us to the Town, where they might better examine whether we were the men that they lookt for. We knew them presently for such as they were. To avoid them, the Doctor left his horse, and gave money to a Peasant to bring him to the City by a by-way, and by another gate then that of the Road of *Deep*. Going on foot, in that by-way, he could see afar off the Sergeants looking about for him, but they perceived him not. He had left order with me to meet him at Master de l' *Angle*, the famous Minister of *Roven*, who had married his Neece. His horse and mine I committed to the Post of *Deep*, who was driving many horses before him to *Roven*, and I met him at the appointed place. The next morning a Gentleman of the Reformed Church of *Roven* came to give us warning that the Officers of the first President had been seeking for the Doctor in the Inn, where we were to deliver the Hackneys we had taken at *Deep*, and were examining our fellow-Travellers to know where they had left us. Whereupon we presently shifted to that Gentlemans house, making no doubt but that Monsieur de l' *Angle*'s house should be presently searched, he and his wife being the only relations that the Doctor had at *Roven*; yet none came thither to seek for him. In the evening a Gentlewoman came to us and carried us in her Coach to a house of hers a League from *Roven*. The next day our men, which by that time were come from *Deep*, brought us horses for our journey to *Sedan*, where we arrived safe by the great mercy of God, who had so inclined the heart of the first President (who might have apprehended us) that he winked at us, and would not see where we were; for whereas he knew well enough where to finde the Doctor at *Roven*, he would not send to his Kinsmans house, but to an Inn, where he knew that he was not. And that his kindness might not be interpreted as an oversight, he sent for Monsieur de l' *Angle* four or five days after we were gone, and told him, *Sir, I should have been glad to have seen Monsieur Du Moulin when he was at your house, but that it could not be with his safety. A year or two after the Duke of Longueville being come to Sedan with the Count of Soissons, whose party he had taken against the King, would see the Doctor, and told him, Sir, when you came out of England, I did all my endeavour to apprehend you, but now I am very glad that I mist you. Let all that love God and his servants help us to praise God for this miraculous deliverance. O bless our God ye people, and make the voice of his praise to be heard, which holdeth our soul in life, and suffereth not our feet to be moved; Who disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprize.*

Psal. 65. 8.

Joh. 5. 12.

The labour of the Journey, and the intolerable heat of the season increased his sickness. Which to heal, the Physicians of *Sedan* made him drink *Spaw* waters, which were brought to him from *Spaw* to *Sedan*. Whereby they wrought a strange kind of cure upon him; for these waters brought him to a most violent Feaver, and the Feaver consumed all those humours; and winds that oppressed him, and left him in health, but it brought him so low before, that we despaired of his life; and the Physicians proved true, who told us, that the Feaver would consume either the sickness, or the sick man.

So he returned to his former Function in the Church and University, serving God with cheerfulness and assiduity, and blest with great success. He lived at *Sedan* three and thirty years from his returning into *England* unto his death, with-

without any notable change in his condition, but one of publick concernment by the miserable change of the Duke of *Bovillon*.

That Duke being Prince of *Sedan*, the Protector of a flourishing Protestant Church, and the refuge of many oppressed Protestants in *France*, was perverted by falling in love with a beautifull Lady, a Subject born of the *Spaniard*, and a Papist of the deepest Jesuitish dye; which seduced and turned him, both to the Romish Religion, and to the Spanish party: Marrying that Lady he presently profest the first, and a few years after embraced the second.

Before he had profest himself a Papist, he and his brother, now Marshal and Prince of *Turenne*, being at *Luyck*, the said Monsieur de *Turenne* fell grievously sick. Whereupon his Mother, the old Dutches of *Bovillon*, desired the Doctor to go to him with another Gentleman, bringing a Physitian and an Apothecary along with them. The Duke, who was already revolted in his heart, received the Doctor unkindly, and desired him to withdraw and return to *Sedan*, but procured him no Pass for his safe return, exposing him with great inhumanity to eminent danger in the enemies Countrey, in a time of fierce War. Whereby he afforded him new occasions of experimenting the wonders of Gods watchfull and fatherly care for his preservation.

For when he came with his company to *Givay*, a place under *Charlemonts* Castle, where there was a Spanish Garrison; The Souldiers hearing of their coming, and that they had no Pass, resolved to apprehend them: They might have taken them in the Inn, but they chose rather to take them the next morning in a Boat which they had hired to make the rest of their journey by water. But one of the Doctor's Company advised his fellow-Travellers to walk on foot to a Village a mile off, to avoid a compass of twelve miles which the River makes, and there to expect their Boat. They followed his Counsel, and thereby disappointed the Souldiers, who coming to the Boat and missing them, plundered their Cloak-bags, and took the Doctors man, but them they followed not, which they might have done, and overtaken them; but having their plunder, they were less eager to have their persons; And God preserved them, both then and the rest of the journey, which they performed with great danger and difficulty.

Soon after this, the Duke of *Bovillon* declared himself a Papist, to the incredible loss of the Protestant party. *Sedan* was grown by the persecutions in *France*; The greatest number, and the richest sort, consisted of the posterity of persons that had transported their Families and their estates to *Sedan*, during the Wars of Religion, and that place was a refuge at hand for the Protestants, when any trouble arose in *France*: Wherefore this change in the Prince wrought a great consternation in the people of *Sedan*, and a great grief in the generality of all the French Protestants; which the Duke of *Bovillon* perceiving, and judging, that as they lived at *Sedan* upon the account of their Religion, they might retire from it upon the same account; He called the Church, and the University, and told them that he would lend them the same protection as before, and innovate nothing. Only whereas he gathered the Tythes of his Dominions, and therewith gave wages to the Ministers, Professors, and Regents, as also stipends to the Priests, now the Priests must have the tythes as their ancient right, and he would pay to the Ministers, Professors, and Regents their ordinary stipends out of his own estate.

Sedan enjoyed that rest for a year or two, till the Duke won by his wife to forsake the Protection which he enjoyed under the King of *France* who paid his Garrison, agreed with the *Spaniard* to put himself under his protection, turn out the French Garrison, and receive his. Which Plot being discovered by some of *Sedan*, was made known to the French Court, and such order was taken that the Dukes Design was prevented. Himself, his Lady, and all his retinue were turned out of *Sedan*, and kept out of it to this day, and the place continueth under the subjection of *France*. What recompense he had for it, is beyond my knowledge and the limits of this relation.

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In this sad change of Religion at *Sedan*, the Doctor besides his sufferings common with others had many particular trials, being especially maligned by the Capucins and the new Clergy, with whom he had many Conferences, and was persecuted by them with continual invectives. He suffered much also by the war, his house in the Country being plundered, and his cattel driven away, which in all likelihood was done upon especial recommendation.

Of the charge laid against him about his Letters to King *James* of blessed and glorious memory, he heard no more when *Sedan* was brought under the *French* Scepter; for it was but a pickt quarrel to remove him from *Paris*.

About the year 1644. Upon a return of the sickness that had troubled him in *England*, he was advised to travel into *Auvergne* to some watets which he went to drink upon the place, and with good effect. He returned to *Paris*, where he was received and entertained by his ancient flock with most singular expressions of love; but he was settled in *Sedan*, and his retranslation to *Paris* had been tried many times, and found an impossible pull. At *Sedan* then he lived the rest of his days, serving God in the Church, and in the University, defending the truth of God by his Sermons, Conferences and Books, confirming Gods people in the faith, and powerfully convincing the Adversaries.

Thus he held out in his constant course of Sermons, and Divinity Lectures, without abating any part of his ordinary duties, till by extremity of old age his voice being grown too low for a great Congregation, he desired to be excused of preaching upon the Lords day, but instead of it he preacht every *Tuesday*: And because his weakness suffered him not to go much abroad, he obtained leave of the Academical Counsel to make his Divinity Lectures in his own house in a spacious Parlour, where he had as great audience as the University could afford.

Three years and a half before his death, as he was taking the air abroad, he got a great hurt by a fall from his horse; since which time he enjoyed no health, yet he did not give over the exercise of his charge either in the Church, or in the School, and very seldom mist preaching once a week and reading two Divinity-Lectures. And having been all his life time much given to private devotion, in that last sickly time he was so extraordinarily taken up with holy private exercises, that he did almost nothing else but pray and meditate. He kept to the last hour that neatness of language, wherein he was so eminent, and the readiness of his memory, which afforded him matter of holy Discourses, upon any subject offered to him in question.

Upon *Tuesday Feb. 26. 1658. [Stilo novo]* he awaked in the morning, so weak and oppressed in his breast that he thought himself not able to preach that day; yet taking heart, he was led and helpt up to the Church; being got into the pulpit with much difficulty, he fainted: And some wine being brought to him he would not taste it, choosing rather to expect Gods help, then to do any thing which might seem to border upon indecency. And he was not disappointed of his expectation; for after he had read his Text, which was, *Psal. 16 9. My flesh shall rest in hope*, he spake with more vigour then he had done of a long time before, and applied the doctrine to himself, giving an account of his Faith and hope to his Hearers, taking his leave of them in a manner, and preaching his own Funeral Sermon, as if he had had a Prophetical knowledge that he spake the last time to his people in the Church.

Upon *Thursday* the last day of *February* he found his oppression so much increased in the morning that there was no small fear of a sudden death. Being then visited by his Colleagues, who prayed by him, he desired them to remember him that day (which was a Sermon day) in the prayers of the Church. After the Sermon a great company flocked to him to bid him farewell, and to receive his blessing: He looked upon them all, and spake to them with much facility and presence of minde: To such as he knew to be of an exemplary life he gave praises and encouragements to vertue and piety. Those in whose life he knew there was matter of blame, he would not in downright terms rebuke before that great

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great company ; but going about in a discreet way he would (addressing his speech to them) commend those vertues that were opposite to their vices, and would say to them that were somewhat given to tricks, that of all crafts the *master-craft was to be an honest man.*

Seeing a blind woman in the company he told her ; *You want the eyes of the body, but you have the eye of Faith, penetrating as far as heaven : You see not the light of the Sun, but God will let you see the brightness of his face.*

Then turning his eyes upon a Gentleman who was a Roman Catholick, he said, *This is a worthy Gentleman : And speaking to him he said, Sir, I suffer great pains, but God will have mercy upon me : I have many wayes offended him, yet my conscience bears me witness, that I never preach or writ any thing, but what I believed to be consonant unto the word of God.*

Next he applied himself to his Colleagues, and said, *Farewell, my Masters, I have that satisfaction in my mind, that I leave this Church in the hands of persons whom God hath endowed with great gifts, and above all with an exemplary piety : I make no doubt but that you will carefully look to the conduct of the flock committed unto you.*

One of them having answered, The Lord grant Sir, that we may imitate you, for you are that good servant, who not only have not buried your talent, but have very much improved it : You have done good service in your time, and your labours will live, and do good when you are gone.

He replied, ' Ah Sir, you little know how much you grieve me by speaking so, for I have not done all the good that I should have done ; and that little benefit which the Church hath reaped by my labour is not from me, but from the grace of God in me, as it is usual with him to do a good effect by a weak instrument. I am conscious to my self that I have neglected my duty in many things, and that I have offended my God ; but I have loved his holy truth, and I hope in his mercy. He is my Father and my God, and Jesus Christ is my Saviour ; *Whosoever believeth on him shall not perish, but have everlasting life.*

His Friends told him that he did himself harm by speaking so much. *It is true (saith he) but I will die glorifying God.*

He spent the four or five first days of his sickness in expressions of deep humiliation : his prayers were vehement and fervent, and full of penitent sorrow : He acknowledged himself the greatest of sinners, and the most unworthy of the graces which he had received of God : He abhorred his own ungratefulness, aggravating his faults, and despising all that others commended in him. ' Lord (saith he) I have done nothing but deserve punishment : Thou hast heaped blessings upon me, Thou hast honoured me with a holy Calling : But I have not laboured according to the great worth of it : I have mingled mine own glory with thine ; I have often neglected thy service to seek my particular interest. Oh how much self love, how many perverse affections have opposed the Kingdom of thy Son within me ! How many times have I grieved thy good Spirit by a thousand idle thoughts, and carnal affections ! But though it had been but justice in thee to have crushed me in thy wrath, yet thou hast always shewed thy self a mercifull and gracious Father unto me : In very faithfulness thou hast afflicted me : Indeed thou hast sometimes beaten me with thy most terrible rods ; Thou hast hid thy face from me for a moment, but thou hast remembered me in thy great compassions.

His devout expressions suffered but little intermission, and his holy meditations none at all. For, if sometimes he was kept silent by a drowsie fit, one might see by the lifting up of his eyes and hands that his heart was with God : And every time that he resumed his discourse, it was evident that his speech was but the attendance of a longer meditation.

As when he began thus, *Lord thou wilt do it, Thou art faithfull in thy promises ; I am thy creature ; Thou hast led me and taught me from my youth. O forsake me not in this last period of my life : Have mercy upon me, my God, my my Father, have mercy upon me : O Lord hear, O Lord forgive, O Lord hearken*
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and do : *Defer not for thine own sake, O my God ; even for thy Sons sake, who hath loved me, and given himself for me.*

That meditation of Gods mercy he did much stretch himself upon, saying, 'The mercy of God is infinite as himself ; no sin so great but may be remitted. 'How great was *Aarons* sin that made the golden Calf ? How grievous that of ' *David* in the business of *Uriah* ? And that of *Solomon* whom God so highly ' honoured, whose heart was seduced by the love of strange women to the abominable worship of false gods ? And yet God said of him, that if he brake ' Gods Statutes, and kept not his commandments, he would visit his transgression with the rod, and his iniquity with stripes, but nevertheless he would not ' utterly take his loving kindness from him. Then making application to himself, he cried, ' Thou wilt pardon me, even me also, O my God ; Thou wilt ' deliver me from every evil work, and save me unto thy heavenly Kingdom : ' Let me dye the death of the righteous : Let me see thy face in righteousness : ' Let me taste goods of which thou hast given me many foretastes. O how happy a thing it is to live in Gods fear, and to die in his peace !

His sickness being violent, and his pains sharp, one of the Ministers seeing how he suffered, bade him to be of good cheer, because the time of his deliverance drew nigh. ' How welcom you are to me (said the holy Patient) with ' that good news ! Welcom kind Death ! O how happy shall I be to see my ' God, to whom my heart hath been of a long time aspiring ! He will be merciful to me. Pray to him that he perfect his work in me. Then feeling his pulse, ' It is intermittent (said he) and to another, it would presage a sudden death ; ' but my soul cleaveth so fast to this wretched body, that it shall have much ado ' to come out of it.

Sometimes the violence of his pains extorted some complaints from him. ' O Lord (said he) lay not too heavy a hand upon thy poor servant. Thou hast sufficiently afflicted me to make me sensible of my sin. Then correcting himself he added ; Nay, Lord, I am far from murmuring against thee ; I have kept my self from that in my long trials. Why ? I have deserved infinitely more then I suffer. Bruise this dust and ashes, my body, and save my precious soul : As miserable as I am, I would not exchange my condition with that of a King, while I hope in the grace of my God.

He would be entertained with good discourses, and delighted much that his friends should help him with those Texts of Scripture which were the fittest to strengthen his faith, and raise his hope : And when they began a Text, he would end it, and added something to it, or did illustrate it with some interpretation. As when one told him the words of *Jacob*, *I have waited for thy salvation, O God* ; he said, *Many of our Doctors by that salvation understand the temporal deliverances which God did promise his people ; but I will apply it to my self in the same sense as you take it.*

When the words of the hymne of *Zacharias* were used to him of the tender mercy of our Lord, *Whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us* ; he added presently, *Yea it is that Sun of righteousness with healing in his wings.* Likewise when he heard that Text of the 130. Psalm. *I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait, and in his word do I hope*, he said, *That word is the promise of the Gospel, that whosoever believeth in Jesus Christ hath everlasting life. That is the word which my soul doth wait for.*

He had very often the 51 Psalm in his mouth, and insisted especially upon this verse, *The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit ; a broken and a contrite heart O God, thou wilt not despise.* And then he would say, *That sacrifice, O my God, I offer unto thee ; Thou knowest my heart, and how it is bruised and wounded with sorrow that I have offended thee. Forgive me, my God, graciously forgive me all my sins ; deal with me as thou didst with the poor Publican, as with the humble Canaanitish woman, as with the converted Thief. O let me be this day with thee in Paradise. Crucifie the old man within me ; kill that man of sin which is too*

quick

quick and too strong, and raise me unto newness of life, that I may behold thy face, and be with my Saviour Jesus Christ.

He had a particular love for the Holy Tongue. Seeing a Student that was learned in the same, he desired him to read before him some Psalms in Hebrew. Then he began to reckon how many names were given to God in the Old Testament, making learned considerations upon each. Thus passing from one good discourse to another, he gave occasion to the Student to ask him whether he thought that Hebrew was the Language used in the Kingdome of Heaven? *That is not revealed* (said the Doctor) *neither do I think that the language of Heaven is known here on Earth. But I think that we shall learn it in a moment when God shall be all in all. And that is that tongue of Angels which St. Paul mentions. This is as other things which God hath prepared for those that love him; things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, and which are not come into a mans heart.*

The next Lords day-morning, being visited by the Minister that was to preach that morning, he desired him that for his sake the Congregation should sing the one and fiftieth Psalm, which he would often repeat with a profound humiliation. He had also the 130th. in his mouth very often, and the two and thirtieth. Once having said the first and second verses of verses of that Psalm, *Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no guile.* He added, *Thou knowest, Lord, that in sincerity, and without guile, I humble my self before thy face. I am a miserable sinner, and durst not lift up mine eyes towards thee, did I not trust in thy Commandement and Promise. Such as labour under the sense of their miseries, are those whom thou callest, saying, Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will ease you. O then let me come unto thee! Draw me Lord, that I may run after thee. I am tired, I am weary to be absent from my God; My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God; when shall I come and appear before God? Alas! I am unworthy of it, for I am conceived in sin. My whole life hath been a continued transgression; yet far be it from me to doubt of his power and faithfulness. Where sin aboundeth, his grace aboundeth much more. It is not for the righteous, but for repenting sinners that he hath given his Son, that whosoever believeth on him, should not perish, but have life everlasting. Lord I believe, help thou my unbelief; increase and strengthen my faith. It is now weak and small; but it is true and unfeigned, and stayeth upon Jesus Christ only. There is no salvation in any other: He is the way, the truth, and the life: None can come to the Father but by him. Away with all other intercessions. Away with all merits of works; all our righteousnesses are but pollutions. Ah my God! I have no righteousness but thine; for I am conceived in sin. I never did any work so good, but it needs pardon. Mercy Lord, Mercy! Pardon me my sins; pardon me my righteousnesses. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. Purge me with hyssop; but let it be dipt in the blood of the Lamb without blemish and without spot, which taketh away the sins of the world. Thou knowest Lord, that I have loved thy holy truth, and that I have believed thy promises. They are the joy of my heart: They are the comforts which have kept up my soul from being cast down with sorrow. O God, perfect thy work within me. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and uphold me with thy free Spirit.*

When by too long bending of his spirit and voice he found himself spent, and constrained to intermit these elevations, he would say, or cause to be read before him some Psalms, and chose them himself, leaving out those verses which were not for his present use. As when he said the sixth Psalm, *Return, O Lord, deliver my soul; O save me for thy mercies sake.* Then came to the ninth verse: *The Lord hath heard my supplication, the Lord will receive my prayer.* And then said, *All the rest of the Psalm is not for me: For death is not my fear, but my joy and deliverance from a languishing life; And I have no enemies.*

He that read Psalms to him, would also skip over that which was not for the Doctors

Doctors use. And if sometimes he did forget some Text fit for his turn, he would presently take notice of it; As when the 31. Psalm was read to him, he said to the Reader, *You have omitted the principal and most convenient Text for me, Into thy hand I commit my Spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth. And you have omitted something about the 11. verse.* I left it out purposely (said the Reader) because you are not a reproach among your neighbours, nor a fear to your acquaintance; neither do they that see you, flee from you. You see that all your sheep are flocking about you: They bless you, and crave your blessing. 'I am not sorry (said the Doctor) that my Ministry leaveth a good favour after me. I beseech God with all my heart, that he send faithful Labourers into his Harvest, which may do that holy work better than I. O Lord, I have not been diligent as I should have been; but I have obtained grace to be faithful: For with all the affection of my heart I have studied to speak, and to defend the truth; and I have been grieved with the affliction of the Church. O Lord, Purifie her from all scandal. Let her be blessed, and let not the adversaries of thy truth triumph over her for ever.

So humble he was, and such a contemner of himself, that he could not abide those that exprest before his face the great value which they set upon him, or said any thing to his commendation: And when they came out with some praises, he rejected them with a kind of indignation; *Away* (said he) *with that flattery; Pray to God that he have mercy upon me.*

His sickness was an inflammation of the Lungs, with a burning Fever, which redoubled every day at the same hour. Once coming out of a strong fit which had handled him very sore, he said. 'My God, how weary, how tired am I! When shall I rest in thy bosom? When shall I be filled with the true goods? When shall I drink in the River of thy pleasures? I am unworthy of it, O my God! But thou art glorified by doing good to the unworthy. It is not for them that are whole, but for them that are sick, that thy Son the great Physician was sent. Who so believeth in him, is pass'd from death to life.

He was compassed about with his Family and his chief friends. Every one comforted him according to his talent. Being asked by one of them whether he did perfectly hope in the grace of God which was presented to him? *I hope* (said he) *but not perfectly; yet as much as I am able. I suffer now the pains of death; But God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave, for he shall receive me.*

When some comfortable place of Scripture was brought to him, whereby he found himself strengthened, he strived to rise to embrace him that spake it; and being too weak to do it, he would take his hand and kiss it, giving him some blessing, and saying, *It was the Spirit of God that spake by your mouth. The Lord bless you, and increase his graces in you.*

Another time, after an exhortation which had affected him very much, he said, *These are excellent words; The Lord by his grace print them in my heart.*

This Text, Eph. 1. 3. was alledged unto him; *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ;* He added the following verse; *According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the World.*

Sometimes he was in such a rapture, hearing them that spake to him of the excellency of that glory which he was going to possess, that he opened his mouth and his eyes in an extatical countenance, pronouncing but few words with great intervals between; as, *O what is it to see Gods face in righteousness! O when shall I be satisfied with his likeness!*

Many times he would say these words of Psal. 36. *How excellent is thy loving kindness, O God! Therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings. They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house, and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures. And these again: For with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light shall we see light. And out of the 67. Psal. Blessed is the man whom thou choolest, and causest to approach unto thee,*

that he may dwell in thy Courts. We shall be satisfied with the goodness of thy house even of thy holy Temple.

Very often he would repeat the 27. the 63. and the 71. Psalm. In the last staying especially upon these words, *O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works: Now also when I am old and gray-headed, O God, forsake me not.*

No day pass'd but he prayed for his children, both present and absent, saying, *The Lord bless them, and give them his peace, his love, and his fear.*

Every hour his Family lookt that he should expire; but he examining his pulse, would say, You shall see me very sick, but I shall not so soon die.

The four first dayes of his sickness he spake both day and night with little intermission: So that it is impossible exactly to follow the fluency of his discourse, and the fervency of his expressions, especially in his prayers. So much we relate here as his diligent hearers can remember; for all this was spoken before many and worthy witnesses that resorted to him to hear him, and to learn to die. But the six last dayes of his sickness, he was for the most part of the time in a deep slumber, against which he did earnestly strive. *Prick me* (said he) *Now I should watch. It is no time now to sleep, but to die. Watch and and pray* (said my Saviour) *that you enter not into temptation. O great God, abandon me not to mine infirmities; but so preserve and keep up my spirit, that I may glorifie thee even when I am dying.*

And though after such expressions he fell presently into his slumber, one might see by his gestures, and by the words which he spake now and then, that it might have been said of him, as the Spouse said of her self, He was asleep, but his heart waked. He open'd his eyes; He lift up his hands; He said often, *Lord be merciful to me; Be gracious to me.* Even when he seemed to be deep asleep, he would come out with five or six words, which shewed what his mind was set upon. *Death* (said he) *is swallowed up in victory.* And a good space after, *It is the gift of God — It is my hope — It is my comfort.* Sometime the same thing came often to his mind and mouth. For a whole day he would say every time that he awaked, *The Word was made flesh.*

When he was too long without speaking, his friends were careful to awake him, to know whether he had sense and knowledge still. Being awaked, he was asked whether he did lift up his soul unto God? He answered, *Yes, incessantly.* He was asked again whether he would be glad to go to God? *O* (said he) *when shall I see him, that good God?*

He was not much troubled with his slumber in the morning from seven to nine, because then his Feaver was less, which used to redouble about nine. In that interval he would speak with facility. That interval was husbanded to comfort him, and to pray by him. He would then hearken to prayers with great attention, and to all the good things that were said to him. And it is observable, that in this last sickness he was less deaf then he had been ten years before.

Many times he would feel his pulse, and then said, *O what a grief is this, I cannot die! Good God have mercy upon me. Set my soul free. I am weary of being absent from my God. I desire to depart, and to be with Christ. O my God, come fetch me. Shorten the dayes of my combat. Let me die, I beseech thee. Into thy hands I commend my spirit; for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.*

His chamber was full of people day and night. Once opening his eyes after a slumber, he said, *Here is a great company.* One answered him, Sir, they are your sheep, that desire you to call for Gods blessing upon them; *The Lord bless them* (said he) *and give them his fear, and the promised salvation.*

The two last dayes of his sickness added to his burning Feaver, and deadly slumber, contractions of sinews and convulsions. Every hour was thought to be his last. None lookt to hear him speak any more. All his friends thought that his deep sleep would end in that of death; But about midnight he opened his eyes, and said to one of them that stood by, *I shall soon be eased. I am going to my Father and my God. He hath heard me indeed.* And soon after, *I go to him* with

The Author's Life.

with confidence; for he hath arrayed me with his robe. Then being raised into an unexpressible rapture, he said, *I see him.* And with an exclamation, *O how beautiful he is!* Being thus exalted in spirit far above the world, although he was alwayes tender-affected towards his Family, he said to them that were there present, putting them far with his hand, *I renounce all earthly affections. I will no more love any thing in the world but thee, O God, who dost alone possess me.* After these words he continued a good while in that holy rapture, causing more edification in all the standers by with his countenance without words, then with all the words which he had spoken before. His eyes were clear and sparkling; his mouth panting after the living God. His arms stretcht up to heaven, and his body striving wonderfully to rise as it were to meet and to embrace that beautiful object of love and contemplation. All that were present wisht that God would receive him in that happy instant; But his hour was not yet come.

All the next day, which was *Saturday* the ninth of *March*, he struggled with the agony of death, being tormented with frequent convulsions, and still fighting the good fight by faith, and humilitie, and patience. Towards the evening, tokens of his approaching death made his assistants to double their endeavours to comfort him. He understood all that was said to him, and shewed holy elevations in his prayer; he gave thanks to those that prayed, saying, *The Lord hear you, and the Lord blese you.*

When he heard the glory at hand extolled in some emphatical terms of Scripture, he returned into his former raptures: And once more he pronounced these words of Psal. 17. *I shall be satisfied with thy likeness when I awake.* And twice or thrice, *Come Lord Jesu, come; Come Lord Jesu, come.* And for the last time that Text which he loved so much, *He that believeth in Jesus Christ, shall not perish, but have everlasting life.* Then a little after, *Lord Jesu, receive my spirit.*

He that comforted him said to him, Sir, you shall see your Redeemer with your eyes. To which he answered with an effort, laying his hand over his heart, *I believe it.*

That was the last intelligible word which he pronounced, though he made yet great efforts to make himself understood, and was a quarter of an hour speaking with a fervent affection: But the flegm that filled his throat and palat, suffered not the assistants to understand any of his words.

After this he was half an hour without speaking, yet without losing sense and knowledge. His friends made the last prayer, during which he did perpetually lift up his eyes and hands to heaven.

And some moments after he quietly gave up the last breath, dying with peace and joy visible on his face. It was half an hour after midnight the tenth of *March* 1658. [*Stylo novo*] in the fourscore and tenth year of his age.

Thus died the good Servant of God, the faithful Pastour of his Church, The valiant Champion of his Truth, the zealous Promoter of his glory, the great Master of clear Wit, exquisite Learning, and admired Eloquence, the Pillar of the Universtie, and the Father of the poor. Such men as he live after their death: And of him we may say, not only *he was*, but *he is a burning and a shining Lamp*, for to the worlds end the Church of God shall rejoyce in his light.

We

*We have set a Marble Stone upon his Grave,
with this Inscription.*

*Qui sub isto Marmore quiescit,
Olim fuit*

PETRUS MOLINÆUS.

*HOC SAT VIATOR, CÆTERA NOSTI, QUISQUIS ES
QUI NOMEN INCLYTUM LEGIS.*

*LAUDES, BEATI GLORIA NON DESIDERAT,
AUT SUSTINET MODESTIA.*

Obiit Sedani AD VI. NON. MART. MDCLVIII.

So much was enough for him who hath erected a lasting Monument to himself. But I cannot take leave of my precious Father in so few words. Not then to advance his glory, but to satisfy my love, I must attend his going to Heaven with these filial breathings.

OP.

OPTIMO PARENTI sic Parentabat
moerens FILIUS.

Qualis quadrijugis raptum super aethera flammis
Heliam, famulus passis ad sidera palmis
Suspiciebat hians, & demirantia fletu
Ora rigans, divo pascebat lumina visu:
Talis te, Genitor, vastum per inane volante,
Invectum super astra triumphantemque quadriga
Prosequor aspectu sphaeras penetrante polorum,
Laetitia & luctus medius; oculosque sub axem
Defigens, lachrymis utrinque fluentibus ndos.
O Pater, O nostra currus turmaque Sionis,
Cujus fida comes lateri Victoria sedit;
O si parte sui quadam sacer ille tuique
Spiritus harescon victor certissimus, in nos
Defluat, attonitos te discedente, gementesque,
Et tibi delapsam vix dignos tollere vestem!
Tu certe hinc abiens tua nobis arma resignas
Grandia, Romuleas debellatura cohortes.
Hac haeret tibi propria laus, antiqua Sionis
Supplevisse novis armamentaria telis.
Sed vires, quique incutiant haec tela lacerti
Heu desunt; moerent gladii rubigine turpes,
Lugent lenti arcus viduam duce conclamato
Militiam, magnamque manum magna arma repescunt.
Hic meminisse juvat qualis quantusque videri
In Latii turmas caelestia strinxeris arma;
Agmina totaruens, unus satis omnia contra
Tela Latinorum; quo turbine fulmina Verbi
Torserit, & late Monachorum armenta nefandorum
Impiger incussa Veri prostraverit hasta,
Pulveream temere pedibus spargentia nubem,
Horrida mugitu, curtoque minacia cornu.

Quid quod perpetuus incuntem praelia terror,
Bellorumque regens sortem tuba praevia Fama,
Anteibant; ictum qua lumine nominis hostem
Ei jam seminecem ceu fulgure praestringeabant!

Consimiles animos praese toto ore ferebat
Fovae bella gerens immensi robore Samson,
Mirifica instructus mala, qua solus, inermi
Proximus, armata sternebat millia turba,
Humana major specie, flammisque micantes
Intorquens oculos, sacrum testantibus aethum
Aetheria mentis, & foetum numine pectus!

Abstinet enim, Deus alme, tua miracula dextra

Ut cuiquam illustri quantumlibet instrumento
Attribuam: quisquamne tuo nisi robore fortis,
Tarpeia sacra lustra Lupa, rictusque cruentos,
Et late dominam non formidasset Erynnim,
Lethatque ferum fodisset vulnere pectus?

Ille sub ima gerens fixum praeordia telum,
Nec satis ad morsus ex labris vulneris exstans,
Dentibus incassum viro spumantibus ardens
Appetit, & morsu nitens educere, figit
Alsin; exacuunt iram dolor, ira dolorem.
Mox demente fuga & terrifico ululatu
Exagitat, augetque suum lymphata furorem.
Tum repetit morsu pungentem insana sagittam,
Si queat incussum lateri depellere lethum:
Hui frustra; licet usque furat, & ovilia vastet
Vindicta indulgens, pastoris saucia dextra;
Ilicet intus habet quo post conamina mille,
Mille strophas patrio tandem reddatur Averno.

Interea puris celsum caput inserit astris
Longum expectatos carpens MOLINÆUS honores;
Luce Dei fulgens, & Christi sanguinis ostro
Purpuream indutus trabeam; latusque corona
Fusistia, camitem sanctis Heroibus addit,
Quis datur aeternas aeternum implere curules.

Militiam antiquam nondum tamen intermittit
Magna pace fruens: dum Mundus & ista supersunt
Scripta Quirinali fatalia tela Tyranno,
Militat in terris, quamvis super astra triumphet.

EPIGRAMMA

Subjiciendum nostri Auctoris imagini aeri incisæ.

QUI modo sydeream miranti lampada Mundo
Præbuit, incertum doctior an melior,
Occidit heu! nostri Sol aureus occidit aeri;
Famque latens metam purpurat Occiduam.
Cernis ut illustrem texant sibi posthuma limbum
Lumina, & elapsi splendeat ignis honos?
Ceu rutilis Titan sua tella coloribus ornat,
Hesperio faciem conditus Oceano.
Sed modo digressi vaneſcunt Solis honores;
Perpetuum nostri crescit in orbe decus.



To the Kings most Excellent Majesty ,
C H A R L E S
By the grace of God King of Great Britain
and Ireland, &c. Defender of the Faith.

SIR,



AVING undertaken this work by the command of your Royal Father of glorious memory, I thought my self bound in duty to dedicate it to no other then his Son, the true heir both of his Crown and vertue. That great Monarch having honoured my pen so much in his life time, as to employ it for his defence, I should be unthankful to his memory if I forsook his Cause after his death ; seeing especially his Cause to be that of God, and the heavenly truth assaulted in his person : Seeing also that the Cardinal against whom I write , who hath found out many new shifts, and laid fresh colours over the idol , is the great Teacher of those Seminaries whose restless labour is to subvert the consciences of your Subjects. By assisting them in that danger , I thought I should do an acceptable service to your Majesty , who being filled with the true knowledge of God, burns also with the Zeal of his house. For a King whom God hath endowed with his knowledge and fear , must be firmly perswaded that God hath raised him to an eminent place, that he may discover afar off the plots and workings of that grand enemy of our salvation , who hath a particular ma-

(* * * * *)

lice

This came
forth, *Am.*
1626.

lice against Kings that are no servants to his Empire. As Ravens will build their nests on the tops of high trees, Satan likewise endeavours to nestle himself in the top of Empires, and in the houses of great Kings, and there to hatch his brood, which are errors and vices, that they may be conspicuous and borrow authority from the place they stand in. Whence if he be thrown down and defeated of his hopes, no doubt but he hates such a King more then any man on earth, and will spare no strength and no devices to disturb his rest and shake his constancy. In this short time that your Majesty hath been sitting upon the throne, you have found already that the frame of great Kingdoms herein differs from that of the great building of Nature, that in the supream part of the Universe there is a perpetual rest and tranquillity, but the lowest part is the region of trouble and confusion: whereas Kingdoms and Empires are like trees, whose top is the most shaken. And it is without question that many Kings would have quitted their place, if as there are stairs to get up to an Empire, there were some to come down from it. If this be true in all Kingdoms, much more in those where the Ruler hath subjected his Scepter to the Cross of Christ, and by an holy magnanimity hath set himself to wage war with the Devil. Wherein, Sir, we acknowledge the work of God, admiring his providence and exalting his goodness, that while he called your Majesty to these tryals, he endowed you also with strength to overcome them: Having filled you with the Spirit of his fear, and set you forth in the eyes of the world as a rare example of vertue and holiness in your conversation, of prudence above your age, and of meekness below your greatness. In all which your praise is the greater, because you apply your self to do the will of God, while your dignity gives you more power then to the rest of men to do your own. This fills us with hope that God will make use of your Majesty to do great things, and that the ruines of the Church, happened in the time of the King your Father, will be repaired under your happy reign. We know Sir, how sensible you are of the wound of the Church. We know that your Majesty hath the lively zeal of Gods glory;
As

As indeed of all the men of the world none hath more reason for it, since of all men in the world you are the most evidently favoured of God. For hath God poured his blessings upon any Countrey of the world so bountifully as upon your *England*? A Countrey which in a profound peace of many years, in a great plenty, and in a safe posture from all fears round about, enjoys the saving light of the Gospel, whilest a black smoak from the bottomless pit over-spreads well nigh the whole face of the earth. Certainly for one to reign where Christ reigneth, and to have the Church of God under the shadow of his Empire, it is twice reigning. A Monarch that employeth his power to establish the Kingdom of God, is a Ruler of men, not only as they are men, but as they are Gods children. One flower of such a Crown, is a thousand times better then the three Crowns of the Prelate of *Rome*. For which heavenly favours, it is not only convenient but necessary for your Majesty to raise your heart with a holy glory, whereby God may be glorified. He will pour down with a liberal hand his graces from above upon your Royal Head, whence they may flow about upon your whole Kingdom: He will direct your counsels: He will prosper your armes: He will make you the love of your Subjects, and the terrour of your enemies, and will prolong your dayes in his blessing; employing your authority, that in your Kingdoms his pure service be maintained; and that the Pastors of the Church by their residence with their flocks, their vigilance in their work, and their simplicity and modesty in their habit, may edifie Gods Church. Our part will be, after the example of *Moses*, to help with the lifting up of our hands the sword of *Ioshua*. And the Lord will take compassion of his people, hearing the prayers for your Majesties prosperity and preservation, which are poured by him who is and must be all his dayes,

Sir,

*Your Majesties most humble and most
obedient servant*

P. Du Moulin.

Errata.

IN the Translators Preface, Page 4. line 43. for *lived* read *live*; p. 5. l. 9. dele *not*, ib. l. 17. for *Duke de la Foize*, r. *de la Force*; ib. l. 33. for *Sholars* r. *Scholars*; p. 9. l. 30. add *after England, The writings of.* p. 11. l. 9. for *ready* r. *already*.

In the Authors life, Page 2. line 41. for *cocuyres*, read *cocuyres*; p. 15. l. 13. for *Fernaques* r. *Fervaques*. In the Epigram at the end of the Authors life, the last line but one, for *Sed modo digressi vaneſcunt Solis honores*; read *Sed modo digressi vaneſcunt Sole colores*.

Errata in the Book, Pag. 5. line 23. for soile read style; p. 7. l. 20. for *Hence* r. *Here*; p. 22. l. penult. add *be* in the end of the line; p. 24. l. 18. for *be r. is*; p. 29. l. 10. r. *to the Croisada*; l. 43. r. *every five and twentieth*; p. 32. l. 5. r. *In the Acts*; p. 35. l. 10. r. *may not perceive*; p. 51. l. 16. r. *ignorant*; p. 62. l. 30. r. *hah been instructed*; p. 65. l. 38. r. *give to your command*; p. 79. l. 45. r. *by our adversaries*; p. 86. in the margent, l. 42. & 43. for *commiseratio* r. *confeſſeratio*; p. 127. l. 23. r. *ſamons pride*; p. 130. l. 37. & 38. r. *Mandy Thursday*; p. 161. l. 29. r. *not paydonable*; p. 224. l. 9. r. *I will give thee*; p. 246. l. 49. r. *It was never*; p. 251. l. 42. for *Sabellius* r. *Dionysius*; p. 254. l. 17. r. *unto him*; p. 311. l. 4. cap. 15. r. *not with*; p. 314. l. 25. r. *Neuarre in Lombardy*; p. 329. l. 43. r. *provisionally*; p. 377. l. 42. & 43. put out these words, *before they hold Baptism necessary to salvation*; p. 464. l. 23. r. *in their debt*; p. 484. l. 39. r. *he said, himself*; p. 542. ch. 6. l. 7. r. *who lent*; p. 561. l. 27. r. *that they have not the souls*; p. 563. l. 6. r. *acquiesce to their judgement*; p. 595. l. 40. r. *because the fault*.



THE P R E F A C E.

Occasion of Cardinal *du Perron's* Book. Answer to the two Prefaces, which he premiseth before his Book. Iudgement of the Book, Wit, and Capacity of the said Cardinal.



THE late King *James* of glorious memory, moved with the zeal of Gods house, had by an example beyond all examples, consecrated his Pen to the defence of Gods Cause. In which good warfare he was free from the niceness of *Alexander* the Great, who disdained to enter the Lists of the Olympick race, unless he had Kings for his Antagonists. This great King was not ashamed to descend from the height of his dignities to run this race, holding it not a lessening of his greatness, to take upon him a Labour by which God is honoured: Whereby he hath stirred against himself a multitude of Writers, like a cloud of humble Bees, that either buz without stinging, or break their sting when they make bold to use it. Cardinal *du Perron* would have his part in that glory of measuring his Pen with the Royal, to raise his reputation by the greatness of his adversary: But the honour of the Combate remained on his Majesties side. That Prelate in the Assembly of the States held at *Paris* made a long Oration to assert the Popes power over the temporal of Kings, whom he affirmed to be deposable by the Bishop of *Rome*, saying, that the Apostles command, *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers*, was but provisional, and for a time. And among his assertions, some were offensive to the person of His Majesty of *Great Britain*, and prejudicial to his State. Of which Oration he sent a Copy to the King, as if he had presented him with a nettle to sting him.

Occasion of
Monsieur *du*
Perron his
Book.

Rom. 13. 1.

Hereupon his Majesty undertook the refutation of that Oration, by a Book, in which the Cardinals reasons are overthrown, his allegations convicted of falshood, and the independency of the Crowns of Kings is maintained with great solidity.

That Royal Book being short and strong, and concerning the Cardinals credit very near, the world did look for a short answer from him. But he chose rather to swallow the affront quietly, and condemned himself to a perpetual silence; seeking other occasions to shew his sufficiency to the King, to whom he writ by the mediation of *M. Casaubon*, that he admired the virtues and rare conditions

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of his Majesty; and that to express the Character of a perfectly accomplished Prince, he wanted nothing but the title and name of Catholick.

This Prince not used to be rooked with offensive praises, thought himself obliged to shew to the Cardinal, that the title of Catholick, as well as that of King, belonged to him by right: And with his Royal Pen writ a Treatise, wherein to appropriate that title unto him, he giveth a touch to the most part of our Controversies, saying among other things, that he believes all the doctrines necessary to salvation, which have been universally received in the Primitive Church, of the five first Ages after Christ. That this Book might have a larger course, his Majesty would have it in Latin, making use for it of the Learned pen of Mr. Casaubon.

The Cardinal having received that Book, thought it a fair occasion to publish several pieces which he had in his Study, supplying what was wanting to them to answer the Kings Book; which being Latin, and spread among Foreign Nations, reason and the nature of the Work required that Monsieur du Perron should have answered in Latin. Wherein finding himself short, not for want of learning, but of exercise, he contented himself to answer in French. Many years he hath spent in licking that Bear; for the great desire he had to satisfy others, kept him from satisfying himself. I living then in Paris, was told by those that often visited the Cardinal, and by those that resorted to his Printer *Antony Steven*, that the Author had many times torn his own work, like another *Saturnus* that devoured his own children; That Book was like *Penelope's* web, which she did only to undo it, so that it was always to begin anew; and so he would have continued still, entertaining the people with the expectation of that Book, if he had lived longer: For that he might not be obliged to an answer, he would not suffer the Book to see the light, till himself could see it no more. Thus that Book is a child that oweth his life to the death of his Father. In the end, being on his death bed, he delivered into the hands of his friends and heirs his whole Manuscript to make it publique after his death.

Answer to
the first
Preface.

In the beginning of the Book he put two Prefaces, whereof the one is an Epistle to Mr. Casaubon. The first perfection of it is, that there is almost no mention in it of the Word of God: It treateth altogether of the word *Catholick*. A word which now adays is given as the principal mark of the true Church: They will have that to be the true Church which is called *Catholick*, that is universal: And yet Heretical Churches have always assumed that title. And the Greek Church, an enemy to the Roman, and more ancient then it, yet at this time takes that title. It is a great abuse to make names the marks of things. The marks of a good horse, or of a vertuous man, are not words, but things; the marks also of the true Church, must serve to make her goodness known: But this word *Catholick*, or *Universal*, imports no goodness, and doth not signifie any vertue or perfection of the Church, but only noteth her extent. As in matter of coyns, the broadest pieces are many times the most suspected; so for the Church the breadth and the large extent is no proof of purity. But if you take this word of *Catholick Church* for orthodox and pure in the Faith, as the Fathers take it very often, the Church of the Apostles reduced to one upper room, or fled into a desert, was nevertheless the *Catholick Church*.

Herein especially appears, how vain and unreasonable is the dispute about this term of *Catholick*, that several particular Churches are contending which of them must be called *Catholick* or *Universal*; for it is as if *Asia*, *Europe* and *Africk* were contending which of them must be called the universal world. All the Texts which Monsieur du Perron alledgeth out of the Fathers to this purpose are to no purpose; for the Fathers, by the *Catholick Church* understood all the Churches of the East, of the West, and of the South; as those of *Greece*, *Asia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Africk*, *Italy*, *Gauls*, &c. which at that time were orthodox, and made up one body, but now are separated, and have lost their former communion. Wherefore none of those separated parts can be now called *Catholick*. Neither hath the Roman Church any more right to challenge that title, then the *Greek* or the

Syrian,

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Syrian, from which the *Roman* is descended. In three of the four first Ages, if a stranger travelling through *Syria* or *Egypt*, had asked where the Catholick Church was, no body would have shewed him the *Roman*; for every particular Church called it self *Catholick*, that is, *orthodox*, and embracing that faith which ought to be universal.

In the second place the Cardinal speaks of those things which the Fathers hold as necessary or usefull, saying that they must be received according to the proportion of the belief which the Fathers have bestowed upon them. A dispute altogether useles, before he hath specified those points controverted among us which have been believed by the Fathers, as usefull or necessary.

In the third place, he enumerates several kinds of necessity. *An absolute and a conditional necessity*; *A necessity of medium*, and another of precept: *A necessity of special*, and another of general belief; *A necessity of act*, and a necessity of approbation. All these distinctions of necessity he heaps up without necessity, rather to set out his Learning then to instruct the Reader. For we give him free leave to specify a hundred several sorts of necessity, since they do us no harm, and decide no controverſie.

He adds a fourth observation, whereby he declareth who are those *Antients* to whose judgement we ought to subject our selves: Those are (in his opinion) the Fathers that have written in the time of the four first Councils, that is, from the year of our Lord, 325. unto the year 451. the space of 126. years. As for the three first Ages, he saith, *That we have but few books of that date, and that in them the face of the ancient doctrine, and practice of the Church cannot be seen wholly represented.* He holds then that the Fathers of the three first Ages are not such as can decide our controverſies. Thus the Cardinal useth the Fathers of the first and purest Antiquity, undervaluing them as men unfit to judge of our differences. Yet have we these Authors of that time, *Justin Martyr, Ignatius, Irenaeus, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, Origen, Minutius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius, and Eusebius*: Out of whole writings, better then from those that came since, one may learn what was the face and the doctrine of the Christian Church near the Apostles time: Yea, I say, that those that writ since, cannot be understood but by the help of these first: for the Fathers of the following ages often alledge the ancienter Fathers, and borrow their terms.

But the Cardinal leaveth them out, because in some points they are far more expreſs against Popery then those of the following Ages, as in the Invocation of the Saints, the veneration of Images, the Popes Primacy over the universal Church, and the celibat of Ecclesiastical persons. For we shall shew in this Book how Monsieur du Perron † acknowledgeth that the Fathers of those first ages speak only of the intercession of Saints, but of their invocation not at all, and that there is not the least trace among them of that custom of praying to the Saints. For some of them say, that the Saints pray for us, but never say that we must pray to them. Likewise he acknowledgeth, * that the Pastours of the Church were married untill Constantines time, which is a space of three hundred years. We shall shew also in the right place, that even our adversaries confess, that in the first Ages the Pope was little acknowledged, and the *Roman* Church was not much regarded. And as for Images, not only they had no veneration, ‡ but it was even a crime to be a Picture-drawer, or a Statuary, and those Trades were abominable among the Christians. It is not then without reason that Monsieur du Perron will not submit himself to the judgement of the Fathers of the three first Ages: Not that the following ages may be more favourable to him, but the multitude and unmeasurable length of their writings is fitter for finding of shifts, and fewer persons are skilfull in them.

Yet to make that rejection of the Fathers before the four first Councils more specious, he saith, that to his thinking, his Majesty of Great Britain had consented to confine himself to the Fathers of the four first Councils. He should have produced the Kings words. For I maintain that this cannot be found. True it is (as Monsieur du Perron addeth) that the King hath extended that space to the five

(a 2)

† *M. du Perron*, 19. ch. of the 5. Book, p. 1009. And p. 994. he confesseth that even in Austins time the Church had not yet pronounced any decision upon this, whether the Saints enjoy the sight of God before the last judgement.
* Page. 712.
‡ See the 7. Book, 2. Controverſie, and 2. ch. of this work.

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first Ages. But he that will have his belief examined by the Fathers of the five first ages, doth not exclude the three first, but includeth them within that space.

In the fifth place Monsieur *du Perron* declareth, how he would have the consent of the Fathers to be taken, namely, that a doctrine is held by the universal consent of the Fathers, when some of the most eminent affirm a thing, and the others are silent about it. But I hope to shew † in this Book that the Roman Church of this time opposeth not only every Father by himself, but also the consent of a great number of Fathers. And though they make a flourish of the names of Fathers to amuse the people, yet really they make little reckoning of them. Besides if one Father, yea, if two or three Fathers of the fourth or fifth age, have said something; of which no trace be found in the precedent ages, I see nothing that obliges us to believe that all the precedent ages have believed the same.

All that vexation which this Cardinal gives to himself comes hence, that he will not stand to the judgement of the Holy Scripture, but looks for other Judges then the Word of God, to cast the Readers understanding into an inextricable labyrinth. For the writings of the Fathers are *Greek* and *Latin* Books, endless for length, and infinite for number, of which therefore the common people can have no knowledge. Also among the Books ascribed to the Fathers many are supposititious, whose falsity is hard to be known: and of the sense of the Text of the Fathers there is as much contention as of the sense of the Holy Scripture, if not more: In which contention, if the *Roman* Church be judge of the sense of the Fathers, she will be sure to overcome. Consider also, that the Fathers dissent among themselves in many things; and in their differences we are not told which of them we must adhere unto, nor how many Fathers are requisite to establish an article of Faith. Moreover, succession of times altereth the doctrine, and changeth the customs: So that many words used by the ancients have lost their signification. The words of *Sacrifice*, of *Pope*, of *Mass*, of *Purgatory*, of *Satisfaction*, of *prayer for the dead*, of *indulgence*, and the like, are now turned into another sense, and signifie no more what they signified in old time. And after all, the Fathers are men subject to err, whom therefore the *Roman* Church doth condemn in a thousand things, and the Fathers themselves will not be believed but as much as they speak according to Scripture; upon which, as the only infallible rule, they will have their writings examined.

And here admire the notorious perverseness of our adversary; for we shall see how much Monsieur *du Perron* labours to prove, that conformity with Scripture cannot be a mark to discern the true Church: and yet the whole scope of his Book is to prove that the *Roman* Church is the true Church by her conformity with the Fathers. This he will have to be the mark, and the right cognizance of the true Church. So he rejects God, and his word, to put men in their place, and mis-leadeth mens minds into a way without end, and chooseth men for Judges in Gods cause. What reason can be given, why the conformity with those who are called Fathers, must rather be the mark of the true Church, then the conformity with the word of God?

The Cardinal not content with the advantage which he takes, to have judges of his own choosing to decide our controversies, and leaving the Prophets, the Evangelists and the Apostles, to pick among the Fathers, such as he likes best, gives himself again another advantage, which is to choose the matters about which he will dispute. These matters then he hath chosen. *Of the real presence in the Sacrament*, of the oblation of the *Eucharist*, of *prayer and offering for the dead*, and of *invocation of Saints*. Why he doth not put Transubstantiation in the same rank? he gives a reason, namely, *That it is not of the like necessity*. He adds that the invocation of Saints, *is not necessary to every particular person*, that is, that every particular person may forbear praying to the Virgin *Mary* and to the Saints, but that it is necessary to the body of the Church. Of these four points then we treat in this Book, and make it evident, that he is cast by those very judges which he hath pickt for himself.

But

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But his Majesty of Great Britain, judging it unreasonable that the Cardinal should deal such a fair game to himself, put forth to him other questions; as the Communion under one kind; Private Masses; The Popes power to depose Kings. To which his Majesty might have added, The veneration of the Images of Saints, The Images of the Trinity, The Purgatory, The Divine Service and Prayers in an unknown tongue, The prohibition of reading Scripture, The treasure of Indulgences, The power of the Pope to Canonize Saints, and fetch souls out of Purgatory; and many such things, about most of which our adversaries avoid to dispute, either by the Scripture, or by the Fathers; for they are new inventions, of which, those among them that have some equity, freely acknowledge, that the Fathers make no mention.

The Cardinals second Preface, is nothing else but his old song said a thousand times over, which is an exhortation, that we submit our selves to the judgement of the Church, and keep union with her: A good exhortation, when one hath discerned before which of many dissenting Churches is the good, where the truth and the way to salvation is taught. Also before one joyn with the true Church, he must know that the will of God is, that there be a Church in the world in which men may be saved. Which two points, none can know but after he hath been instructed in the Word of God. Whence it appeareth, that the Cardinal abuseth the Reader when he exhorts him to joyn with the union of the Church; but teacheth him not how to discern the good and orthodox Church from the false and erroneous, and giveth him no instruction by the word of God; without which we should not know that there must be a Church in the world, nor what that Church must be that one may be saved in it.

Answer to
the second
Preface.

To strengthen that exhortation, and raise the authority of the Church, the Cardinal labours to debase the authority of holy Scripture, saying, that *the most part of the propositions of Faith are not expressly set down in Scripture, but are deduced out of it by consequence only; and that those that are found in it are susceptible of divers, yea, and contrary, literal expositions.* He bestoweth a long discourse to shew the perplexities wherein that man intangleth himself, that will get his instruction by the Word of God, contained in the holy Scriptures. Wherefore he will have us to address our selves unto the Church, which he calls a *judiciary Court between the Princes Law, and the Subjects, to deliver assuredly the sense of Scripture wholly determined, and the decisions of Faith altogether done and formed.* Now that Church he presupposeth to be the Roman only, which he holds to be infallible in the decisions of Faith, and in the interpretation of Scripture, and to give authority to Scripture, although both the *Greek* and the *Syrian* Church, from which the *Roman* is descended, and where Jesus Christ and the Apostles have preached and planted Christian Religion, contradict that assumed power of the *Roman* Church, and condemn her pride.

Here impiety goes abroad unmasked, and makes open war against God: Yet with so ill success, that at the very first the Cardinal doth evidently interfere, and contradict himself; for he will have the people to go to the Church for the true decision of the doubts in the faith, before they know whether the Church, to which they address themselves, be good, and whether it teach true doctrine. And how can the poor people come by that knowledge? Shall it be by the holy Scripture? but it is a Book which their people is not permitted to read: and Monsieur du Perron saith, that one cannot come out of difficulty that way, or get a certain instruction. Shall it be by the Fathers? but they are far more obscure than Scripture, and of an endless length, and they dissent among themselves, and they are *Greek* and *Latine* Books which the people understands not. Shall it be by the custom and the place of their birth, and the counsell of their neighbours? But so shall every one follow the Religion of his Countrey. Shall it be by the authority of the Church? But there are many dissenting Churches: And if we must absolutely, and without further inquiry believe that the Roman Church is the best, because she saith so, she shall be judge in her own cause; and the foundation of Christian faith shall be that the Pope must be believed, because the Pope will have it;

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it; and the *Roman Church* must be followed because the *Roman Church* doth command it. And in the questions about the duty of the Church, the Church herself shall be Judge. In the question whether the *Roman Church* be an infallible Judge, the *Roman Church* shall be the infallible Judge; and cannot err in judging the controversie whether her self can err. So Subjects shall be infallible Judges of the Law of their Prince, and Felons shall infallibly determine of the sense of that Law which condemneth their felony.

Without question, that man that beareth himself as an infallible Judge, of the sense of Gods Word, assumes an authority above that of God. For so he will have all men obliged to follow, not the Words of Gods Law, but the authority of that new Interpreter: But then that Interpreter should be without sin, least he should sin in his Interpretation, or make it serve to spare or to disguise his sin; By which means he should become his own Judge, if his sins must be judged by the interpretation which himself will be pleased to give to the Law.

From that abuse are sprung those abominable rules maintained by *M. Du Perron*, that the Church can dispense from the Commandments of God, and alter that which is commanded in his Word. Of which hereafter.

In this especially the imposture and the spirit of error is visible, that the Cardinal will have the people to address themselves unto the Church to have the sense and infallible interpretation of Scripture, which is putting the people to seek for a thing which cannot be found; for hitherto the *Roman Church* hath made no interpretation of Scripture. Only you shall find great number of Comments upon Scripture, made by private Doctors that confute one another, and an extream diversity among them. The *Roman Church* never set out any interpretation of Scripture, approved by publick authority, of which one may say, *This is the Ecclesiastical interpretation, This is the sense of Scripture which the Roman Church commands to be received.* And here it would be proper to produce the ridiculous or impious interpretations given by the Popes in their Canons, Decrees, and Councils unto Scripture; of which the Learned of this Age among our Adversaries are ashamed. *M. Du Perron* was wiser then to make use of them in his * Book. For these we dedicate a Chapter purposely.

To resolve Consciences we shall go another way to work, a short, a straight and a safe way. Our Adversaries and we are agreed that the holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament is the Book of Gods Word, and that there is none else. For although the Popes did endeavour to put their Decretals among the Canonical Scriptures, as we will shew; yet God did not suffer them to compass that enterprise. Since then that Book is the Word of God, in that Book only we seek the Doctrine of Salvation. And to the question of our Adversaries, *Who shall be the interpreter of that Scripture? Is every one of you inspired by God to penetrate into the sense of Scripture?* We answer, that it needs no interpreter for the things necessary to Salvation: For those necessary things are so clearly set down in Scripture, that there is no need of interpretation to understand them sufficiently to be saved. Scripture teacheth us that God hath created the World, That Jesus Christ is dead for us, and that he is risen again. Scripture commands us to love God with all our heart, and our Neighbour like our selves. Scripture forbids us to kill, to commit adultery, to steal, &c. To understand these things is there any need to find an infallible Interpreter? Now I say, that the things that are thus clear in Scripture, are sufficient to Salvation.

Since then in that question about the interpretation of Scripture *M. Du Perron* will have us to find out an Interpreter that may judge with an infallible authority, and a judiciary Court able to give infallible and irrevocable decisions, I maintain that there is no such Judge to be found among men; but the Sovereign Prince can interpret his Laws with an interpretation that hath the force of a Law. It is our part to obey God, not to be Judges of his Ordinances. When some obscurity occurs in Scripture, Gods faithful Ministers expound Scripture by word or writing, not by a judgment of authority, but by a judgment of discretion; as when one judgeth of the tast of meats; not to give Laws, but to declare his opinion:

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opinion : and alwaies their expositions must be drawn from Scripture it self, not from the unwritten word as the *Roman* Church doth. If God by some obscure Text is pleased to exercise or trye our humility, we ought rather to chuse to be ignorant of the sense then to make our selves infallible Judges of the Word of God, contenting our selves with those things necessary to Salvation, which are clearly set down in Scripture.

What I say here will make a stronger impression in mens minds, when those Texts shall be examined which the *Roman* Church alledgeth, to arrogate unto her self the authority of Judge and infallible interpreter of the sense of Scripture. For even in this that she alledgeth Scripture to ground her authority, she acknowledgeth that the authority of Scripture is not grounded upon the authority of the Church, since the Church seeketh to ground her authority upon Scripture. The *Roman* Church endeavouring to prove by Texts of Scripture, that to her belongeth the authority of an infallible Interpreter, thereby divesteth her self from the authority of Interpreter : For must she be Interpreter of those texts whereby she pretendeth that she is acknowledged to be Interpreter ? That audaciousness trespasseth against common sense.

But what texts do they use to confer the title of an infallible Interpreter upon the *Roman* Church ? They alledge these words, *Tell it unto the Church, and if he will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a Heathen man and a Publican.* Is not that mocking God ? Is it spoken there of the *Roman* Church any more then of the *Greek*, or *Armenian*, or *Syrian*, or *Ethiopian* ? See the text, and you shall find that it is not spoken there of the Universal Church, nor of the decisions of Faith, but of quarrels and offences between two private persons, upon which, if he that hath wronged his Neighbour will not hear the admonitions of the Church, the Lord Jesus will have him held for a Stranger, and put out of the Communion of the faithful. To take up such a quarrel between two brothers, doth the Universal Church assemble her self ? Is it not evident, that in that text the doubts about Faith are not meant, but Ecclesiastical censures about manners ? Is there any mention in that place of the *Roman* Church, or of her authority to expound Scripture ? Is not then this interpretation brought by † Innocent the III. and approved by * Cardinal Bellarmine a gallant one. *Tell it unto the Church, that is, unto the Pope ; and let the Pope tell it unto the Church, that is, unto himself.*

Math. 18.
17.

† Cap. Novit.
Extr. de ju-
diciis.
* Bellar. lib. 1.
de Concil.
c. 16.

In vain *Mr. Du Perron* goeth about to daube so many absurdities with some texts of the Fathers, which exalt the authority of the Church, and the succession of Pastors. In vain doth he bring forth † *Vincentius Lirinensis*, who will have Scripture interpreted according to the rule of the Ecclesiastical and Catholick sense ; For none of those whom the Cardinal alledgeth, speaks of the *Roman* Church ; None of them puts the Church above Scripture. And all things considered, that which the Ancients write of the Church of their time, cannot be accommodated to the Church of our time. For they spake in a time when the Churches of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa* were joyned in one body, the parts whereof are now separate in Communion ; and in a time when the succession was short and of fresh date, and known of all. But now, that all those Churches are divided by a Schisme of many Ages, and the successions of chairs have been confounded and interrupted by a thousand alterations, and in the same chairs, not only in those of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* (which are held to have been founded by St. Peter) but also in that of *Rome* ; I say now after so many years and changes, it is offering an abuse both to God and men, to go about to apply to the *Roman* Church that which the Ancients say of the Church of their time. As if Apes coming into a room whence men are gone out, would attire themselves with their cloathes. There was more need to teach the *Roman* Church to speak as the Apostles do, and to reform her by the Word of God.

† Of *Vincentius Lirinensis* there is a Chapter in this Book, which is the 30. of the first Book.

The exhortation which *M. Du Perron* addeth, whereby he doth exhort us to charity and union, is very specious : And would to God that it were in our power to practice it. For what profit do we reap from this discord but ruine and disgrace ?

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it; and the *Roman Church* must be followed because the *Roman Church* doth command it. And in the questions about the duty of the Church, the Church herself shall be Judge. In the question whether the *Roman Church* be an infallible Judge, the *Roman Church* shall be the infallible Judge; and cannot err in judging the controversie whether her self can err. So Subjects shall be infallible Judges of the Law of their Prince, and Felons shall infallibly determine of the sense of that Law which condemneth their felony.

Without question, that man that beareth himself as an infallible Judge, of the sense of Gods Word, assumes an authority above that of God. For so he will have all men obliged to follow, not the Words of Gods Law, but the authority of that new Interpreter: But then that Interpreter should be without sin, least he should sin in his Interpretation, or make it serve to spare or to disguise his sin; By which means he should become his own Judge, if his sins must be judged by the interpretation which himself will be pleased to give to the Law.

From that abuse are sprung those abominable rules maintained by *M. Du Perrou*, that the Church can dispense from the Commandments of God, and alter that which is commanded in his Word. Of which hereafter.

In this especially the imposture and the spirit of error is visible, that the Cardinal will have the people to address themselves unto the Church to have the sense and infallible interpretation of Scripture, which is putting the people to seek for a thing which cannot be found; for hitherto the *Roman Church* hath made no interpretation of Scripture. Only you shall find great number of Comments upon Scripture, made by private Doctors that confute one another, and an extream diversity among them. The *Roman Church* never set out any interpretation of Scripture, approved by publick authority, of which one may say, *This is the Ecclesiastical interpretation, This is the sense of Scripture which the Roman Church commands to be received.* And here it would be proper to produce the ridiculous or impious interpretations given by the Popes in their Canons, Decrees, and Councils unto Scripture; of which the Learned of this Age among our Adversaries are ashamed. *M. Du Perrou* was wiser then to make use of them in his * Book. For these we dedicate a Chapter purposely.

* 1. Book
ch. 22.

To resolve Consciences we shall go another way to work, a short, a straight and a safe way. Our Adversaries and we are agreed that the holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament is the Book of Gods Word, and that there is none else. For although the Popes did endeavour to put their Decretals among the Canonical Scriptures, as we will shew; yet God did not suffer them to compass that enterprise. Since then that Book is the Word of God, in that Book only we seek the Doctrine of Salvation. And to the question of our Adversaries, *Who shall be the interpreter of that Scripture? Is every one of you inspired by God to penetrate into the sense of Scripture?* We answer, that it needs no interpreter for the things necessary to Salvation: For those necessary things are so clearly set down in Scripture, that there is no need of interpretation to understand them sufficiently to be saved. Scripture teacheth us that God hath created the World, That Jesus Christ is dead for us, and that he is risen again. Scripture commands us to love God with all our heart, and our Neighbour like our selves. Scripture forbids us to kill, to commit adultery, to steal, &c. To understand these things is there any need to find an infallible Interpreter? Now I say, that the things that are thus clear in Scripture, are sufficient to Salvation.

Since then in that question about the interpretation of Scripture *M. Du Perrou* will have us to find out an Interpreter that may judge with an infallible authority, and a judiciary Court able to give infallible and irrevocable decisions, I maintain that there is no such Judge to be found among men; but the Sovereign Prince can interpret his Laws with an interpretation that hath the force of a Law. It is our part to obey God, not to be Judges of his Ordinances. When some obscurity occurs in Scripture, Gods faithful Ministers expound Scripture by word or writing, not by a judgment of authority, but by a judgment of discretion; as when one judgeth of the taste of meats; not to give Laws, but to declare his opinion:

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opinion : and alwaies their expositions must be drawn from Scripture it self, not from the unwritten word as the *Roman* Church doth. If God by some obscure Text is pleased to exercise or trye our humility, we ought rather to chuse to be ignorant of the sense then to make our selves infallible Judges of the Word of God, contenting our selves with those things necessary to Salvation, which are clearly set down in Scripture.

What I say here will make a stronger impression in mens minds, when those Texts shall be examined which the *Roman* Church alledgeth, to arrogate unto her self the authority of Judge and infallible interpreter of the sense of Scripture. For even in this that she alledgeth Scripture to ground her authority, she acknowledgeth that the authority of Scripture is not grounded upon the authority of the Church, since the Church seeketh to ground her authority upon Scripture. The *Roman* Church endeavouring to prove by Texts of Scripture, that to her belongeth the authority of an infallible Interpreter, thereby divesteth her self from the authority of Interpreter : For must she be Interpreter of those texts whereby she pretendeth that she is acknowledged to be Interpreter ? That audaciousness trespasseth against common sense.

But what texts do they use to confer the title of an infallible Interpreter upon the *Roman* Church ? They alledge these words, *Tell it unto the Church, and if he will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a Heathen man and a Publican.* Is not that mocking God ? Is it spoken there of the *Roman* Church any more then of the *Greek*, or *Armenian*, or *Syrian*, or *Ethiopian* ? See the text, and you shall find that it is not spoken there of the Universal Church, nor of the decisions of Faith, but of quarrels and offences between two private persons, upon which, if he that hath wronged his Neighbour will not hear the admonitions of the Church, the Lord Jesus will have him held for a stranger, and put out of the communion of the faithful. To take up such a quarrel between two brothers, doth the Universal Church asseverate her self ? Is it not evident, that in that text the doubts about Faith are not meant, but Ecclesiastical censures about manners ? Is there any mention in that place of the *Roman* Church, or of her authority to expound Scripture ? Is not then this interpretation brought by † Innocent the III. and approved by * Cardinal Bellarmine a gallant one. *Tell it unto the Church, that is, unto the Pope ; and let the Pope tell it unto the Church, that is, unto himself.*

Math. 18.
17.

† Cap. Novit.
Extra de ju-
diciis.
* Bellar. lib. 1.
de concil.
c. 16.

In vain *Mr. Du Perron* goeth about to daube so many absurdities with some texts of the Fathers, which exalt the authority of the Church, and the succession of Pastors. In vain doth he bring forth † *Vincentius Lirinensis*, who will have Scripture interpreted according to the rule of the Ecclesiastical and Catholick sense ; For none of those whom the Cardinal alledgeth, speaks of the *Roman* Church ; None of them puts the Church above Scripture. And all things considered, that which the Ancients write of the Church of their time, cannot be accommodated to the Church of our time. For they spake in a time when the Churches of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa* were joyned in one body, the parts whereof are now separate in Communion ; and in a time when the succession was short and of fresh date, and known of all. But now, that all those Churches are divided by a Schisme of many Ages, and the successions of chairs have been confounded and interrupted by a thousand alterations ; and in the same chairs, not only in those of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* (which are held to have been founded by *St. Peter*) but also in that of *Rome* ; I say now after so many years and changes, it is offering an abuse both to God and men, to go about to apply to the *Roman* Church that which the Ancients say of the Church of their time. As if Apes coming into a room whence men are gone out, would attire themselves with their cloathes. There was more need to teach the *Roman* Church to speak as the Apostles do, and to reform her by the Word of God.

† Of *Vincentius Lirinensis* there is a Chapter in this Book, which is the 30. of the first Book.

The exhortation which *M. Du Perron* addeth, whereby he doth exhort us to charity and union, is very specious : And would to God that it were in our power to practice it. For what profit do we reap from this discord but ruine and disgrace ?

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† John 13.
35.
* 1 Cor. 1.
13.
Eph. 4. 4.

Heb. 12. 14.
Ephes. 4. 15.

Cant. 4. 9.
Eph. 5. 25.
Isa. 60. 12.
Isa. 54. 17.
Matth. 16. &
18.

Eph. 1. 22;
& 23.

grace? And can any thing be more desirable then a peace with God, whereby we be rejoyned with men, and the Union in the true Faith be made fast by the bond of charity and concord? Oh that such a great good might be purchased with our blood! Oh that we might be more afflicted yet then we are, so that God thereby were glorified, and our Adversaries brought to Salvation! There was no need then of the Cardinal's exhortations in the words of our † Saviour, and of St. Paul * that we love one another, that we avoid divisions, and that we become one body and one spirit; For to that charity we are wholly and heartily inclined, as every godly person ought to be. But that Union ought to be in good things. And we hope that no exhortation shall ever prevail so far with us, as to make us agree with any to do evil. We owe much unto Concord, but we owe all unto Truth. As in the breasts of the wicked peace of Conscience is not a true peace but a lethargy and a profound drowsiness; likewise the agreement of many wicked men is not a peace but a conspiracie. Therefore the Apostle to the Hebrews saith, *Follow peace with all men and holiness.* And St. Paul will have us to *speak the truth in love.* For the Apostle would not have our charity employed to foster untruth. So the Cardinals exhortations to charity will be welcome to us, when we are satisfied once of the truth of his doctrine. That being not evident unto us, but rather the clean contrary, while we keep far from the doctrine of those that hate us, yet we will love their persons and pray for their conversion.

Towards the end he doth triumph though he hath got no victory, taking it for granted, that the Roman Church is that which is meant in Solomon's Song, *Thou hast ravished my heart my sister, my spouse.* And that for which St. Paul saith, that *Jesus Christ hath given himself.* That of which Isaiah saith, *The Nation and Kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish. And every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgement thou shalt condemn.* That of which Christ saith, *the gates of Hell shall not prevail against her;* and that *who so refuseth to hear her, must be accounted as a Heathen man and a Publican.* Of which texts, some speak of the Church of the Elect; for she is that Church meant in the *Canticles*, that Church redeemed with Christ's Blood, That Spouse and that Body of Christ, without blemish and without spot, against which the gates of Hell shall not prevail, as we shall shew in the right place. The other texts speak of the Universal and Orthodox Church planted by the Apostles, not of the Roman Church, of which Isaiah never spake. Or they speak of every particular Orthodox Church, of which, whosoever (that hath offended God or his Neighbour) doth not receive the admonitions, and opposeth the discipline, must be held as a Pagan and a Publican. For by a great abuse of Scripture the Cardinal confounds all these texts as speaking of the same thing, and of the same kind of Church, and supposeth without proof, that all that belongs to the Roman Church.

Finally, he concludes his Preface by some texts, which he employeth to prove that out of the Church there is no Salvation. He brings in the first place a text of St. Paul, that *God gave him to be the head over all things unto the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.* A text nothing to his purpose, for the Apostle speaks not of the Roman Church, nor of the visible Church neither, but of the Church of the Elect, which only (to speak properly) is the mystical body of Christ; unless we will put dead members in the body of Christ, who is the Author of life, and affirm that many profane and hypocrites living in the visible Church, are members of the body of Christ, and that the same man is a limb of the body of Satan and of the body of Christ together. Is there any doubt that when St. Paul saith the Church the *body of Christ and the fulness of it,* he means the whole body of Christ? Out of which body those Saints which are reigning in Heaven cannot be excluded, nor the Elect which are yet unborn. That being granted, it is impossible that the visible Church be meant in that text, seeing that the greatest and the best part of that Church which the Apostle speaks of, is invisible unto us; and there is neither reason nor likelihood, that the profane and false Christians that are on earth, be of the same body as the Saints

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Saints which are in Heaven. Wherefore also the same Apostle in the same Epistle saith, that this Church hath *neither spot nor wrinkle*, which cannot be proper to any visible Church, and to the *Roman* Church less then to any; she being defiled with so much uncleanness by the very confession of the most passionate of our Adversaries, as we have shewed many times. Besides, that text doth not speak of a necessity of joyning with the Church, but of the dignity and Spiritual Empire which the Father hath bestowed upon his Son our Lord.

To that text Monsieur *Du Perron* addeth many texts of the Fathers, which say that out of the Church there is no Salvation. I will do so much for him as to suppose that by the Church he understands not some Heretical or Idolatrous Church, but the true, the good, and the pure in doctrine. Now the question between us is, whether the *Roman* Church be such. And this is that which must be proved, not presupposed. And although this were proved; yet since the *Roman* Church is a particular Church, not the Universal, I might as well find Salvation in another particular Church equal to it in purity. After all, to what purpose should one alledge against us, that out of the Church there is no Salvation, since we also hold it and believe it? For if it be question of the Church of the Elect, it is out of question that out of it one cannot be saved. As a branch cannot live separated from the body of the tree, so there is no life to Salvation out of the body of Christ, who is the Spring of life. Or if one speak of the visible Church, it is certain that none can be saved who by profaneness or error in the foundation of the Faith, separates himself from the communion of the Universal Church, and renounceth the communion of the Church, to live after his own fancy, or make a Sect of his own. But of that matter, as also whether this rule, *that out of the Church there is no Salvation*, be lyable to some exceptions, we shall speak further hereafter. The main matter is to shew, that in the *Roman* Church Jesus Christ is preached according to the Gospel, and his Word purely taught; for without that there can be no Salvation in it. Take that away, all the titles of Catholick Church, chairs, keys, succession, multitude, miracles, in vain will be bragged of; All that will serve only to lead Souls into Hell more speciously, and to give authority to untruth. As unchaste women are the most curious to trick themselves up, the worst Churches will put on the most eminent titles. But as the Devil appearing in the shape of a mans body, will counterfeit all the parts and likeness of the body, but only the life and the brightness of the eye: Likewise false Churches will put on the shew of the Church of Jesus Christ, all but the light of his truth.

It remains now, that we give some general taste to the Reader of this Book of the Lord Cardinal *Du Perron*, that by a pattern he may judge of the whole piece.

Judgment of
the Work &
wit of M. *Du*
Perron.

In the first place, if doing evil can deserve any praise, and if defending Heresie with dexterity can be worthy of any commendation, that praise I cannot denie to the memory of this Cardinal; that this Book of his is built with a singular Art, to which he hath bent all his faculties, and to make it compleat he hath with a long labour employd all the dexterity of his wit, of which he had to spare. Among all our Adversaries I find not such another elaborate piece of Work. And whereas all his other Books are but small things in comparison, we may say that in this he went beyond himself. How great is his diligence in the search of Antiquity! How admirable his nimbleness in giving a fair colour to the weakness of his matter, in declining those questions which he judgeth insufficient to bear the trial of a combat; and to set forth all that is most specious for Popery! He finds out many new shifts which none had thought on before him. And where the other Champions of Popery do not satisfie him, he devises some new expedient, and taketh another way. He gently declines the dint of our Objections, and coloureth his want of strength with a shew of contempt. All this he cloatheth over with a civil language, and with a sweet and pleasant style; but only in those places where he finds himself gravelled and prest by the evidence of truth. For then he doth purposely involve his sense with dark words, and heaps up a pile

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of distinctions in philosophicall terms, raising a cloud of dust about him, with a capricious and tedious style. By his great reading in the Fathers he gathers up (more out of ostentation then necessity) a multitude of allegations about light or uncontroverted things. But his little skill in the Greek tongue and other humane letters, makes him trip often. His whole book is swarming with falsified citations, which I undertake not in this book to examine one by one, contenting myself to produce a few of many; for I know that such an examination is wearisome to the Reader, and of no great instruction. But in general, it is certain that none of those that have blurred paper in *France* in the Popes behalf, can be compared unto him. I should do him wrong, I say not to equal to him, but even to name after him some petty clamorous wranglers, of the highest boldness, and the lowest ignorance, as *Father Gentier*, *Father Veron*, *Father Regourd*, men whose impudence and venomous choler hath distempered their brains; who in other times should not be suffered, but are fit for this time, in which audaciousness goes for learning, pride for zeal, and a scolding injurious style for true eloquence. I could almost be perswaded to place *John Faubert Bishop of Bazas* in the same form; but I spare his Miter, and receive his alehouse Rhetorick of foul words as for many praises. All these start up after *M. du Peron*, as Wasps out of the body of a dead Horse.

Nevertheless the more I esteem the wit and learning of *Monsieur du Peron*, the more I deplore his condition for selling his pen unto the Pope, and bending his wit to war with God. For whoso shall seriously consider this book which I am to examine, shall find in it a great contempt, yea, a secret hatred of the Holy Scripture; of which he endeavoureth to breed a disgust into mens minds, to find in it insoluble absurdities, and to undermine its authority. For besides that in so great a book as his, Scripture is very seldom alledged, insomuch that sometimes in fifty leaves there is no mention of God or his word; he makes bold to maintain that the Church can change the things which God hath commanded in his word, and hath authority to dispense from the commandments of Jesus Christ. Of that subject he hath written an expresse chapter, whose argument is, *Of the authority of the Church to alter things contained in the Scripture*. There he affirms that there are things in Scripture, which the Church can alter, and hath in effect altered. And speaking of the form after which Jesus Christ hath instituted his Sacraments, he saith that *when great inconveniences occur in it, the Church can bring to them, both dispensation and alteration*. Especially concerning that command of the Lord *Drink ye all of it*, he maintains that *this precept is not indispensable and unalterable*; A blasphemous proposition arriving to the last period of impiety! for none of the antient Hereticks ever went so far.

In the second book of *M. du Peron*, in the third observation, ch. 3. p. 674. Pag. 1110. & 1115. in the Treatise of the Communion under both kinds.

(a) Innoc. III. Decret. de Concess. Præbendæ Tit. 8. Cap. Proposit. Secundum plenitudinem potestatis de jure possumus supra id dispensare. Et ibi Glossa. Nam contra Apostolum dispensat. Item contra Vetus Testamentum. Item in Voto. Item in sacramento.

They took pretences indeed to dispense themselves from the commandments of God, and contradict his word, making use of glosses and exceptions. But never any heretical Church presumed to use this language, *We acknowledge indeed that God hath given this commandment; but we have the power to alter it; and it belongs to the Church to judge what commandments of God are dispensable*. By that means the Church shall not be subject to Gods commands, but as far as she thinks good; and shall blot out of the Law of God whatsoever she disliketh; saying, *This commandment I judge to be dispensable*. Thus shall man be above God, being once judge of the Law of God. Such is the rude and hard dealing offered to God by the Gloss of the Canon *Lector* in the thirty fourth Distinction of the Decree, where it is said, that *Papa dispensat contra Apostolum*, the Pope dispenseth against the Apostle. Pope *Innocent* the third saith the same. These are his words, *We can according to the fulness of our power dispense from the right, and above the right*. And upon that, the Gloss of the Doctors addeth, *For the Pope dispenseth against the Apostle, and against the Old Testament, and in vows and oaths*. Conformably to the gloss of the Canon *Sunt quidam*, in the first Question of the twenty fifth Cause, *Papa dispensat in Evangelio interpretando ipsum*, *The Pope dispenseth in the Gospel by giving interpretation to it*.

Thomas

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Thomas Aquinas goeth so far as to say that (b) the Pope can make a new Edition of the Symbole, which is making a new Christian Religion. And so the (b) Thomas Jesuite (c) Vasquez, Though we should grant that it was a commandment of the Apostles, nevertheless the Church and the Sovereign Pontifex could abolish it upon good causes. And (d) Andradus, Our ancestors men excellent in religion and piety, have disannulled these and many other decrees of the Apostles. Whence he doth infer, (e) that those have not erred, that say that the Roman Popes can sometimes dispense from obeying the Laws of the Apostle St. Paul, and the four first Councils. For so much the Gloss of the chapter *Quando personam*, saith in the first book of the Decretals, (f) The Pope can change the nature of things, and dispense above the right, and the wrong he can turn into right. Which is the same as Bellarmine saith (a) That Christ hath given to Peter (that is, unto the Pope) the power of making that which is sin to be no sin; and that (b) which is no sin to be sin. And that if the Pope erred in commanding vices, and prohibiting virtues, the Church should be obliged to believe that vices are good, and virtues evil, unless she would sin against her conscience. We tremble out of horror at these blasphemies and shake out the dust of our feet. Must the Pope be above God? Can a mortal and sinful man dispense us from the commandment of God? Or shall he be wiser then Jesus Christ and his Apostles? But of that impious proposition of the Cardinal more shall be said in its proper place.

Of the like nature are these assertions of the Cardinal, when finding himself prest by the expresse word of God, he saith that such a commandment was given only for a time, and by provision, not for perpetuity; As in the question of the Celibate of the Clergy he makes Chrysostom to say, that this commandment of the Apostle [* Let the Bishop be the husband of one wife] was free in St. Pauls time, by reason (saith the Cardinal) of the rarity of unmarried persons in the time of the birth of the Church. And a little after, They were constrained to accept of married persons for the Priesthood, so that they had been but once married; and acknowledgeth that custom to have lasted as far as Constantines reign, that is, in the three first ages. By his reason we must say that when St. Paul made this order [The Bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, &c.] he charged Bishops to be sober and blameless only for a time, not alwayes: For since these commandments are joynd together by the Apostle, why shall the Church have the power to dispense with the one, not with the other? And who is he that first made that distinction? It is pitty then that the Apostle forgot to specifye, till when, and for how long that commandment was to be kept, and how long that permission for Bishops, to have wives, was to take place. It was ill providing for the good of the Church to command absolutely without exception of persons and restriction of time, * Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, if that precept was given but for a time, and provisionally, as M. du Perron will have it.

The same spirit of impiety is manifest in that other proposition in the seventh chapter of the fourth observation of the second book; the argument of the chapter in this; One must not go back to the time of the Apostles to cleanse the Church from her pretended corruptions. By which principle the Apostles and their writings, are divested of the quality of judges: Neither must we have recourse any more unto their writings to end our differences. And no more is wanting but to say that their books ought to be burnt: for what are they good for if they must judge of nothing, and are unfit to resolve us? Indeed M. du Perron denies that there is any corruption in the Roman Church, but those pretended corruptions of which we accuse her he will have tried, not by the writings of the Apostles, but by those of the Fathers that lived in the time of the first four Councils; which is an open confession that the Apostles are contrary to him, since he refuseth them for Judges. Now this reason he giveth

2a. 2x. qu. 3. Art. 10. Ad solam auctoritatem summi Pontificis pertinet nova editio symboli. Vasquez. Tomo III. Disp. 216. Num. 60. Licet concederemus hoc fuisse Apostolorum preceptum, nihilominus Ecclesia & summus Pontifex potuerunt illud iustis de causis abrogare. (d) Andradus lib. 2. Defens. fidei Tridentinae: Minime vero majores nostri religione & pietate excellentes Apostolorum haec & quamplyma alia decreta reserere in animam indurassent nisi intellexissent, &c. (e) Idem ibidem. Liqueat mine me eos errasse qui dicunt Romanos Pontifices posse nonnunquam in legibus dispensare a Paulo & primis quatuor Conciliis. (f) Decretalium Gregorii IX. lib. 1. titulo 7. cap. 3. (a) Bellarmine Barklayum cap. 31. In hono

sensu dedit Christus Petro potestatem faciendi de peccato non peccatum, & de non peccato peccatum. (b) Idem lib. 4. de Summo Pontifice cap. 5. Si Papa erraret in precipiendo vitia vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, & virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare. * Pag 712. † 1 Tim. 3. 2. * Rom. 13. 1.

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why he will be judged by the Fathers of the age of the four first Councils, that is, from the year 325. of our Lord, unto the year 451. *The reason* (saith he) *why we must rather have recourse to those ages, then to that of the Apostles, is evident by the discourse of our observation, which is, that of the first and second Age after the Apostles, far fewer monuments are extant to see the entire face of the Church represented, then of those of the four first Councils.* I cannot comprehend with what reason he can say that of the Age of the Apostles and of the Ages next unto them we have less clear Monuments to represent the doctrine of the Church, then of the following Ages, since we have the writings of the Apostles, who are better alone then all the writings of the Fathers that came since; for the writings of the Apostles are of an infallible certainty, and in them no discord is found; but the Fathers have been subject to failings, and agree not among themselves. Wherefore also the Roman Church condemneth them very often.

This Authors impiety is no less manifest in the 12. chap. of his first book, pag. 52. where he denieth that the Faithfull have a Theological Faith, and he will have their faith to be only a Moral Faith: Which moral faith will be found also in the Pagans, yea in the Devils. A vertue is called Theological, when it is planted in mans heart by the documents which God gives us in his word: Now *faith comes by hearing of the word of God*, saith the Apostle, *Rom. 10. 17.* If then the faith of the Christian is not a Theological vertue, it is humane or devilish. Faith being the mother of all the Theological vertues, how can it be other but Theological?

As for the Fathers of the three first ages, whom M. du Perron will not receive for Judges, I maintain that from them, more then from the Authors of a latter time, we learn the state and the doctrine of the Primitive Church. Yea, I say, that to those Fathers of the three first Ages, we owe the intelligence of the Fathers that are come since, which follow the steps of the former, and borrow their terms. But how should the Fathers of the time of the first four Councils be rather our Judges then the Apostles, since those very Fathers will be judged by the Apostles, and acknowledge themselves obliged not to speak but after them? Now the reason why M. du Perron stands rather upon the posteriour Fathers, and inferiour in Antiquity, is not that which he brings: The true cause is, that the ancients the Fathers are, the more contrary they are to Popery. Also because those later Fathers are of an infinite length; and that of twenty thousand persons in the Roman Church, scarce one hath any considerable knowledge of them. How is it possible then to end our differences by that means? To fight a Duel, is there need of a Cart-load of swords? What other sword do we need but that of the word of God, which God puts in our hand? A sword before which the Devil trembleth; a sword that gives sure blows, so that one needs not after look for another weapon. To that sword indeed belongs that which *David* said of *Goliaths* sword,

1 Sam. 11. 9. *There is none like it.*

If a Reader, that hath yet some liberty of judgement left, will here open his eyes, it will be easie for him to discern what opinion the Cardinal had of Christian Religion, and whether he spake of it in earnest, or only to serve the time, and follow the stream. In the fifty sixth chapter of the first Book he compares these two Propositions; the one, that *the Church is founded upon the person of St. Peter*; the other, that *it is founded upon the faith or confession which St. Peter made*; which confession is, that *Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God.* And see how he compares them: he saith, that *the first is original and perpetual, but the other is accessory and temporal: The one consigned from the beginning, the other brought in upon occasion.* With him this maxime [that the person of St. Peter, and by consequence that of the Pope is the foundation of the Church] is such a maxime and ground as is perpetual, original, and from the beginning. But this other maxime, or this faith, that *Jesus is the Christ, the son of the living God*, with him, is not the foundation of the faith, but accessorily, and for a time, and is brought in but occasionally. After that, can we believe that this Prelate did believe the Gospel? And what remaineth more for his followers to do, but to put

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put on a Turban, if it be once lawfull in the Christian Church to maintain that St. Peter and the Pope are the original and perpetual foundation of the Church, but that this faith [*that Jesus Christ is the Son of the living God*] is the foundation of the Church, only *ad tempus*, and upon occasion, and not for perpetuity?

That this is no wrongfull imputation, it is easie to shew; for this is the summary of his Discourse, *That the Church is grounded causally, not formally upon that confession of St. Peter, Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God*, that is, (as himself expounds it) that St. Peters confession was the cause why Jesus Christ chose him for the foundation, which is clearly saying that this confession is not at all the foundation of the Church. As when the vertue of a Gentleman is the cause why the King giveth him an Office of Admiral or Governour, that vertue is not the Admiralty, or the Government: Likewise if the confession of St. Peter is the cause for which Christ made him the foundation of his Church, it follows that this confession is not the foundation. The same he sheweth, by saying that this confession is not the foundation of the Church *formally*, that is, really. Also by making in the same place that proposition [*The confession of Peter is the foundation of the Church*] like unto this: *The faith of Peter hath walked upon the waters*, which is an improper and figurate proposition, and a false one too, if it be taken literally. In this especially the impiety is manifest, that this confession, *Jesus is the Christ, the son of the living God*, is true properly at all times, and before that Peter believed in Jesus Christ, the foundation of the Church. But the Cardinals sense is, that it began to be the foundation of the Church when Peter pronounced it; and will not admit it to be the foundation of the Church for any other cause, but that Peter pronouncing that sentence, thereby incited Jesus Christ to make him the foundation of the Church.

That which follows is no better, in the beginning of the ninth chapter, where he disputeth about the elect and predestinate unto salvation, he makes St. Paul to say, that God hath marked his elect with his seal. St. Paul saith indeed, that God hath sealed us, and hath given us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts; And that having believed we were sealed with the holy Spirit of promise: And he forbids us to grieve the holy Spirit, whereby we are sealed unto the day of redemption. So the Apostle calls the inward testimony which the Holy Ghost secretly bears in our hearts that we are Gods children. But the Cardinal abolisheth (as far as in him lyeth) that Seal and inward testimony of the Spirit of God in the hearts of the faithfull, saying, that God hath marked his elect, not in them, but in himself: As if one said that a shepherd hath marked his sheep not in them, but in himself, so that the sheep are not marked, but the shepherd. By so doing he maketh the whole comfort of the Faithfull to fade away, opposing the Apostle who puts that seal in our hearts, and saith that *the Spirit beareth witness unto our spirit*, and that it is *we* that are sealed, not God. But Monsieur du Perron measuring other mens consciences by his own, and not feeling in himself that inward testimony, striveth to blot it out in others; he denieth it to be in the faithfull, and will have it to be in God only.

Thus when the Lord Cardinal declares his opinion (a) that one should rather suffer a King, yea and Jesus himself to be killed, then to reveal a confession. And when he maintaineth, that (b) by the Books of Moses one cannot prove the immortality of the soul, which yet is so clearly, and so often proved there. When he (c) makes two kinds of redemption of our souls, the one original, the other applicative. When he saith that (d) the Sacraments of the Old Testament were vain Monuments and Cenotaphes, as if God had given vain things unto his Church, like unto empty and imaginary graves, whose inscription is false. When to make Holy Scripture ridiculous, he makes a collection of those things which seem to him absurd, and to make it more absurd, imputes to it those things which are not found in it, as that Gen. 2, it is said, that within the Garden of Eden were both Nilus and Euphrates, which are above two thousand Leagues asunder; but there is no such thing there; for the second chapter of Genesis speaks indeed of Euphrates

Page 512.

1 Tim. 2.
2 Cor. 1.22.
Eph. 1.13.
Eph. 4.30.
Gal. 4.6.
Rom 8.1.

Rom 8.16.

(a) Du Perron in the second observation, c 7. & 7. p 553, & 554.
(b) 2 Book, 2. ch. p 774.
(c) 4. Book in the answer to the second instance, c. 6.
(d) In his Book against M. du Perron, p. 60.

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Pag. 1100.
In that text,
Eccl. 9. 5.
there is only,
neither have
they any more
reward.
In his second
observation of
the second book,
ch. 8. p. 658.

(a) 88. ch.
of the 1.
book.

(b) P. 539.

(c) In his
book of the
Eucharist
against M.
du Pleſſis.

(d) In the
book of the
Eucharist a-
gainst Mr.
du Pleſſis,
pag. 287.

(e) In his
book against
the King in
the Treatise
of the com-
munion un-
der two
kinds, pag.
1108.

(f) In his
Treatise of
the prayer
for the dead,
ch. 11 p. 950.
* pag. 950.
The Cardi-
nals book
was printed
without ap-
probation of
the Doctors.

Euphrates, but of *Nilus* not at all. Also when he saith that in the ninth of *Ecclesiastes* *Solomon* affirmeth, that *the dead have no reward* [par de la] yonder, meaning, it seems, beyond this life, as if the souls were mortal. In all these (I say) he layeth open the secrets of his thoughts, even that he made very little account of the holy Scripture, and of the mysteries of Christian Religion; and that he was not well perswaded of the immortality of the soul.

This appears also in that when he alledgeth Scripture, among many passages that have some colour, he brings other texts which seem to be alledged meerly to make sport. To prove *Lent*, which is a fast of forty six days, he employeth Scripture, saying, that *God made the waters of the flood to rain forty dayes, and forty nights: That the people of Israel were forty years in exile in the wilderness: That in the ancient Law the chastening of those that were beaten with rods, did not exceed forty blows: Which are goodly and convincing proofs.* So he defends the authority of the Church by these words of the Canticles (a) *We have a little sister that hath no breasts.* With the like subtilty he proveth the primacy of *St. Peter*, *Matth. 17.* where *Jesus Christ* (b) biddeth *Peter* to *pay the tribute for himself and for him.* Of the like ingenious vein was his proof (c) by the *Quatrains of Pibrac*, which say, *Adore sitting after the Grecians rule; that the Apostles, though they were sitting at the table, yet did adore the Host.*

I doubt also, whether the *Sorbon* and other Doctors of the Roman Church will approve of several things in this last book of his, and in that of the Eucharist. As when he saith, (d) that *after the consecration God preserveth the bread in the universal latitude of its being.* And his confession, whereby he acknowledgeth, (e) that the denying of the cup to the people diminisheth the signification of the Sacrament. And this new doctrine, whereby he makes two redemptions of our souls, the one original, the other applicative; making two payments of the same debt, the one original, the other applicative. Likewise I make a great question whether the other Romish Doctors will like of his doubting (f) whether Purgatory be a real or a Metaphorical fire, which is only the horror of conscience. Or of his saying in his Letter to *M. Casanbon* that the invocation of Saints is not necessary to every particular man; that is, that every particular person may very well be without praying to the Saints, and to the Virgin *Mary*, and can be saved without that. Of the same sort is his solution of the words of the Canon of the Mass, where the Priest prays for the dead, *Qui dormiunt in somno pacis*, that sleep in a peaceable sleep, and by consequence prayeth not for the souls tormented in a fire. The * Cardinals answer is, that the souls which are burning in Purgatory are sleeping, not in respect of themselves, but in respect of the Church, as if a man could wake in respect of himself, but sleep in respect of others.

For these and the like causes, I suppose that the Faculty, and the Doctors appointed to examine Books that are put to the press, would not grant any approbation to this Book of the Cardinal. For what may the reason be, that a thousand frivolous books come out every day with the approbation of the Faculty on the Front, and this only Book so important, and so long expected, hath got none?

The allegation of Fathers is that main work of the Cardinal, for which he hath bent all his sinews, and searcht all sorts of Books with extream diligence. If ever any man was nimble in giving the slip, and turning passages from their true sense, *Monſieur Du Perron* gets the prize in that craft. By an ingenious dexterity he takes the words of respect and honour given to the Bishop of *Rome* for words of subjection. The counsels which Popes have given unto their friends, he alledgeth as Laws and Ordinances; and the several recourses of oppressed persons to the Popes, he brings as so many appeals. And the brotherly help which some Bishop of *Rome* hath given to the afflicted, as the act of a Judge and a Sovereign. The ordinances made within the Roman Patriarchate he takes as Laws given to the whole Roman Empire; and the orders made for the Bishops of the Roman Empire as Laws given to the Churches of the whole world. He takes precedence or primacy, and the succession to *St. Peter* in the Bishoprick of the City of *Rome* for

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for the suecession in the Apostleship, and in the Government of the Universal Church. The Intercession of Saints he takes for the Invocation; the body Sacramental for the Natural: The Sacrifice of thanksgiving for the sacrifice of Redemption: The free and voluntary observations for necessary rules; and the extraordinary examples for ordinary Laws. Where he cannot encounter our proofs, he gives a turn about, and altereth the State of the question; and after he hath misrepresented our belief, he comes in great state to thunder upon it with a multitude of authorities of Fathers.

But yet sometimes he will fall out with those Fathers which he hath called to help, doing like the *Chinesi*, who after they have called upon their Demons, if the success doth not answer their requests, they beat and dash to the ground their Images. (a) He saith that the Fathers, translating these words, *Thou art Peter, and upon that stone I will build my Church*, and applying them to the faith or confession of St. Peter, turn them from their true sense, to employ them against the *Arians*, and thereupon accuseth (b) *Austin* of inadvertence. He disputes against the six hundred and thirty Bishops that defined in the Council of *Chalcedone*, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* must be equal to that of *Rome* in all things. He blameth two hundred Bishops of *Africa*, among whom were those two great men, *Austin* Bishop of *Bona*, and *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, for writing Letters to *Celestin* Bishop of *Rome*, to forbid him to send Legats into *Africa*, or take cognizance of the causes already judged by them, and desire him that he bring not the pride of the world into the Church. Many times, under pretence of excusing the Fathers, he accuseth them; saying, that they have not spoken according to their sense, and that they have dissembled for fear of being understood by the *Catechumens*, and that the mysteries should not lie open unto the Infidels. He saith, that to learn the belief of the Fathers, we must not seek it in their Books, where they dispute against the Hereticks or Infidels. He speaks of *Austins* treatises upon *John* with contempt, saying, that they are but popular Sermons, and that in them he doth not declare his sense. But the true reason of his exception against those Treatises is, that they are clear against the eating of the Lords body, with the mouth of the body. For the same reason he speaks of the Dialogues of *Theodoret*, as of books where he hid his sense for fear of being understood by the *Catechumens*. If we produce some very expresse Texts of the Fathers, *M. du Perron* declineth them, saying, that the Fathers wrest and turn aside the Scripture, and play with it. And that they have *mediate, collateral, and accessory meditations*, which are the *eccho* and the *resounding* of the literal sense to recreate the *Spirits* of the Readers, with the *sacred mirth* and *ingenious invention* of *allusions* and *Allegorical applications*.

All this will be justified by the reading of this book: I could have wisht to have had to do with a living adversary, and would have been like Bees that never sting dead bodies. But the writings, and the reputation of this famous Prelate live after him, and give to the ignorant or malicious matter of triumph, and to the infirm occasion of stumbling. Wherefore I thought that I owed this labour unto the Church of God. In which labour to follow the steps of the Cardinal, I was put to search the writings of the Fathers of the first five Ages: Not to derogate in any wise to the perfection of the Holy Scripture, which alone can, and ought to decide the questions about faith, and in things necessary to salvation is so clear, that it needs no interpretation; but to pluck off from our Adversaries that vizard of Antiquity, and to shew that our Religion is the prime and perpetual, and hath the Antients on her side; Also to defend the honour of the Fathers, which are put to the rack to make them depose against the truth, and speak contrary to their intention; Then to find out the spring of errors, and the occasions of Popery, how Satan from small occasions, by the lapse of time, hath made great evils to arise, and from the abuse of words hath brought forth errors in the faith, and changed the voluntary observations of some men into necessary and general Laws.

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In this book, I have followed not the order of the Chapters of *M. du Perron*, but the nature of things, and the order of times, both to give more perspicuity and proportion to my work, and to exempt my self from repeating the same things fifty times over as *M. du Perron* does. I have sometimes exceeded the limits of my present subject, which is to answer the Cardinals book against his Majesty of *Great Britain*, especially in the question of the Sacrament of Penitence, and in that of the real presence, wherein I examine many passages of the Cardinals book of the *Eucharist* against Monsieur *du Plessis*.

To be a Suitor for the equity of the Readers, I could alledge my sickness of two and twenty moneths, which hath brought me to the brink of the grave, in which nevertheless I have followed this work: also the interruption of several journeys, many afflictions wherewith God hath visited me, the business of my calling, which requires a whole man, and my want of those helps and conveniences, which this Lord Cardinal had in great plenty. But truth affords a great advantage, and God makes hard things easie, when in our labour for his cause we have no other end but his glory. By the mouth of children he establisheth his praise, and makes his strength perfect in our weakness. He will make the labour of his servants fruitfull, and will dissipate the clouds of error by the brightness of his Gospel. Or if the hardness of this Age hinders the fruit of our labour, though we have here sowed upon stones, yet we shall reap in heaven. And God will bring a time in which the edge of his word, which seems now to grow blunt by the hardness of hearts, will recover its strength and vertue. To him be glory for ever, *Amen*.



A Pattern of Falsifications and depravations of passages alledged by the L. Cardinal Du Perron, in his Book against the King of Great Britain.

The Reader shall find more of these observed in the Table in the end of this Book.



THE L. Cardinal *Du Perron* in the sixth Chap. of his fifth Book, where he is gathering the absurdities which he finds in the holy Scripture, in the 1099. Page of the first Edition, saith that in the second *ch.* of *Genesis* it is affirmed, that within the Garden of Eden there was among other Rivers that of *Nilus*, and that of *Euphrates*, which are above a thousand leagues asunder. But there is no mention of *Nilus* in all that Chapter. It is easie for one to make Scripture to say absurd things, when he falsifieth it.

In the same Chapter, pag. 1101. he imposeth on St. *John* that he saith in the fifteenth *ch.* he that cometh after me, was made before me; of which there is not one word in the whole Chapter. There is indeed in the first chapter *ἐμὰς δὲν μὲ γέγονε*, he was before me, or he was preferred before me, not he was made before me.

St. *Paul*, Gal. 2. 6. saith, comparing himself with the most eminent among the Apostles, *They that are eminent have brought nothing to me*, otherwise, *Those that seemed to be somewhat added nothing unto me*. The Cardinal in his 56. *ch.* p. 526. to perswade that St. *Paul* compareth himself with the most excellent Apostles, not in authority, but only in learning, translateth, *They that seemed to be something have taught me nothing*. The vulgar version hath *contulerunt*, not *docuerunt*.

Mat. 18. v. 18. God saith, *I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto thee*; which words are expounded by St. *Steven*, Acts 7. 37. as said of Jesus Christ. But the Cardinal in the second chap. of his third book, to authorize by that text the Pastors of the Church, that the people may have recourse unto them rather then to the Law of God, hath translated, *the Lord will raise you Prophets, you shall hear them*; putting the plural, *Prophets*, instead of the singular, a *Prophet*, that he may transport to the Pastors of the Roman Church that which is said of Jesus Christ alone.

M. Du Perron in his fifth book, chap. 18. of the fourth Instance pag. 990. to prove that the Saints departed know our hearts, alledged, 1 Cor. 14. 25. where he makes St. *Paul* to say, that by the gift of prophesie the secrets of the hearts are manifested. Which is a text falsified both in the words and the sense; for these words, by the gift of prophesie, are of the Cardinals addition. And as for the sense, St. *Paul* speaks not of knowing the hearts by prophecy, but he speaks of the manifestation of the heart made by a confession, which giveth glory to God

(c) before

before the Congregation, as it appeareth by the following words, *Thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest, and so falling down on his face he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth.*

And that which is more intolerable, is that a little after, pag. 992. he alledgeth the same text quite otherwise, and falsifies it another way, in these words, *When a man prophesieth, they that come in are confounded, because the secrets of their hearts are manifested.* There is no such thing in the text of St. Paul. And observe that he sets down the text in a different letter, as an allegation of the very words of the Apostle.

In the Page before, which is 991. to prove that the Saints departed hear our Prayers, he brings in a text of 1 Cor. 13. in these words, *Now I know in part, but when that which is perfect is come, I shall know as I am known.* Where St. Paul speaks not of the knowledge which he should have of our Prayers after this life, or of things that are done here in Earth, as M. Du Perron understands it, but of the full knowledge which he should have of God in the life to come. Now least that the Reader should perceive that this is the sense of St. Paul's words, he hath beheaded the text, having suppressed the precedent words, *then we shall see face to face; now I know in part, &c.* Where it is clear that he speaks of the sight of the face of God, not of the knowledge which the Saints have of them that are in the World, as M. Du Perron will have it.

In the same place to prove that the Angels offer our Prayers unto God, and by consequence know them, he alledgeth, Rev. 8.3. as if it were said there, that the *Angels offer the prayers of the faithful unto God*: But there it is spoken of one Angel only, offering incense with the prayers of the Saints. The Cardinal hath put *Angels* instead of *an Angel*, lest we should come to think that this Angel is our Lord Jesus Christ.

Page 992. to prove that after this life the thoughts of the heart shall be manifested of the one to the other, that is, that the thoughts of the living shall be manifested to the Saints departed, he alledgeth, 1 Cor. 4. 5. in these words, *Judge of nothing before the time, until that the Lord hath enlightened the hiding places of darkness, and manifested the thoughts of the hearts*; That text is falsified; for this is the right one, *Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts, and then shall every man have praise of God.* M. Du Perron hath cut off these words, *until the Lord come*; and these also, *and then shall every man have praise of God*, because these words shew, that there St. Paul speaks of the day of Judgement, in which the Lord Jesus Christ shall come, and things hidden shall be brought to light, and praise shall be given to every one according to his works. And by consequent it is not spoken there of the knowledge which the Saints of Paradise have of the thoughts of men living upon Earth.

In his fifth book chap. 2. of the fourth instance pag. 964. to prove that we must adress our Prayers to the Saints departed he alledgeth, Gen. 20.7. in these words, *Address thyself unto Abraham and he shall pray for thee.* These words *Address thyself unto Abraham* are of the Cardinals addition. Note also that *Abraham* was then living, wherefore though this text were not falsified, it were of no force for the invocation of the Saints departed.

It is written, *Joshuah 7. 6. that Joshuah rent his clothes and fell to the earth upon his face before the Ark of the Lord.* M. Du Perron in the third book of the Eucharist against Mr. Du Plessis in the eleventh chapter, to prove the adoration of the Sacrament, alledgeth that text, but corrupts it, saying, that *Joshuah and all the people worshipped the Ark.*

In the 56. chap. of the third book, pag. 526. to prove the primacy of Peter he alledgeth a passage of St. Ambrose, of the fourth ch. of the book of the Incarnation, in these words, *This (meaning Peter) when he had heard, But you, who do you say that I am? presently not forgetting his place, he made the Primacy.* It is an excellent passage of St. Ambrose, which M. Du Perron hath clipt to turn it to a contrary sense. These are the true words of Ambrose, *Petrus non immemor sui, primatus*

See in the last chapter of the sixth book of this Work four Texts of Scripture falsely alledged by M. Du Perron, in his Oration pronounced before the States at Paris,

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primatum egit. Primatum utique confessionis non honoris, primatum fidei non ordinis; that is, Peter not forgetting his place made the primacy; the primacy indeed in the confession, not in honour; the primacy in the faith, not in order. Ambrose acknowledgeth in St. Peter a priority or primacy in making his confession of Faith; not in honour or order. Wherefore M Du Perron cuts these words away, *Primatum confessionis non honoris, primatum fidei non ordinis*.

In the same chapter, page 527. to prove that Peter answered Jesus Christ, *Thou art the Christ the son of the living God*, because that past the capacity of the other Apostles, he alledged *Cyrius* of Jerusalem in the eleventh Catechesis, in these words, *All the other Apostles being silent (for that doctrine was above their strength) Peter, &c.* But there is in the Greek, *καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ κύριος τὸ μακάριον*, for that doctrine was above humane reach, not that doctrine was above their strength.

In the same 56. chapter in the last line of the 531. page he saith, that Chrysostome in his Comment upon the Epistle to the Galatians, reads, *Cephas, James and John*. Let the Reader see the place, he shall find that Chrysostome reads *James, Cephas and John*, putting *James* before *Peter*.

In the same chapter, page 533. he alledged for St. Peters Primacy a passage of St. Austin, in the second book of Baptism against the Donatists, where Austin alledged Cyprian in these words, as M. Du Perron relates them. *You see what St. Cyprian saith, that the holy Apostle Peter, in whom so great a grace of the primacie did shine, being rebuked by St. Paul, answered not that he had the primacy, and would not be corrected by new men and posterour unto himself.* So does this Cardinal alledge that passage. But the Latin of Cyprian is much different from it. These be the words, Cyprian in his Epistle to Quintus, speaks thus of Peter, for saith he, neither Peter whom the Lord chose first, and upon whom he founded his Church, when Paul disputed with him about the Circumcision, assumed any thing to himself insolently after that, or did appropriate any thing to himself arrogantly, to say, that he had the primacy, and that new men come after him were to obey him. In that passage St. Cyprian clearly saith, that if St. Peter had assumed unto himself the primacy, or pretended that St. Paul ought to obey him, he should have spoken arrogantly and insolently. But M. Du Perron hath pared away these words that displease him, Peter assumed nothing insolently, neither did he appropriate any thing to himself to say that he had the primacy. We will shew hereafter that St. Cyprian makes St. Peters primacy to last but two years; that is, until our Saviours Resurrection, and saith, that after the Lords Resurrection all the Apostles were equal in honour and power. Neither is this all the falsification of this passage; for M. du Perron interprets the word *posteris posterours*, instead of, *come since*, as Cyprian meaneth, as it appeareth by the word *novellis*, which goeth before *posteris*. But the Cardinal would give it such an exposition as would bear an interence, that St. Paul was posterour both in order and power unto St. Peter.

In the last line of the 54. chapter, page 520. he alledged Pope Leo the I. in the 62. Epistle to the Emperour *Martianus*, and makes that Pope speak thus, *None of the Patriarchal Sees, but that of Rome, shall remain stable and unmoved.* That passage is altogether falsified. There is in the Latin, *Nec prater illam petram quam Dominus in fundamento posuit, stabilis erit ulla constructio*, that is, Besides that stone which the Lord hath laid for a foundation, no other structure shall be stable.

Irenaeus in the third book chap. 3. speaking of the Church of the City of Rome, saith, *Ad hanc Ecclesiam propter potentiorum principatatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam*; This the Cardinal translateth (44. ch. of the first book, page 354. and in many other places) *To the Roman Church by reason of a more powerful principality, it is necessary that every Church consent*, interpreting *convenire ad Ecclesiam*, consent to the Church, instead of flocking to the Church, and resorting to it from several places. The sense of that passage is, that all the Churches of the Roman Empire resorted to the Church of the City of Rome, because the Sovereign power of the Emperour and of the Senate resided there. As it is said in the ninth Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, *ὅτι τὸ ἐκ μὲν πόλεως συνελθόντες τὸς ἐκ τῶν ἑξωτερικῶν*; because that those that had business resorted to the Metropolitan Church.

Nam nec Petrus (inquit) quem primum Dominus elegit; super quam edificavit Ecclesiam suam, cum secum Paulus de circumcissione disceptaret, postmodum vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter, aut arroganter assumpsit, ut diceret se primatum tenere & obtemperari a novellis & posteris sibi potius debere.

† Du Perron's French word is *conviens*.

Church. Irenæus speaks not of the primacy of the Church, but of the Sovereign power of the Empire. And whosoever understands *Latin*, knoweth that *convenire ad Ecclesiam* signifieth not to concur or consent with the Church in doctrine, but to resort to the Church, and come to it from several places.

† Intra cen-
tesimum ab
urbe lapidem.

Thus in the same chapter, page 177. *Gregory Nazianzen* calls *Rome*; *πρωτεύουσα* *ἡ ἡμετέρα*, *that which presideth over all*, that is, *over all the Empire*; but the Cardinal translateth *that which presideth over all the Word*.

In the 32. chap. pag. 199. he allegeth the sixth Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which gives order that *the customs observed of old in Egypt, Lybia and Pentapolis, be maintained; namely that the Church of Alexandria have the power of all things, because this also is ordinary to the Bishop of Rome.* To the end of that Canon the Cardinal soweth a taile of his own, and will have the Reader to supply these words, *over all the Church*; as if that Canon said, that the custom of the Bishop of *Rome* was to have power over all the World, which is an intolerable licence. That was a fit place to bring some example of the power of the Bishop of *Rome* out of the Roman Empire; But it is more then he could do, either there, or any where else.

In the same chap. pag. 198. he alledgeth the second book of *Evagrius*, ch. 4. making him say, that *the Pope was the head of all the Churches*: Of which not one word is found in the whole chapter. As for the *Greek Acts* of the Councils which he alledgeth there in the margin, we will shew in the right place that all these are full of falsifications.

† ἡ τῶν π.
συναγωγῶν,
καὶ ἐκ τῆς
ἐκάστης ἐκτα-
τάσεως συν-
εβάντο τὰ
παρατετα καὶ
τὴν ἐξαίρε-
τον παλιν
χρὶ τὸς κα-
τόνας τοῦ
τῆς παρεβυ-
πίου Ρώ-
μης διορί-
σας ἀρχι-
επισκόπου
συλάτη. δαμ.

In the 25. ch. of the first book, page 109. the Cardinal employes the testimony of St. *Basil* to defend the Popes authority. *Basil* in the tenth Epistle complains

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plains of the pride of the Western men, of whom *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* and *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* were the chief. If the wrath of God (saith he) continueth upon us, what help can we receive from the pride of the Western men, who knew not the truth, and have not the patience to learn it? and being forestalled with false opinions, do now the things which they have done in the business of *Marcellus*, contending against those that announce the truth, and strengthening heresie by themselves? The Cardinal in the 109. page alledgeth that text, and to darken the perspicuity of it, he translateth the brow of the Western men, instead of the pride and arrogance of the Western men. And to sweeten the hardness of that passage, he alledgeth the 77. Epistle of the same *Basil*, which he affirmeth to be written to the Western men, that is, to *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* and to his fellow Bishops, to whom *Basil* speaketh thus, We are ready to stand to your judgment, if those that falsely accuse us can abide to stand face to face with us in the presence of your veneration. If *M. Du Perron* must be credited, these are words of submission, whereby *Basil* subjecteth himself to the judgment of the Western men, that is, of *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* and his colleagues. This is a notorious imposture; for that Epistle is not written to *Damasus*, nor to his colleagues, but to the Bishops of the Isles of the Mediterranean Sea, whom he calls *ἡ θαλάσσιος καὶ νησιώτας*, maritime men and Islanders, and saith that they are severed from the Continent, which cannot be applied to *Italy*, which is a Continent. And the more submission *Basil* useth speaking with those Islanders, the more is that passage against *M. Du Perron*, since that honour is deferred to others then the Bishop of *Rome*.

Hence another falsification is discovered, ch. 33. pag. 233. where he alledgeth these words out of the same Epistle, as spoken to the Western men, that is, to the Bishop of *Rome*; Whether you hold your selves heads of the Universal Church, the head cannot say to the feet You are not necessary to me. For these words are spoken to the Maritime Bishops or Islanders. But Monsieur *Du Perron* hath writ in his margin *Basil. ad transmarinos Epist. 77.* thinking that *ἡ θαλάσσιος* signifieth *transmarinos*, whereas it signifieth *maritimos*, as also in the same Epistle they are called *νησιώτας*, Islanders, and severed from the Continent. The words of the same Epistle are expresse to this purpose, *ὅτι ὁ κύριος τὰς νήσους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡπείρου διὰ θαλάσσης διέσπειρεν, καὶ ἡ νησιώτης τοῖς ἡπειρωταῖς διὰ ἀγῶντος ἀντιέδραμεν.* The Lord hath separated the Islands from the continent with the Sea, but hath tyed the Islanders with those of the Continent by charity. This passage then is so far from helping towards the primacy of the Prelate of *Rome*, that it rather destroys it, since that title of *Head* is deferred to others then the Roman Bishop, according to the custom of the Antients to be liberal in titles of deference even to those to whom they did not owe any subjection.

In the 42. ch. of the 3. book he corrupts a Text of *Theodore* two ways, taking the Council of *Constantinople* for that of *Rome*, and the Emperor *Theodosius* for the Emperor *Gratian*, as I shew in my fifth book in the tenth chapter.

In the 25. chapter of the first book, pag. 119. & 120. he saith against truth that *Prosper Aquitanicus*, and *Marcellinus Comes* put the death of the Emperess *Eudoxia* many years after the death of *Chrysostom*.

In the 52. ch. towards the end of the page 438. he saith, that the Fathers of the *Milevitan* Council referred the final judgment of *Celestinus* unto the Pope. Which I prove to be false in my sixth book, in the third chapter.

In the same chapter, pag. 461. to prove that the Pope had power to summon to appear before him all that are accused, he alledgeth the words of *Innocent* the I. Bishop of *Rome*, in his Epistle, which is the 96. among the Epistles of *St. Austin*, where *Innocent* speaking of *Pelagius* (as *M. Du Perron* relates it) speaks thus, He must not expect to be summoned by us, but he must come to us that he may be absolved. These words But he must come to us, are of the Cardinals addition. There is in the Latin, *Non a nobis accersit sed ipse potius debet festinare ut possit absolvi.*

In the same chapter, page 478. to prove that in *Austin's* time the Bishop of *Rome* had the power to send Bands of Souldiers into *Africk* to get his commandments

In the sixth Book, cap. 6. ments executed, he alledgeth an Epistle of *Anſſin* which is newly coined, as I will ſhew in the right place.

The Biſhops aſſembled in the ſixth Council of *Carthage*, writ long Letters to *Celeſtin* Biſhop of *Rome*, warning him that he ſhould ſend no more Legats into *Africa*, nor receive Appeals from *Africa*, nor judge cauſes already judged in *Africa*, nor bring the ſumous pride of this world into the Church of *Chriſt*, which makes profeſſion of humility. There is in the Latin, *Executores Clericos veſtros quibusque petentibus nolite mittere, nolite concedere, ne fumofum typhum ſæculi in Eccleſiam Chriſti qua lucem ſimplicitatis, & humilitatis diem, Deum videre cupientibus præfert, videamur inducere*. That is, Send not your Clerks to be your Agents at the requeſt of any that will deſire you: Do not grant it to them, that it may not ſeem that we will introduce the ſumous pride of this world into the Church of *Chriſt*, which bears the light of ſimplicity, and the Sunſhine of humility, before thoſe that deſire to ſee God. But the Cardinal to elude that illuſtrious Text, tranſlateth *fumofum typhum ſæculi*, the ſumous whirlwind of this world, taking *typhos* for *typhos*; for *typhos* ſignifieth pride and tumour; but *typhos* is a whirlwind, herein ſhewing himſelf little ſkilled in the Greek tongue: That *typhus* in that place ſignifieth pride, not a whirlwind, it appeareth hence, that in the ſame line it is oppoſed unto humility.

Liberatus, Deacon, in the fifth chapter of his *Breviary*, ſaith, that the Emperour *Theodoſius* by his Letters Patent written to the Biſhops, called the Council of *Ephesus*. And he relates after, how the Council aſſembled. Which being met, the ſame *Liberatus* a little after, relates how *Cyrillus* and his friends called the Biſhops of the Council. His words were, *Cyrillus cum ſuiſ habens viſes ſedis Apoſtolice, Concilio evocato ducentorum Epiſcoporum, Neſtorium vocaverunt*. That is, *Cyrillus* with his [friends or Clergy] holding the place of the Apoſtolical See, having called (or cauſed to come to him) a Council of two hundred Biſhops, called *Neſtorium*. But Cardinal *du Perron* to make the world believe that this Council had been called by the Pope, hath tranſlated *Concilio evocato* having convoked a Council inſtead of having called to him the Council. That it ſhould be ſo underſtood, *Liberatus* ſhews it, ſaying, that he called the Biſhops of the Council, the Council being already aſſembled by the convocation made by the Emperours command.

In the ninth chapter of the fourth obſervation, pag. 741. he alledgeth for *Sr. Peters* primacy theſe words of *Cyprian* in the 71. Epistle, *Peter answered not Paul that rebuked him that he had the primacy*. This paſſage is falſified; theſe be the true words, *Nec Petrus vindicavit ſibi aliquid inſolenter, aut arroganter aſſumpſit, ut diceret ſe primum tenere*: that is, *Peter* attributed nothing to himſelf inſolently, nor aſſumed any thing arrogantly, to ſay that he had the primacy. That paſſage ſaith, that if *Peter* had attributed unto himſelf the primacy, he ſhould have ſpoken arrogantly and inſolently: Wherefore the Cardinal hath erliſped theſe words, arrogantly and inſolently.

In the ſecond Obſervation, 2. chap. pag. 640. he falſifieth *Socrates*, making him ſay, that the Council of *Nice* denounced excommunication unto the *Quarta decima* of *Asia*. But *Socrates* ſaith, that it was *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, that denounced that excommunication, not the Council of *Nice*. See *Socrates* in the fifth book, chap. 21.

In the 35. chap. of the firſt book, pag. 283. to prove that *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Cordova* did preſide in the Council of *Nice* in quality of Legat of Pope *Sylveſter*, *Monſieur du Perron* alledgeth *Photius* in the Book of the Councils addreſt unto *Michael* King of the *Bulgars*, and brings theſe words, *With Vito and Vincentius was joyned Oſius Biſhop of Cordova*. An horrible Licence of falſifying; for in that book of *Photius* the clean contrary is ſound: Of which book we have an extract, treating of the ſeven Oecumenical Councils from the beginning of the firſt Tome of the Councils. Theſe are the very words of *Photius*; *The firſt Oecumenical and holy Council hath been celebrated at Nice in Bithynia, where three hun-*

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hundred and eighteen holy Bishops undertook the judgement of the truth. (a) Alexander did preside in it, who held the See of Constantinople, and Sylvester and Julius illustrious and famous Bishops of the Roman Church. Nevertheless neither of these were there in person, but they would that Bito and Vincentius should be there in their names. Of Hosius he speaks not at all, and puts Alexander Bishop of Constantinople before that of Rome.

(a) Tomus
1. Concil.
Edit. Colon.
An. 1567.
apud Gevini-
um Cale-
cium.
Præerat &
Alexander
qui sedem
Constantino-
politanaam ob-
tinebat, vir
eum senectute,
tam pruden-
tia, quam gra-
tis, &c. & Syl-
vester & Ju-
lius illustres.

In the fifth book, in the Treatise of the Invocation of Saints, 20. ch. page 1057. the Cardinal alledgeth a text of Theodoret against himself, thus, That vice [of serving Angels] hath continued long in Phrygia and Pisidia, (b) and therefore the Synod assembled at Laodicea, the Metropolitan City of Phrygia, prohibited by a Canon praying to Angels: and to this day Oratories to St. Michael are seen among them. But the Cardinal hath taken away that word of St. Michael, for fear of wrapping the Roman Church in that condemnation; for that Church hath Oratories of St. Michael as well as those Hereticks. He hath then put Oratories only, without speaking of St. Michael.

ac celebres Ecclesie Romanæ Pontifices, quorum tamen neuter interfuit, sed Bitonem & Vincentium nomine suo adesse voluerunt. Phocius Epistola ad Michaelem Bulgariz Principem de septem Conciliis Oecumenicis. (b) ἡ δὲ ἐκείνη καὶ ἡ συνελθούσα ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς φρυγίας νόμος κεκαλυμμένη τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἀποστρέφεται, καὶ μὴ καὶ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ αἵματος Μιχαὴλ παρ' ἐκείνοις.

In the 19. chap. of the same Treatise, pag. 1009. he makes Eusebius to say in the 13. book of the Evangelical preparation, that Plato hath said, that virtuous dead men must be honoured, and their Monuments venerated and adored. That is false, and Eusebius in the alledged place doth not speak of it at all.

In the Controversie of the Prayer for the dead, ch. 10. pag. 948. he alledgeth Josephus in the third Book of the war of the Jews, ch. 25. in these words, "Josephus describing the extremity of the siege of Jotapata, and the resolution which they would take, rather to cause themselves to be killed than to fall into the hand of the Romans, testifieth that he dissuaded them from it by this remonstrance, that the Law of their Nation did not permit that the souls of those that had killed themselves should be prayed for. No such thing shall be found in Josephus, but only τὰς ἀνελόντας ἐαυτοῦς παρὰ μὴν ἡμῖν μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν ψυχὰς χρυστεῖν ἐκείναις, that is, there is an order among us, that they that have killed themselves be hid without burial until sun-set.

One of the boldest falsifications in Cardinal du Perron's book, is in the third chap. of the same Treatise, pag. 984. in a passage of the 8. Book of Origen against Celsus. To defend the invocation of Saints and Angels, he goeth about to prove, by Origen, that the Angels and blessed Spirits pray for us: A thing which we deny not. In vain doth he labour to prove that which is not controverted. But the question is, whether Angels and Saints must be invoked, and whether they must be prayed to that they would pray for us. Origen then speaking of persons that fear God and pray to him, saith that an infinity of sacred powers (so he calls Angels) join themselves to their prayers, not being called upon or invoked. Which is an excellent passage; but M. du Perron corrupts it, and translates ἀκλήτοι δυνάμεις voluntarily, whereas it signifieth, not being called upon by Prayer or Invocation.

The Author of the Comment upon the Epistle to the Romans, attributed to Ambrose, upon the first ch. saith. "For this cause we go to the King by Colonels and Governours, because the King is a man, and knows not to whom he should commit the administration of the Common-wealth. But to get Gods favour (for he knows what all men deserve) suffragatore non opus est, sed mente devota, there is no need of any that help us with his suffrage, but of a devout soul. Monsieur du Perron translates this word Suffragator, a giver of advice or attestation against the nature of the word, and the authors intention. For they that employ Colonels or Governours to speak to the King, do it that they may intercede for them, not that they may give advice or attestation to the King. And Ambrose speaks of intercessors to God, not of persons that give advice or attestation to God; for God to know us needs not the attestation of any.

In the 73. chap. of the first book, page 588. M. du Perron alledgeth a passage of *Chrysostom*, out of the third Homily upon the Epistle to the *Philippians*, where he makes *Chrysostom* to say, *It is not in vain that the Apostles have left a tradition, that sacrifice should be offered for the dead.* That passage is false; for *Chrysostom* saith thus, ἐν ταῖς ταῦτα ἐνομοθετήσιν καὶ ἡ ἀποστολὴν τὸ ἐν ἐπιστάταις μυστηρίῳ μυστικῶς ζῶντες ἡμεῖς ἀπαλθόντων, *It is not in vain that the Apostles have made that Law that in the formidable mysteries a commemoration be made of them that are departed.* This word *Sacrifice*, and the word *Tradition* are added by M. du Perron.

In the third Observation, chapter 20. page 703. & 704. he falsifieth the tenth Canon of the Council of *Ancyra*, translating καταδεχόμενοι have been received, whereas it signifieth having undertaken, or having obliged themselves. The Latins would say, *qui in se receperunt.*

Page 1084. Where he speaketh of unknown Language, he alledgeth a passage of *Hierome* in the preface of the second book upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, whereby he would prove that the Divine Service was celebrated among the *Galatians* in a Language not understood, because their Service was in Greek, and their vulgar tongue was like unto that of the *Gauls* of *Triers*. The Cardinal makes *Hierome* speak thus, *The tongue of the Galatians was like that of the Gauls of Triers.* But he fraudulently clips the words of *Hierome*, which say that the *Galatians* had also the use of the Greek tongue, vulgar in all the East. This is the true passage, *Galatas excepto Ser-mone Græco quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam eandem habere linguam quam Tre-viros.* That the *Galatians*, besides the Greek tongue which all the East speak, have a proper tongue, the same as that of the *Gauls* of *Triers*.

In the second Observation, chapter 5. pag. 651. he proveth secret confession by Saint *Cyprian*, whose words he thus alledgeth, *They that do penance, cannot come to the Communion, unless the hand be laid upon them by the Priest or by the Clergy.* There is in the Latine, *ab Episcopo & Clero*, by the Bishop and the Clergy. But M. du Perron hath put the Priest for the Bishop, and or for and, because the laying on of hands by the Priest and by the Clergy cannot be applied to the secret Confession, but to the publique penance.

In the same page he falsifieth two passages of *Basil*, who in the *short Rules*, in the 229. Rule saith, *Confession of sins must be made before them that can heal it.* But Monsieur du Perron, to exclude all other confession, but that which is made unto the Priest, addeth this word, *only*, and thus sets down that passage, *Confession of sins can be made only before them that can heal it.*

To the same purpose in the same place is alledged another place of *S. Basil* out of the 288. question in these words, *Sins must be revealed only to those to whom the dispensation of mysteries is committed.* But the word *only*, is of the Cardinals addition.

To the same purpose again he corrupts a passage of *Leo* in the Epistle to the Bishops of *Campania*, which is the 80. He makes *Leo* to say, *It is enough that the sins of Consciences be shewed unto the Priest by a secret confession.* He hath put *Priest* for *Priests*; *sacerdoti pro sacerdotibus*: because the confession made to many Priests availeth nothing to prove Auricular Confession.

In the third ch. of the second Observation in the end of the 648. page where he disputes of Auricular Confession, he alledgeth a place of *Chrysostom*, in the 30. Homily to the people of *Antioch*, in these words, *It is enough for thee to confess thy sin to God alone, not to thy servant that upbraideth thee with it.* Item, *Do not constrain thy self to come to a Stage before a great multitude of witnesses.* But he suppresseth the following words, *Against me the sin is committed, To me alone tell it in private*, which are exprels words against the confession made unto the Priest.

In the fifth chapter of the same Observation, page 650. he alledgeth these words of *Ambrose*, for the secret confession, out of the sixteenth chapter of the first Book of penitence; *If any having secret crimes, makes nevertheless a serious penance, how shall he receive there [a hundredth fold] if the communion be not restored to him again?* Here Monsieur du Perron stay-eth

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ἐν ταῖς ταῦτα ἐνομοθετήσιν καὶ ἡ ἀποστολὴν τὸ ἐν ἐπιστάταις μυστηρίῳ μυστικῶς ζῶντες ἡμεῖς ἀπαλθόντων

ἐν ταῖς ταῦτα ἐνομοθετήσιν καὶ ἡ ἀποστολὴν τὸ ἐν ἐπιστάταις μυστηρίῳ μυστικῶς ζῶντες ἡμεῖς ἀπαλθόντων

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eth and suppresseth the following words which shew that *Ambrose* is speaking of a public confession. *I will (saith Ambrose) that the guilty hope for pardon; Let him ask for it with weeping. Let him ask it with groaning. Let him ask it with the tears of the people, &c.* Such dealing indeed is abusing the Reader, and unworthily clipping the sense of the Fathers.

*Volo ut
vult speret.
Petat eam
lacrymis.
Petat gemitibus.
Petat populi
fletibus.*

Ambrose in the ninth chapter concerning those that are initiated in the mysteries, saith, *The Lord Jesus himself crieth, This is my body. Before the heavenly blessing, another kind is named; After the consecration, the body of Christ is signified or represented. There is in the Latin, Ante benedictionem verborum celestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus Christi significatur.* Monsieur du Perron in the eight hundred seventy ninth page corrupts this place, translating it thus, *Before the blessing of the heavenly words it is named another kind; After the consecration it is called the body of Christ.* See the third chapter of the eleventh Controversie of the seventh book of this present Work, where I speak of this more at large.

In the fifth chapter of the Treatise of the Sacrifice, page 925. the Cardinal alledgeth the twenty ninth Canon of the Council of *Carthage* in these words, *If in the afternoon some recommendations must be made of the dead, whether they be Bishops or Clerks or others, Let them be made by prayers only, if it be found that those that make it be no more fasting, reserving to the morning only the recommendations made by oblation.* These last words, *reserving to the morning only the recommendations made by oblation*, are added by M. du Perron, and are not found in that twenty ninth Canon.

See in this work, chap. 4. of the eleventh Controversie of the seventh book, a notorious corruption of an excellent place of *Theodoret*.

And in the seventh chapter the corruption of the Canon *Hoc est*, by omission of the word *as*.

St. *Austin* chap. 12. of the book against *Adimantus* hath these words, *Non enim dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui.* The Lord made no difficulty to say, *This is my body*, when he was giving the sign of his body. Cardinal du Perron in the fourth book, and the fourth chapter pag. 871. will have these words supplied, according to you, as though *Austin* had said, *The Lord made no difficulty to say, This is my body, when (according to you (O Manicheans) he gave the sign of his body.* Of which enormous licence in corrupting passages of the true sense of this place, see the eleventh Controversie of the seventh book, chap. 8. of this work.

In the sixteenth chapter of the same book, page 907. he alledgeth a place of *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria*, but with three corruptions of his own. That place of *Cyrillus* is found in the defence of the eleventh Anathematismus, inserted in the first Tome of the Councils, and is set down in these words; † *Dost thou pronounce that in our Sacrament we eat a man? And dost thou in an ungodly manner urge the understanding of those that have believed into gross thoughts? Dost thou attempt to handle with humane thoughts, those things which are not received but only with a pure and not far-fetcht faith?* The Lord Cardinal altogether corrupteth this text, translating it thus; *Do not pronounce that our mystery is an anthropophagy, or eating of mans flesh, irreligiously engaging the spirits of the believers into fallacious reasonings, and submitting to humane argumentations those things which are admitted by the only and not inquisitive faith.* He translateth ἐξήλας ἐνοίας fallacious reasonings: But ἐνοίας is not a reasoning, but a thought. And ἐξήλας signifieth not fallacious, but vain and easily wearing away. He had heard of ἀπαμύδης and he hath mistaken the one one for the other. And he translates ἀζητήτως a faith not inquisitive, whereas it signifieth a faith not far-fetcht. And he omitteth the word of only faith, in which lyeth all the strength of that place.

In the precedent page he translateth προλαμβάνειν are presupposed, whereas

(d)

† Num hominis comestionem nostrum hoc sacramentum pronuncias? & irreligiose ad crassas cogitationes urges eorum qui crediderunt mentem, & attentas humanis cogitationibus tractare ea que sola pura & irrequisita fide accipiuntur? And in the Greek, αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς, &c. οὐκ ἀνθρωποφαγίαν ἡμῶν ἐπαίρει τὸ μυστήριον περιεσθίαις εἰς ἐξήλας ἐνοίας; τὸ πρεσβύτειν ἢ ἰστὴν λογισμοῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις; ἀπαμύδην ὁμολογῶν ἃ μόνον ἀζητήτως πιστεῖ προλαμβάνειν.

it signifieth *are taken or received*, as the Latin copies translate. As also *Acts* 27. 23. *ἡ δὲν πρὸς λαμβανόμενοι* having taken, that is, eaten nothing, and in *v.* 36. *ἡ δὲν λαβόντο πρὸς τοῦ* they took meat.

The number of the places which the Cardinal depraveth, for want of sufficient skill in the Greek tongue, is numberless. Some of many we shall bring here.

Pag. 279. going about to correct *Sozomenus*, he translateth *πρόλιος* venerable, which signifieth *hoary* or *gray-haired*.

Pag. 126. he translateth *ἐνδοξάζοντα* reverencing, whereas it signifies *cogitantem*, thinking and imagining.

In the same page he translates *δοκίμη* discretion, whereas it signifieth *trial* or *examination*.

Pag. 961. In the second instance he interprets *λειτουργία* a *bathing tub*, or a *cistern*, taking *λειτουργία* for *λειτουργία* *λειτουργία*, whereof the first signifieth the *washing liquor*, the second a *cistern* or *bathing tub*.

Pag. 137. he translates *παρενοχλεῖν* representing, whereas it signifies *troubling* or *importuning*.

Pag. 317. *προσκαλεῖν* he expounds *convocating*, whereas it signifies *summoning*, or *desiring to come*. And *πείθειν* he takes for *συγγαλῆν* which he doth fraudulently to persuade that *Damasus* did convocate the Council; whereas *Theodoret*, whom he alledgeth, saith only that *Damasus* invited and desired the Eastern Bishops to come to *Rome* to the Council; but that the said Bishops would not come. It was an invitation without convocation.

In the first chapter of the Treatise of the Sacrifice, *pag.* 910 *ἐν ἐνὶ μαρῶν*, which signifies *non amplius pollutent, they shall defile no more*, he translates, *they shall smook no more*, which is a great ignorance in the Greek tongue.

In chap. 49. of the first book p. 428. *σπουδαῖος* he translates *studious*, taking *σπουδαῖος* for *σπουδαῖος*, for *σπουδαῖος* signifies *expetivus*, & *quod studiose expetitur*, that which is desired or sought for with care. Whence is derived *πρὸς σπουδαῖος* desired by every one, and *ἀξιόσπουδαῖος* worthy to be desired and sought for.

In chap. 34. book 1. *pag.* 247. *ὑποτίθημι* he translates *should decree*; whereas *ὑποτίθημι* signifies to *suggest, counsel, or represent*. Besides, the place which he alledged is clipr, to persuade that *Anthimus* Patriarch of *Constantinople* was subject to the Bishop of *Rome*. It is taken out of the fifth Council of *Constantinople*, held under *Menas*, in the fourth Action; The words are, that (a) *Anthimus* using fraudulent words, promised to do whatsoever the High Priest of the great Apostolical See would suggest unto him. *M. du Perron* hath cut off the head of that place suppressing these words, using fraudulent words, lest it should be seen that *Anthimus* did not hold himself subject to the Bishop of *Rome*. And instead of *suggesting*, he hath put *decreeing*, to make the world believe that *Anthimus* was subject to the Decrees and Ordinances of the Roman Bishop.

The third Canon of the Council of *Nice* is this, (b) *The great Synod hath altogether forbidden [or declared] that it be not permitted, neither to a Bishop, nor to a Priest, nor to a Deacon, nor to any other of the Clergy to have an associated woman, but only his Mother, or his Sister, or his Aunt, or only the persons that are past suspicion.* That Council by associate women understands certain women which Priests kept at their home, under colour, of friendship, or service: Which was subject to sinister interpretation. As now to be a Priests maid, is an ill name. The Grecians called those *she associates*, *συνεσώκτες*; And the women so associated were also called *Agapers* and strange women. This we shew in this book by several testimonies in the seventh chapter of the Controversie of the Celibate. Cardinal *du Perron* in the twentieth chapter of the third observation, *pag.* 706. understanding not the meaning of that word *συνεσώκτες*, or feigning that he understands it not, will have that word to signify a *married woman*, saying that the Council of *Nice* reckoning the women which are allowed to lodge in Bishops houses, as the Mother, the Sister, and the Aunt, excludes the Wife out of that number,

ἡ δὲ ὡς
ἐκείνη μὲν
π. οὐκ ἐλά-
ττω.

(a) λόγους
αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἡμεῖς
ἐπισημα-
σάντες
πάντα
πρὸς
τὸν
ἐκείνου
ὡς
τὸ
μὴ
ἐπισημα-
σάντες
καὶ
ἐκείνου
ἐπισημα-
σάντες.

(b) ἀπο-
κρί-
σεις
καὶ
ὅλα
ἡμεῖς
ἀν-
τι-
στή-
σαντες
ἐπὶ
τῷ
ἐκείνου
ὡς
τὸ
μὴ
ἐπισημα-
σάντες
καὶ
ἐκείνου
ἐπισημα-
σάντες.

The Cardinals falsifications.

number, pretending that the Council forbids Bishops and Priests to marry. I prove in the seventh chapter forealledged, that M. du Perron did not understand the signification of the word *συνοικοντες*, and that he corrupts the Canon of the Council of Nice, putting a doctrine upon the Council contrary to their sense.

In the same chapter page 708. of the Cardinals book, a Canon of the Council of Gangra is falsified. The Canon is such, *If any make a difference about a married Priest, as if one ought not to be partaker of the oblation when he doth the service, let him be anathema or accursed.* There is in the Greek *προσβυτιον γεγαμηκως* of a married Priest, not of a Priest that hath been married, as M. du Perron will have it translated. I shew in the seventh chapter of the Treatise of the Celibat, that *γεγαμηκως* signifieth one that is married, not one that hath been.

The like ignorance of his in the word *συνοικοντες*, I shew in XI. Controversie of the VII. Book chap. 4. And another ignorance of the word *αφ' ου* in his nineteenth chapter; M. du Perron makes *αφ' ου* to signifie *then*, whereas it signifies *altogether*. Many the like falsifications and depravations we represent in this Work. They shall be found marked in the Table at the end, in the word *falsification*, and in the word *Ignorance*.

I desire also the Reader to take notice that I abstained from examining the places alledged to no purpose, and nothing to our Controversies, which make two parts of three at the least of those places which M. du Perron alledged in his Book.



The Confession of three P O P E S.

(a) Post longum in prandio silentium recordatus aliquando est Hadrianus. Quarta verba, Romano Pontifice nemo est miserabilior, conditione ejus nulla miserior. Et paulo post, Non video quomodo qui locum hunc altissimum tenent salvari possint. (b) Nihil est quod absque argento Romana Curia dedat; ipsa manuum impositio & Spiritus S. dona venduntur, nec peccatorum venia nisi nummaris impenditur. (c) Sibi quisque vivebat, & ad Ecclesiam Romanam parvus habebatur respectus.



Quadrivius Panninius an Augustinian Monk in the life of *Marcellus* the II. hath these words, (a) *Marcellus* after a long silence in dinner time, remembered the words which Pope *Adrian* the fourth had sometimes spoken, *There is no man more to be pittied then the Bishop of Rome, and no condition more unfortunate then his.* And a little after, the same *Marcel* continuing his discourse, struck the Table with his hand, saying, *I see not how they that hold this most high place, can be saved.*

Aeneas Sylvius, otherwise called Pope *Pius* the second, in his sixty sixth Epistle to *John Peregral*, saith (b) *The Roman Court gives nothing without money, yea the imposition of hands, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost are sold, and the remission of sins is bestowed upon none but such as have money.* The same in his Epistle to *Martin Mayer* which is the one hundred eighty eighth, speaking of the state of the Christian Church of the first ages, saith, (c) *Everyone at that time lived for himself, and little respect was given to the Roman Church.*



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BOOK I.

OF THE
ANSWER
TO
Cardinal du Perron;

TREATING
Of the Church, and of her Marks, of the
Authority of the Holy Scripture, and
of Traditions.

CHAP. I.

Of the Nature of the Question of the Church.



Such is the ignorance and perverseness of man, that he gets harm by the most salutary things, turning his helps into hindrances, and directions to salvation into stumbling blocks. A truth justified by this Controversie of the Church: For this word *Ecclesia* (which with us is the Church) is a word importing Union, and calling together the wills, as well as the bodies: Yet it is that which now adays causeth the greatest division of minds; A Bond of Concord, is become an apple of discord.

This is the work of Pride and Ambition. For under the title of Church, a Temporal Monarchy is built in this world, whence it is come to pass, that the word hath lost its signification. For by the Church, which is said to be the Sovereign Judge of doubts concerning the Faith, from whose Authority the Authority of Scripture is made to depend, the Assembly of the Faithful is not understood; but some few Prelates that do and undo, and rule according to their pleasure.

The worst is, that the word *Church* is used as a Scare-crow to fright simple souls, and to enslave their consciences, pinning them altogether upon the Authority of certain persons, to dissuade them from enquiring of the Holy Scriptures, which alone can make us wise unto salvation. And whereas there be many contrary Churches, there is one among the rest whose Leaders boast that they cannot err, that the world may wholly rely upon them about the doctrine and way of salvation.

The ill order that is used in treating that point, contributes very much towards that evil. For that question is set in the *van*, which ought to be in the *rear*; this being laid for the Foundation and first Principle, That a man must believe the Church, before he be taught what the Church must believe. They will have the people to follow their Leaders, not enquiring whether they keep the right way, and teach the true Doctrine. But how shall a man joyn with the Assembly of the Faithful, before he know what it is to be faithful? And how shall one know what it is to be faithful, unless he know first what the Doctrine of Faith is? Among many contending Churches, how shall I know the true, and the pure Church, if the rules of Truth and Purity are hid from me, by a Prohibition of reading the holy Scripture, in which only those rules are to be found? Prudent men will know before they chuse. Only in the most important point of all, which is Salvation, the world will chuse the Church, before they know the things that make it to be the true Church.

For which this reason is given, that the work would be too long to examine all the questions by Scripture. Wherefore the Divines of the time will reduce all Controversies to the question of the Church; for (say they) he that is sure that he is in the true Church, is sure also that he hath the true Faith and Doctrine. But they fancy that to be a long work, which in effect is short: For the Faith of the Faithful is content with a few Articles, wherein the substance of Piety consisteth, which are set down in the Scripture in such clear terms, that they need no interpretation. And though the labour were long, yet in a thing so important, the difficulty must not breed neglect; much less, to avoid a long way, must we take an impassable and endless way. For since one cannot know which is the Assembly of the truly Faithful, but by the knowledge of the true Faith, whose without knowing which is the true faith, chuseth the Church which he will joyn to, throweth, as it were, at dice for his Salvation. And though he should light of the true Church, he should be never the better Christian for that; for he should owe his Religion to custom, or to his birth, or to some accident, without having any true piety or knowledge of God: He would have been of another Religion, if he had been born in another Country, or if he had met with other Leaders of his blindness.

In vain also the Controversies of Religion are begun by that of the Church, to make short work; for it is a thousand times the longer way. For the only question of the Church, as it is handled in our time, is a sea without either bottom or shore, and the whole body of Divinity is short in comparison of that. For among the marks of the true Church, they put the succession of Chairs in the same Doctrine from Christ until now: Whereby one is obliged to know all the Histories of the Church over all the world, for sixteen hundred years; and to search what every Bishop, who hath been sitting in that Chair in sixteen hundred years hath believed, upon every point of Divinity. There contrary Chairs are found, and very often Histories are wanting: For the Exposition of a passage of a Father, there is many times as much (if not more) contention, as for the sense of a Text of Scripture. And after all, that Father is no God, and is fallible, and our adversaries condemn every Father in many things. Neither can the people get any skill in the Fathers, the Books being Greek and Latine, of infinite length.

Indeed he that is sure that he is in the true Church, is sure that he hath the true Faith and Doctrine, at least as for the foundation, and the essential points of Religion. But I deny, that therefore he knows the true Doctrine, because he knows that he is in the true Church; yea, therefore he knows that he is in the true Church, because he knows that the Church in which he is hath the true Doctrine, and is in the communion of those that believe and observe it.

How

How much that method hath spoiled Divinity, it is evident and lamentable: For instead of treating by Gods Word, of the nature of God, of the corruption of man, of the relation of the Law with the Gospel, of Redemption by Jesus Christ, of Justification by Faith, of the exercise of good Works, of the adoration of one God only, and of the saving calling of the Faithful, in which points true Divinity consisteth; we are drawn by our adversaries to dispute of the succession of Chairs, and of the prerogatives of the Roman See; Whether the Church be above Scripture? that is, Whether men be above God? Whether the Pope can err? Of the contestations of other Patriarchs with the Bishop of *Rome*. Of the appeals of the Church of *Africa*. Of the Suburbicary Towns. Whether the Council of *Sardica* was universal? and a thousand things of that kinde, of no use for salvation. We need not then wonder that Atheism multiplieth, since in our days Christian Religion consisteth in disputes, from which the people get no instruction, and the consciences reap no comfort; and in an infinite heap of allegations of humane passages, God hardly finds any place, and his Word is very seldom made use of. Yea, the use that is made of it, is to subject the authority of it unto that of the Church: For (say they) it is the Church that makes the Scripture to have the force of a Law, and that which giveth authority to Scripture, the Roman Church being the infallible Judge of the sense of Scripture, even of the sense of those very Texts which speak of the duty of the Church, and are employed to establish the authority of the Roman Church. By this means the Roman Church is become judge in her own cause, and is an infallible Judge of the sense of the Laws to which she is subject.

So did not the Apostles; for (as you may see in the Book of the *Acts*) they instructed the people in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and alledged the Writings of the Prophets; but sent not the people to the Church, or to the authority of any sovereign and infallible Chair.

We will then enter (with the favour and assistance of our God) into this matter, which the malice of men hath so intangled and beset with thorns; and as occasion will require, we will examine the Reasons and Objections of Monsieur *du Perron*: Not always following the order of his Chapters, but of the matter, to avoid confusion; and that we may not be constrained to say (after him) fifty times over the same thing. For to make his Book swell, he beats over and inculcates many times the same things, which are never the more true for being often repeated.

CHAP. 2.

Of the word Church, and of the several significations thereof.

BEfore we speak of the nature of the Church, it will be necessary to remove the ambiguity of the word, and to shew how many ways that word is taken in Scripture: For our adversaries hide themselves within these thorns, and play with the ambiguity of that word as they list, intangling and confounding that which Scripture distinguisheth.

I leave the more remote significations; as when in Scripture a knot of wicked men is called *Ecclesia*, a Church, that is, an Assembly: As *Acts* 19. 32. where a crowd of Pagans crying, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*, is called *Ecclesia*, a Church: And *Psal.* 26. 5. where there is according to the vulgar version, *I hate the Church of the wicked*: Also that improper ordinary term, whereby Temples are called Churches: Likewise that custom of calling the Church the Clergy only, as if the people were no part of the Church. In that sense they speak of the liberties of the Church, that is, of the privileges of the Clergy; and in that sense they say, the Church goes before the Nobility and the Commons. Also that extravagant manner of speaking, when by the Church the Pope alone is understood; as

Cap. Novit.
Extra de Ju-
diciis.

Salmeron.
Tom. 13.
tertia parte
in Epi. Pauli
disp. 2. p. 172.
Congregatio
canum vel
arum Eccle-
sia aliquo mo-
do dici potest.

doth Pope *Innocent* the III. who attributes to himself the determining of a difference between *Philip August* King of France, and King *John* of England; because it is written, *Tell the Church*. And Cardinal *Bellarmino* in his second Book of the Councils, chap. 19. *The Pope must tell it unto the Church, that is, unto himself*. Also that prophane saying of the Jesuit *Salmeron*, that a kennel of Dogs may be called a Church.

I will then confine my self to those significations of the word *Church*, which serve to our Controversies.

1. In the holy Scripture the word *Church* is taken sometimes for the Universal visible Assembly of all that profess to be Christians, and to believe in Jesus Christ. It is that Church which *S. Paul* calleth *The pillar and ground* (or rather *stay*) of truth, 1 Tim. 3. 15, because her duty is to defend and stay the truth against error, as being made and appointed for that. Of that same Church the same Apostle speaks, 2 Tim. 2. 20. saying, that in a great house there are not only vessels of gold, and of silver, but also of wood, and of earth. It is that floor in which the good grain is mingled with straw, *Matth.* 3. 12. for that Church is made up of good and bad, and the pieces and particular societies of which that Universal Church is composed, are not equal in purity.

2. Sometimes also that word *Church* is attributed to particular Assemblies, which are parts of the Universal visible Church, and of which the Universal Church is composed. Such were in the Apostles time the Churches of *Corinth*, of *Rome*, of *Philippi*, and the seven Churches to whom the Spirit of God speaks in the second and third Chapters of the *Revelation*. Each of these particular Churches is also for her part, a pillar and stay of truth; for every particular Church is bound to defend the truth.

Matth. 18.

3. Sometimes also by the word *Church*, the Pastors only and Leaders of the Church are understood; as when the Lord Jesus biddeth, that in a quarrel between two brothers, the offended party tell it unto the Church; for Jesus Christ in the following verse gives unto that Church the power of binding and loosing, which cannot be proper to any but the Pastors of the Church.

4. Sometimes also by the *Church*, the people only is understood; as when the Apostle commands the Pastors to feed the Church, *Acts* 20. 8. and the same Apostle, 1 Tim. 3. 4. 5. commands the Bishop to be one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity: For (saith he) if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?

Luke 10.

5. But besides these four significations of the word *Church*, the holy Scripture takes that word in a higher and holier signification, meaning by the Church very often, the whole Assembly of the true Faithful and Elect whom God hath predestinated unto salvation: This is that Church which *S. Paul*, *Ephes.* 1. 23. calleth the body of Jesus Christ; it is that which is called the Spouse of Christ, and the Jerusalem of God; it is that which the Apostle *Peter*, 1 Pet. 2. 9. calleth the chosen Generation; and because Scripture saith, that the Elect are written in the Book of Life, and that their names are written in heaven, the Apostle to the *Hebrews*, chap. 12. ver. 23. calls it the Assembly, and the Church of the first-born which are written in heaven.

Of these Elect some are already glorified, some are in this world mingled among the wicked, some are not yet called and converted unto the faith: Many of them also are not born yet, and are only inrolled in Gods counsel to fight when their time comes, and to get the victory. So there is a difference between the Church of the Elect, and the Church Triumphant; for the Triumphant Church is but part of the Church of the Elect.

Out of that Church there is no salvation: It is that Church which we say to be invisible; not only because the glorified Saints are out of our sight, and because those that belong to Gods Election, and are not yet born, cannot be seen; but also, because those Elect that live on earth, though they be visible men, yet are not visible in their quality of Elect; for Election is not discerned with the eye, only it is charitably presumed by the profession of faith, and by good works; nevertheless, the Church of the Elect shall be visible in the day of Judgement.

Of

Of that Church principally the Symbole speaks in this Article, *I believe the holy Catholick Church*; for those things are believed which are not seen, as the Apostle saith, *Heb. 11. Faith is the evidence of things not seen*; and, *2-Cor. 5. 7. We walk by faith, not by sight*: Wherefore immediately after these words, *I believe the holy Catholick Church*, in that Church the communion of Saints is placed, to exclude the prophane and hypocrites: And again, to that same Church the *Remission of sins* is attributed, and *life everlasting*, which are graces belonging only to the Elect and truly faithful.

Besides these four significations of the word *Church*, the ancient Doctors use to understand by the Church (which very often they call *Catholick*) the whole Society of the Christian Churches which are Orthodox, sound in the faith, and united together in Communion, opposing that Church to the Heretical and Schismatical Societies. In that sense our adversaries take the word *Church*, and call it the true Church, and the Catholick Roman Church. Cardinal *du Perron* defines it thus in *Chap. 8. pag. 30.* That it is the Society of those whom God hath called to salvation by the profession of the true faith, sincere administration of the Sacraments, and adherence unto the lawful Pastors. The Jesuit *Salmeron* in *Tom. 13. page 172.* giveth this definition of the Church, *The Church is the Assembly of those that are called by faith, and by the participation of the Sacraments, and thereby unto grace and felicity*: Which acception of the Church we will not reject, but use it often in this Book, to accommodate our selves unto the language of our adversaries, for we delight not to dispute about words: Yet it hath that incommodity, that it recedeth from the foil of the holy Scripture, and takes the word *Church* otherwise then it is taken in the word of God.

From all that was said it is evident, that there being many sorts of Churches differing in nature, it is impossible to define them all with the same definition, and that Cardinal *du Perron* doth unjustly charge us in *Chap. 8. and 69. page 34, 35.* of his first Book, that sometimes we restrain the Church to the predestinate only, sometimes we extend it to the whole multitude of those that profess Christianity, making it sometimes visible, sometimes invisible, like the ring of *Gygis*: Indeed that man should shew himself short of wit and learning, that would give to the same Church divers and disagreeing definitions; but since there are divers sorts of Churches, and of different nature, it is impossible to define them with one definition. We do not say, that the same Church is sometimes visible, and sometimes invisible; only we say, that the Church of the Elect is not discerned with the eye, neither is, or ever shall be visible before the day of Judgement, but that the true and orthodox Church is always visible to them that belong to it: To them that are without, as Turks, Jews and Pagans, we grant that it is invisible, as we shall see hereafter: For although they see a Society of men, they do not see that such a Society of men is the true Church.

So much of the word *Church*, and the divers significations of the same. Of which word Monsieur *du Perron* saith in his first Chapter, *page 2.* that *Jesus Christ is the first that hath effected and consecrated the word Church to signifie a Society of Religion*; affirming, that before Jesus Christ the word *Church* signified onely a civil Assembly, that is, a Parliament, or the meeting of the States of a Nation; but that Jesus Christ hath first taken it in a Religious sense: A great oversight to begin his Book withal, to think that Jesus Christ ever made use of the word *Ecclesia*, [which the English call Church,] for *Ecclesia* is a Greek word: Now Jesus Christ spake among the Jews in the Jewish Tongue only. The Hebrew word *קהל Kahal*, which signifies *Assembly*, is often taken in a Religious sense, as *2 Chron. 1. 3. Levit. 8. 34, 5. 1 Kings 8. 14.* and in many other places.

CHAP. 3.

That there is a Church of Elect or Predestinate persons.

THe word of God is so exprefs upon this, that one can hardly doubt of it, attributing such things unto the Church as are unsuitable to the Reprobate and Hypocrites that are in the visible Church: As when it is called the body of Christ; for in the body of Christ, who is *the life*, there is no dead members, and none can belong to the body of Christ, if he be a limb of the Devil. And if sometimes the visible Church be called the body of Christ, it is in consideration of the Elect and truly faithful which make part of that Church, whom only the Spirit of God regardeth, when he calls the Church the body of Christ.

1 Pet. 2.9. S. Peter calls the faithful, a *chosen generation*: And the Apostle to the Hebrews chap. 12. v. 23. calls them the *general assembly and Church of the first-born which are written in heaven*, which cannot be applied to the Reprobate. And whereas that Church is called in the Scripture *the Spouse of Christ*, the prophane and wicked Christians are not the Spouse of Christ, nor part of it: For if by reason of the soundest part, the Church of Christ is called a chaste immaculate Spouse; by the same reason, in respect of the infected and disloyal part, which commonly is the greatest, she might be called an Adulteress, and an Harlot.

Luke 12. 32. the Lord Jesus calls his Church the *small flock* to which the Father is pleased to give the Kingdom, which can be attributed to none but the Elect and truly faithful.

Heb. 3. 6. The Apostle calls the Church *the house of God*; but he saith together, that *we are his house*, if *we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end*, declaring, that they alone are the house of God, that persevere unto the end.

John 10. The Church of Christ is compared unto a sheepfold, and the faithful are called sheep. If in that Church a multitude of Wolves and Goats is put, exceeding the sheep in number, it is no more a sheepfold.

1 John 2. 19. S. John speaking of Hypocrites revolting from the Church, saith, *They went out from us, but they were not of us*; as if he said, They went out from the visible Church, by forsaking the outward profession, but they were not of the Church of the Elect. And he saith in the same place, *if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us*.

The same was acknowledged by the Ancients. Origen on Matth. 16. saith, that *all souls that are not holy are not the Church, nor part of the Church which Christ buildeth upon the rock*.

Basil in the Chapter of the judgement of God, which is among his *Ascetica*, speaks thus, (a) *To call them members of Christ, among whom dissensions, and quarrels, and envy is found, it were a very rash part*. Jerome saith the same upon Ephes. 5.

Austin in the third Book of the Christian Doctrine, chap. 32. (b) *That is not truly the body of Christ, which shall not be with him for ever*. And in the Book of the Unity of the Church, chap. 4. (c) *All those that dissent from the Church about the head, though they be found in all places where soever the Church is shewed, are not in the Church*. And in the twentieth Book of the City of God, (d) *The Church predestinated and elected before the creation of the world, shall never be seduced by the Devil*: nothing can be more exprefs. And in the ninth Chapter of the Unity of the Church, he maintains, that *those persons are not of the Church that shall not possess the Kingdom of Heaven*. And in the second Book against Cresconius, in Chap. 21. (e) *They are not of the body of Christ, which is the Church, because Christ cannot*

(a) Παρ' οὗ
δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ
ἐκκλησία
ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πο-
λλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας
ἀντὶ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας
ἐκκλησίας
(εἰς.)

(b) Non enim
revera Domi-
ni corpus est
quod cum il-
lo non erit in
eternum.

(c) Quicun-
que de ipso
capite à Scri-
pturis sanctis
dissentiant,
etiam si in om-
nibus locis in-
veniantur in
quibus Eccle-
sia designata est,
non sunt in Ecclesia.
(d) Nunquam à Diabolo Ecclesia seducitur predestinata & electa
ante mundi constitutionem. (e) Malos non pertinere ad Ecclesiam; Dei quamvis intus videantur, ex hoc
manifestissime apparere jam in corpore Christi non sunt quod est Ecclesia, quoniam non potest Christus habere mem-
bra damnata.

have

have damned members. Wherefore in Chap. 9. of his *Mannale ad Laurentium*, (a) he composeth the Church mentioned in the Symbole, of two parts, the one a Pilgrim on earth, the other being in heaven.

It cannot be said, that *Austin* retracted himself in the second Book of his *Retractions*. chap. 18. as Cardinal *du Perron* saith in chap. 9. For there he doth but expound his meaning, saying, That when in his Books of Baptism, he spake of a Church without either spot or wrinkle, that must not be so taken, as if the Church at this present were such a one, but as being prepared to be such when she shall appear once glorious: Which is most true, and hinders not that Church without spot or wrinkle to be the Church of the Elect; but *Austin* referreth that perfection to the time of her glorification. But in how many places doth he compose the Church with the faithful that are on earth, and those that are already received in Heaven? About that is the whole work of the City of God employed; for within that City of God, which is the Church, he comprehends also the Saints in Paradise. And upon *Psalms* 59. (b) *The Church is elected from all the world, and mortified from the earthly life*: He maketh then a Church of the Elect.

(c) *Jerome* upon *Gal. 1.* saith, that the Church is of two sorts; the one without spot and wrinkle, which is the Church of the glorified Saints; the other, which hath not yet attained the perfection.

Hence our Adversaries are plunged, and know not how to come out: For when the Apostle *Ephes. 5.* speaks of the Church without either spot or wrinkle, which is the Spouse of Christ, they will have that Church to be the Roman Church. But the Jesuit *Salmeron* makes no difficulty to contradict it; for by that Church without either spot or wrinkle, he understands the Church of the glorified Saints (d); thereby acknowledging another Spouse of Christ then the Roman Church, and a Church more pure, and more perfect.

The Catechism of the Council of *Trent*, in the Exposition of the Article of the Symbole, *I believe the Church, &c.* saith, that (e) *the Church hath principally two parts, the one Triumphant, the other Militant, composed of good and bad*. Making the wicked to be the same Church with the Saints of Paradise, and rather chusing to joyn such contrary things in a body, then to make them two several Churches, lest it should be acknowledged that Scripture speaks of another Church then the Roman.

p. 173. (c) *Ecclesie duæ potissimum sunt partes, quarum altera triumphans, altera militans vocatur, &c. ecclesia militante duo sunt hominum genera, bonorum & improborum.*

(a) *Ecclesia tota hic accipienda est non solum ex parte qua peregrinatur in terris, verum etiam ex illa que in celis.*

(b) *De toto mundo electa est Ecclesia, & mortificata à terrena vita.*

(c) *Ecclesiam dupliciter posse dici, & eam que non habet maculam & rugam, & eam que in Christi nomine absque plenius perfectis que virtutibus congregatur.*

(d) *Salmeron. Tom. 13. lisp. 1. ex Epist. Pauli.*

Jam in Ec-

CHAP. 4.

Reasons of the Adversaries against the Church of the Elect.

AGAINST this Doctrine our adversaries bestir themselves: For to exalt the dignity of the Roman Church, they adorn her with those titles which Scripture gives to the Church of the Elect, calling her the Spouse, and the Body of Christ, that out of which there is no salvation, and the Virgin without either spot or wrinkle. But as for the Church of the Elect, they disgrace her as an invisible Chimera of our making, and acknowledge no other Church but that Hierarchical body of the Roman Church; despising *S. Bernard's* authority in his 78. Sermon upon the *Canticles*, where he saith many times that the Elect are the Church, and the Spouse mentioned in the *Canticles*. The title of the Sermon is this, (a) *That the Spouse, that is, the Church of the Elect, is predestinated by God before the ages*: And which is more, they oppose *Gregory the first*, whom they surname the Great, where he speaks often of the Church of the Elect, especially upon the seventh penitential *Psalms*, where he saith, (b) *That the Church of the Elect is gathered from the Nations*. And so upon the fifth penitential *Psalms*, chap. 6. he saith,

(a) that

(a) *Quod sponsa, id est Ecclesia electorum, predestinata est à Deo ante secula.*

(b) *Electorum Ecclesia de gentibus congregata;*

(a) Sanctam Ecclesiam de sanctis in eternum permanentis constructam, nullis hujus vite persecutionibus superandam, ipse super quem edificata est evidenter ostendit, cum ait, Portæ inferorum non prævalerunt adversus eam.

(a) that the Church composed of the Saints, which remain for ever, shall never be overcome by persecutions; which he proveth by the words of the Lord, that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against her. That Pope so famous did not believe, that in that text Christ spake of the Roman Church; for it is not composed with Saints that remain for ever, since our very adversaries confess that some Popes are damned. Bernard in his sixth Sermon upon the Psalm, *Qui habitat*, after he hath complained of the corruptions of the Church of Rome, so far as to say, that it remains no more but that the Son of perdition should be revealed, addeth,

(b) This will be a very grievous assault, but he that is the Truth, shall also deliver the Church of the Elect from it. Hincmarus in his Book of fifty five Chapters, chap. 35. speaks of

(c) the Church of all the Elect which is written in Heaven. What more? the last Council of Lateran, in the tenth Session, by the mouth of the Archbishop of Patras, acknowledgeth a Church of the Elect: (d) That he might (saith he) establish in him one holy Church, Mother of all the Elect.

(b) Hic plane gravissimus erit incurfus; sed ab hac quoque Ecclesiam electorum veritas liberabit. (c) Sanctam omnium electorum Ecclesiam conscriptam in culis. (d) Ut in illo constitueret unam sanctam Ecclesiam electorum omnium matrem.

But our adversaries being of late grown more crafty, reject all that, and rejecting the Church of the Elect, acknowledge no other Church but the Roman; perceiving well enough, that if there be a Church of the Elect, the Pope cannot be the head thereof, since themselves say, that many Popes were damned. Neither could they promise so much to themselves, as to be able to perswade the world that the Pope is the head of the glorified Saints, and that Noah, Moses, and Abraham, were members of the Roman Church, although the last Council of Lateran, in the ninth and tenth Session say, that the Pope hath all power in heaven and earth.

To prove then that there is no Church of the Elect, they bring many texts of Scripture, which shew, that in the Church there are some good, and some bad, comparing the Church unto a floor where the good grain is mingled with the straw; and to a great house, where there be some vessels to honour, and some to dishonour; and to a net gathering good and bad fish. They bring also texts that speak of a visible Church, intending thereby to prove that there is no invisible Church; with as much reason, as if I would prove that there is no reasonable creature, because there are some unreasonable. To the same end they bring many passages of the Fathers: It is the subject of the ninth Chapter of Cardinal du Perrons Book.

But in vain doth he labour to prove that which we grant: For we acknowledge a visible Church, where the good are mingled among the bad. And it is of that Church that the Scripture speaks in the texts which they alledge; which hinders not, but that God hath a multitude of Elect, and that the name Church is given them in Scripture.

CHAP. 5.

Reasons of Cardinal du Perron against the Church of the Elect in the ninth Chapter of his Book.

THE ninth Chapter of the Cardinal is employed to fight against the Church of the Elect, and to shew that there is no such thing: Upon that he bends all his sinews, and his great wit makes an extraordinary effort: wherefore we also must seriously examine it. His first Reason is this:

I. The word *Ecclesia* is derived from a Verb which signifieth a calling, and not predestining. So he will prove that there is no Church of the Elect, because the Etymologie of that word Church doth not signifie predestining.

A Reason

A Reason founded upon a false maxime; viz. that whatsoever is proper to any thing, must be exprest by the Etymologie of the word: As if I said, That the Pope can err in the faith, because the Etymologie of the word *Pope* signifies not certainty or infallibility in the Doctrine; there is none but would charge my reasoning with inconsequence.

II. His second Reason is so confused, that we cannot answer it before we set it in order. The Argumentation is such:

Every Society must have a communion of parts among themselves.

The Church is a Society: Ergo,

The Church must have a communion of parts among themselves.

The Argument is true: But upon that Conclusion he builds another Argument, which hath not the like truth:

The Church must have communion among her parts.

Now the predestinate have no communion among them: Ergo,

The predestinate are not the Church.

Of that Argument the *minor* Proposition is manifestly false: The Elect, or predestinate have many things common among them; they have all one Father, who hath adopted them; one elder Brother, the Lord Jesus Christ; one Spirit, that conducts and sanctifies them; one and the same right in the Kingdom of Heaven. *S. Austin* is far from that opinion; for he saith, that even the Angels are part of the Church.

August. En-
chirid. c. 11.
Hæc ergo quæ
in sanctis
Angelis &
virtutibus
Dei est Ec-
clesia.

Against that the Cardinal saith, that *Predestination*, quatenus *Predestination*, puts nothing in the persons of the predestinate.

Indeed that word *Predestining* doth not clearly import that communion; but hence it follows not, that there is no such communion, although the word does not expresse so much: So I might say, That the faithful are not happy, because the word *Faithful* expresth no happiness. And yet when that word *Predestinate* is once well understood, it will be found that it imports that communion, and puts many common things in the predestinate: For when we say, that there are Elect or predestinated men, we understand that they are predestinated unto salvation, and to the means to attain it. These means are the Spirit of Regeneration, Faith and Adoption in Jesus Christ: Since then they are all predestinated to that, all have that common among them by Predestination.

To defend that Proposition so notoriously false, he brings another worse, which depriveth the faithful of their chief comfort. He affirmeth, that when *Paul*, 2 Tim. 2. saith, *That God knows them that are his, and hath marked them with his seal*; it must be understood, that God hath marked the predestinate in himself, not in them; as if I said, that a shepherd hath marked his sheep, not in them, but in himself; so that it is the shepherd that is marked, not the sheep. That Divinity is somewhat extravagant.

And it is contrary to Scripture, which teacheth us, that God marketh those that belong to him, in themselves: For *S. Paul* tells us, *Ephes. 1. 13.* that this mark or seal is the *Spirit of promise*, which in many other places he calls the *Spirit of Adoption*: *Having believed, you have been sealed with the Spirit of promise*: and *Ephes. 4. 30.* *Grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby you are sealed unto the day of Redemption.* The Holy Ghost then being the seal, and the mark wherewith God sealeth his children, can we say that God marketh himself by his Spirit? Nay, he puts that Spirit in the hearts of his children; as the same Apostle saith, *Gal. 4. 6.* *Because you are sons, he hath sent the Spirit of his Son into your hearts*: Thus *Ezek. 9. 4.* and *Rev. 7.* God sealeth his Elect in the forehead: Is not that marking them in themselves? The same Apostle speaking of that Spirit of Adoption wherewith God sealeth his children, *Rom. 8. 15.* saith that *this Spirit cryeth in their hearts, and beareth witness unto their spirits, that they are Gods children*: That witness then is in themselves, and is not a mental designation in God, as the Cardinal speaketh. Yet herein his ingenuity is commendable,

See 2 Cor.
1. 22. &
Rom. 8. 15.

for this is a confession that he feelth not that mark within himself, and hath not that inward seal of his Election. But he should not have judg'd of others by himself; he ought not to have measured by the ill state of his conscience, the conscience of the Apostle, who speaketh by experience.

III. The third Reason of the Cardinal, is much intangled and darkned with perplexed words. It comes to this:

The Church is the body of Christ, by analogy to an organical body.

Now it is the essence of an organical body to have divers organs and offices:

Those offices and organs are in the Church, not by Predestination, but by the outward and visible calling.

Out of these three Propositions he draws no Conclusion, as it is impossible to draw any; for they have neither order nor dependance. I suppose that he intended to frame such an Argumentation:

All bodies have organs, and several offices.

Now among the Elect there is no such organs and offices: Ergo,

The Elect do not make a body in the Church.

The first Proposition is not universally true; for there are many bodies without organs, as the Heavens, the Moon, the Earth, and the Sea. That maxime may be good for a natural animated body, or for a civil body, as a Commonwealth, but when it is in question of a Spiritual Society, that Maxime is not necessary.

The second Proposition is also false, by the judgement of the Roman Church, which puts different offices among the Saints, bestowing upon the Virgin Mary the Office of Queen of Heaven, setting one Saint over a Countrey, another over the Cattel, another over women in childbed, and calling them Advocates and Mediators of Intercession.

And as for the Elect that are on earth, the Apostles were elected when they were in the world, and yet were organs to bring men to salvation, to which themselves were predestinated. True it is, that the charge of Apostle or Pastor comes not from their Predestination unto salvation, but from the outward calling. But is it any whit unreasonable, that God should use the outward calling, for the execution of his counsel concerning the Eternal Election? It matters not whence it comes that the Apostles are organs serving for the Spiritual body of the Elect, so that it be certain that they are so.

IV. He addeth a fourth Reason:

S. Paul saith, that God hath tempered the honour of the members, that there be no schism in the body.

Now the predestinate are not susceptible of schism, as predestinate, but as called: Ergo,

It is not Predestination, but Vocation, that constitutes the body of the Church.

A monster of Syllogism, which hath neither head nor tail, and hath no coherence, and where one may number as many terms as words.

Here is the like again, built upon the model of the other:

S. Paul saith, that every man is a lyar:

Now the predestinate are not susceptible of a lye, as predestinate, but as men: Ergo,

It is not Predestination, but Humanity, that Constitutes the Body of Man.

In that there is not one crum of reason, nor the shadow of any, neither doth the Conclusion do any thing against us, so it be understood of the visible Church, which also is alone capable of schism.

V. The fifth Reason is no better :

The Church is our Mother, Gal. 4. 26.

Now the Church doth not beget us by Predestination, but by Vocation. Ergo, It is Vocation, not Predestination, which constitutes the Church, in the state of a Church, and Mother of the faithful.

These are indeed woful Syllogisms, where there is neither form nor common sense. Though the last of them were in good form, the Conclusion makes nothing against us; for we know, it is necessary that a visible Orthodox Church, in which the Gospel is purely announced, beget us unto God, and be our Mother. And we grant, that the Apostle in that text of *Gal. 4.* speaks not of the Elect, but of a Church visibly erected by the preaching of the Gospel, and freed from the Ceremonies of the Law.

VI. He adds another Reason of the like weight :

One knows his Mother, before he knows his Father.

Now our certainty of being children of the Church, cannot be a means to make us know that we are Gods children : Ergo,

The definition of the Church must consist in the Vocation, not in the Predestination.

Never any man did Syllogize in such an extravagant way. By such Arguments one might as well prove, that twice two make seven : And with all that arguing, he fights against his own shadow, making us say, that in the Predestination, the definition of the Church consisteth, which we do not. For as for the visible Church, we know that Predestination enters not into her definition; and as for the invisible Church, which is composed only of the true, faithful, and children of God, this is her definition, *It is the Assembly of the faithful, whom God hath adopted in Jesus Christ, to save them.* Of that Church, Predestination is neither the matter nor the form, but the efficient cause, why these, rather than those, belong unto this Church.

VII. His seventh Reason is, that neither Christ, who hath been the Godfather of that Society, nor his Apostles, have ever employed that name of Church, but to design a visible Society :

That we deny, and have proved the contrary in Chap. 3. when our adversaries by the Church, understand the Pope alone (as we have shewed) they do not take the word Church for a visible Society.

The first text that the Cardinal alledgeth, is against himself : For when Christ saith, *Upon this stone I will build my Church,* it is certain, that he speaks of the Church of the Elect, as Pope Gregory the I. told us before : The following words shew it evidently; *And the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it;* which should be false, if he spake of a Church, a great part of which goeth into Hell. And truly, from the Apostles times unto this, the gates of Hell, that is, the power of the Devil, hath often prevailed, and still prevaieth over the visible Church; having often abolished many Churches, by the violence of persecutions, and corrupted many parts of the Church by Heresies, Idolatry, and Vices. For although Satan never utterly abolisheth the visible Church, yet it is prevailing against a State, when one robs it of great part of its Countrey; it is prevailing against a man to put him out of his house, to maim part of his body, and infect many of his members with the plague : *It was given unto the Beast to make war with the Saints, and to overcome them, Rev. 13. 7.* To overcome one, is prevailing against him : But as for the Church of the Elect, not one of that Church can perish; none shall pluck them out of the hands of the son of God.

In vain the Cardinal makes a flourish with the word *Building.* *I will build* (saith he) *shews that he speaks of a constituted Church, not by Predestination, which is establish of all Eternity, but by outward, earthly, and temporal calling.*

I answer, that although the Predestination of the Elect be Eternal, yet God calls them in time, and successively one after another; yea, some predestinate persons

persons are not yet born. So that it is with good reason, that Christ useth the future, *I will build*. Predestination is established of all Eternity, but not the pedestinate.

He addeth, that this word *Keys*, signifieth the Authority of the Ministry, which is true; but God useth that Ministry, to assemble his Elect: That Reason then is to no purpose.

Next, he alledgeth many texts that speak of the visible Church, which no body denies: If I say, that Scripture speaks of beasts, doth it follow that there is no men? If Scripture speak of a visible Church, doth it follow that there is no invisible Church? In vain then doth he fill well nigh two pages with such texts.

The last of them is *Heb. 12. 23.* where the Apostle speaks thus, *You are come to the General Assembly, and Church of the first-born, which are written in Heaven.* What can that Church be, but that of the Elect and predestinate, of whom Scripture saith so often, that their names are written in Heaven, and that they are written in the Book of Life? as, *Luke 10. 20. Rejoice, because your names are written in Heaven;* and, *Rev. 20. 15. Whosoever was not found written in the Book of Life, was cast into the Lake of fire.*

The Cardinal answers, that the Apostle speaks of the Triumphant Church: Of which I desire the Reader to take notice; for he hath told us before, that the word *Church* signifieth a visible body, called by an outward calling; and now he acknowledgeth, that the Apostle is speaking of a Triumphant Church, which is invisible. Also he hath told us, that the Church is an organical body: But now forgetting what he said, he acknowledgeth a glorious Church, where those organs are not. So he undoeth all that he hath done.

Nevertheless, let us see whether the Apostle speaks here of the Triumphant Church. That I affirm to be impossible: For the Apostle saith to the *Hebrews*, that *they were come to the Church of the first-born, which are written in Heaven*: Now they were not yet come to the Triumphant Church, since they were yet upon earth.

And if by those that *are written in Heaven*, we must only understand the glorified Saints, it will follow, that Christ spake against the truth, when he said to his Apostles, *Luke 10. That their names were written in Heaven*; for they were not yet glorified.

This is not contradicted by the Apostle, when he saith in the same place, *You are come to the Heavenly Jerusalem*: For the Heavenly *Jerusalem* comprehends the whole Society of the Elect, to which whosoever is joyned, is no less joyned to those that are in Heaven, then to those that are on Earth.

CHAP. 6.

Whether the Societies of Hereticks, and Schismatics, or Idolatrous Christians, must be called Churches.

Answer to the Cardinal.

THE Question is, Whether the Societies of Idolatrous, or Heretick, or Schismatical Christians, ought to be called Churches? and, Whether when by Heresies or Schisms the Church is torn in pieces, every piece can, or ought to keep the name of *Church*? About that, the 57. Chapter of the Cardinals first Book is spent. For my part, I hold that Question to be useless, because it is but a dispute about a word: We have true Controversies enough, without forging imaginary Controversies. To take the word in the sense that our adversaries take it, for the whole Society of the truly faithful, it is certain, that the Societies of Hereticks, separated from that body, are not the Church. But if by the Church, we understand

stand the whole body of those that profess Christianity, there is no doubt but that the Societies of Hereticks are Churches, and parts of that Universal Church. It appeareth to me, that our adversaries admitting the Baptism of those whom they call Hereticks, acknowledge them to be Christian Churches; for the Sacraments of the Christian Church, are not to be found out of the Christian Church. So the ten Tribes of Israel are often called by the Prophets, *the people of God*, because they kept the Circumcision, and were of *Jacobs* posterity. *M. du Perron, chap. 61. speaks of Christian Hereticks*: Now there are no Christians out of the Christian Church. The Apostle writing to the *Galatians*, calls them *the Church*, in the beginning of his Epistle, although they erred in an important point of the faith, retaining the Circumcision, and putting a necessity upon the observation of the Ceremonies of the Law: For that it was a vice of the body of the Church, not of some particular persons, it appears, in that the Apostle speaks to the body of the Church without distinction, *chap. 1. 6. & 3. 1. & 5. 7. & 9.* Cardinal *du Perron*, although he denies that it was the opinion of the whole Church, yet acknowledgeth that *S. Paul* confuteth that doctrine, as if all the *Galatians* had embraced it. Thus the Spirit of God writes to the Church of *Laodicea*, *Rev. 3.* which nevertheless he calls *poor, blind and naked*. A man sick of the plague, is nevertheless a true man: As health is not the form or the essence of a man, so purity in the faith is not the essence of the universal visible Church. Her essence or essential form consisteth in the collection in one body under the profession of Christianity.

Hof. 4. 6.

CHAP. 7.

How this Proposition must be understood: That out of the Church there is no salvation.

THe Cardinal is continually urging this Proposition, that there is no salvation out of the Church; And that he hath not God for his Father, that hath not the Church for his Mother. It imports then to know in what sense, and how far that Proposition is true.

I say then, that if by the word Church, you understand the Church or Assembly of the elect, or predestinated unto salvation, it is clear and questionless that out of the Church so understood there is no salvation: For whosoever is none of the elect, is of necessity a reprobate.

If by the Church, you understand some particular Church, as the Greek, the Roman, the English, it is certain that out of such a Church a man may be saved. For example, if the Roman Church were as pure in the faith as it is corrupt, yet a faithful man could be saved in any other particular Church of the like purity.

But if by the Church, one understands the whole body of those that profess themselves to be Christians, or the whole body of the Orthodox Churches united in communion; it is certain that out of the Communion of the Church taken in that sense a man may be saved. For if one were unjustly excommunicated from that Church, and should die during that excommunication, he should not be therefore excluded from salvation. For God is not subject to mens vices, nor obliged to comply with the unjust passions of Pastors handling the keys unrighteously, or abusing them ignorantly. Such a man having the Church for his Stepmother, shall nevertheless have God for his Father.

It may also happen that a Pagan or a Jew being prisoner, or living in a country where there is no Christians, will come by reading, or conference, or inspiration from God, to acknowledge the truth of Christian Religion, and make a resolution to profess it at the next opportunity, and as soon as he shall have his freedom: if Death prevent such a man before he can openly joyn with the Communion of the Church, I make no doubt but that he may be saved, believing in

Jesus

Jesus Christ, though he never did aggregate himself to the Communion of the Church. For our Saviours words can never be false, *Whoever believeth in Jesus Christ, hath eternal life*, Joh. 6. The thief crucified with Jesus, and converted when he was neer death, was a Pagan before, or of no religion; we cannot tell that ever he was a Member of the visible Church, yet he was saved.

In this sense then that Proposition may be true, *That out of the visible Church there is no Salvation*. Who so by profaness or error in the foundation of the faith doth separate himself from the Communion of the universal visible Church, and renounceth the Communion of the faithful, to live according to his fancy, and to be no more a Member of the Church, that man cannot be saved. Of such men the Apostle *Jude* speaketh ver. 18, 19. where he calls those *mockers and sensual men that separate themselves*; And the Apostle to the *Hebrews*, chap. 10. v. 25. forbids us to *forsake the assembling of our selves together*. In this sense Cyprian in his book of the Unity of the Church, saith, *He hath not God for his Father, that hath not the Church for his Mother*. For he speaks of Schismatics, who out of pride despise the Communion of the Orthodox Church, and are authors of dissention and division in the Church.

But in our dayes, this Proposition, That out of the Church there is no salvation, is taken otherwise. For thereby they mean that out of the Roman Church, and out of the Popes subjection none can be saved. One particular Church the furthest gone in the way of perdition, condemneth all other Churches to eternal perdition.

Of that question this is an appurtenance: Whether Hereticks and Schismatics can be saved? Those are called Hereticks, who by some error in the faith have separated themselves from the Orthodox Church. Those are called Schismatics, not Hereticks, that separate themselves from the Orthodox Church for some causes that concern not the faith. As the Donatists made a schism from the Orthodox Church of *Africa* for the ordination of *Cecilianus* Bishop of *Carthage*, pretending that he had been created Bishop by Bishops that had delivered the holy Scriptures unto the persecutors. But Satan for fear that the Schism should heal up, added to it presently some difference in the doctrine, moving a quarrel about rebaptizing of Hereticks.

In this question it is better to say too little then too much: For a godly, wise man will abstain from making a rash judgement of the salvation of others, remembering the sentence of Jesus Christ, *Judge not that you be not judged*. He will ponder the causes of the separation, and distinguish the persons. For there be some errors in light things, not fundamental in Religion, upon which a separation may happen, by the pride and pertinacy of some Pastors, even of them that are Orthodox: As the error of the *Quartadecimani*, who celebrated the feast of *Easter* precisely upon the fourteenth day of the Moon of *March*; for which cause *Victor* Bishop of *Rome* separated himself from their Communion; Wherein although the error was on their side, yet the schism was on *Victors* side, and he was more guilty then they. To pronounce that the people which is no cause of the schism, is damned eternally for such an error, is a rash part, and a bold judgement of the salvation of others. For no doubt but that such separations commonly happen by the ambition of the Pastors that lead the people, who groan under that yoke, and desire concord, grieving for the separation. Yea it may happen that both the Churches that forsake their mutual communion are both in the wrong. It may happen also, that the party that hath the truth on his side, is cause of the schism, by the harshness, or ambition, or want of charity of them that govern. As when two Brothers are quarrelling, they are Brothers nevertheless: So it is possible that two dissenting Churches will be nevertheless Members of the same body, in Gods account, whose wisdom is not obnoxious to our violence. But men prone to think well of their own righteousness, and having little charity for their Brethren, will pronounce all that keep not communion with them, excommunicate Hereticks and Schismatics, and assign their quarter in hell; whereas they should have a tender care to take heed to make up the least breach, by bearing

bearing with the weak. I would then put a great difference between the Authors of Schism, who are Satans Incendiaries, and the makers of the breach; and the simple people that cannot resist the authority of the Pastors of that Church in which they are born and bred, and have a real inclination to concord.

I could wish also that a man should not be pronounced an Heretick, that is ignorant of some Article of Faith by a simple and negative Ignorance, such as is that of Infants; not by an obstinate ignorance, which armeth it self with reasons against the Truth. Thus the Apostles were at first ignorant of the Resurrection, and were not Hereticks for that.

I wish also that an Errour be not presently called an Heresie, when it is about a light thing, not about the Fundamentals of Faith. It was with some severity that the *Luciferians* were listed among the Hereticks, because they would not receive to Episcopacy those that had held the same degree among the Hereticks; also for the traduction of the soul.

But above all, *M. du Perron*s judgement seems to me rash and bold, in the fourth Chapter of the third Observation; where he saith, that there are some points, of which if the Church should bate one syllable, she should cease to be the true Church of Christ, and would remain the Synagogue of Satan. Among which points he ranketh the doctrine of the Baptism of Hereticks. Whereby he condemneth the whole *African Church* in *Agrippines* and *Cyprians* Age, and calls it the Synagogue of Satan, and inwraps good *Cyprian* in the same condemnation. For they did not receive the Baptism of Hereticks, no more then the Donatists that came since, and have followed them in that point: For which cause *Steven Bishop of Rome* called *Cyprian* (who was far better then he) (a) a false Christ, a false Prophet, and a deceitful workman. As on the other side, *Cyprian* Epist. 74. calls *Steven* proud, ignorant, lover of Hereticks, Enemy to Christians.

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(a) Pseudo
Christum &
Pseudo Apo-
stolum & do-
losum operavi-
um.
Epistola Fir-
miliani que
est 75. inter
Epistolas Cy-
priani, §. 21.
& 22.

M. du Perron beats incessantly upon the necessity of Communion with the Roman Catholick Church, maintaining that out of that Communion, there is no Salvation. But he forgets to resolve a difficulty, Whether an Orthodox Church living in another Hemisphere then ours, and for want of Navigation, not so much as knowing that there is a Roman Church, must be deprived of Salvation; the defect not coming from her, but from the nature of the place, and the remoteness of the situation?

CHAP. 8.

Whether the True Church be alwayes in Sight?

State of the Question.

IT is not a point disputed, Whether the Church of the Elect be Visible; for it is a thing confest of all, that the Elect are not discernable with the eye. The question is, Whether the Church to which we must joyn, that we may be saved, be alwayes exposed to our eye?

We are also agreed upon this, That they that belong to that true Church, see and know that it is the true Church. Also that such as are not of that Church, as Pagans, Jews, and Hereticks; see indeed that Society of men which is called the Church, but see not that it is the true Church. These are the words of *Ballamine*, chap. 15. of the third Book of the Church, One may see a Society which is the Church, but one seeth not that it is the true Church. Cardinal *du Perron* saith the same, Chap. 19. To Hereticks and Schismaticks, the Church, though
never

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never so eminent, hath alwayes been obscure and hidden; not for want of light and eminency of her own, but by reason of their darknes and blindness.

So there is two wayes of seeing the Church, The one to see her only as she is a Society of men; the other to see that she is the true Church. Thus the Jews saw Jesus Christ, but did not see that he was the Christ, the Redeemer. In the first way many Pagans, Jews and Hereticks see the Church; but none but those that are of the Church, or have knowledge enough to joyn with it, see that it is the true Church. So far we are agreed.

The question between us is, Whether the true, pure, and Orthodox Church be alwayes exposed to those mens sight that are without the verge of the Church, and whether they can see her at least as a Society of men, for without that they could not aggregate themselves to her?

Our Adversaries maintain, That the true Church is alwayes in sight, and visible to them that are without. We on the contrary hold that the true Orthodox Church never was exposed to the sight of all the men of the world, there being alwayes many Nations that never heard of Christ, nor of Christian Church; And such hard and contrary times coming sometimes upon the Church, that the Church seemeth to vanish and be dissipated, or extinct by persecutions; of which I will bring some examples in the following Chapter.

CHAP. 9.

That the Church to which we must join, that we may be saved, is not alwayes eminent and exposed to every ones sight.

Answer to the Cardinal.

THe Word of God affords us many examples of this. Was the Church of God exposed to the sight of Infidels, when the people of Israel was in Egypt, serving the Idols of the Egyptians? For God by his Prophet *Ezekiel*, Chap. 20. upbraids them, that when by his Prophets he exhorted them to forsake the Idols of Egypt, where they lived, none of them would obey or leave her abominations.

Was the Church Visible to the Infidels in the time of the Kings, *Abas* and *Manasseh*, when those Idolatrous Kings shut up the Temple of God, and Idols were set up in all the Towns of *Juda*? and when the High Priest *Uriah* set up an Altar after the Pagan manner within the Temple, which was the only Temple in the world consecrated unto the true God?

M. du Perron. Chap. 88. saith for answer, that *Manasseh* came to repentance: But what is that to our purpose? That King indeed repented towards the end of his dayes; but the fifty two years of his reign are a sufficient time to make a long interruption in the visibility of the Church. He saith also, that although there had not been any assembling in the Synagogues at that time, and although all publick exercise of Gods service had been suspended, yet the Massacres of the faithful did not suffer the true Religion to be unknown and invisible.

This answer is a plain shift: For here the question is not of the Visibility of Religion, which may remain in some particulars, but of the Visibility of the Church; which Visibility ceaseth when there is no more Assemblies.

Was the Church exposed to the sight of them that are without, in the time marked, *2 Chron. 15. 3.* For a long season *Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching Priest, and without Law.* Where it cannot be said, that by *Israel* the ten Tribes are understood: For it follows in the Text, *But when they in their trouble did turn unto the Lord God of Israel, and sought him, he was found of them.* This conversion never was in the ten Tribes since their revolt.

Was

Was the Church Visible in the time of *Daniel*, when the only Temple dedicated to the ordinary service of God was destroyed, and the Jews captive in *Babylon*, bowed the knee before the Idol set up by *Nebuchadnezzar*, all but *Daniel* and his three friends! *Dan.* 3. 6, 7.

And although in all those times the Church had been visible to the neighbouring Nations, yet she was not visible to the *Chinese*, *Americans*, *Sarmates*, &c. And here our Adversaries ought to determine how far, and to how many Nations the Church was visible.

A very express example to this purpose is the time that the Lord Jesus lived on earth. There was then no other Visible Church in the world but the Jewish Church, nor any succession of Chairs, but that of the Priests and Scribes; yet they conspire against Jesus Christ, and make a Council, in which they decree, that whosoever should confess Jesus to be the Christ, should be cast out of the Synagogue; That is, excommunicated, *Joh.* 9. 22. which sentence is the worst of all doctrines. Where was at that time that true Church alwayes visible and eminent in purity? For our Adversaries hold, that then the Jewish Church had yet her full authority and purity, alleadging for that *Mat.* 23. 2, 3. *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses Chair. All therefore that they bid you observe, that observe and do.* To say with *M. du Perron*, that the Jewish Church was then near her period, and that her Lease was well-nigh expired, is confessing that at least some years had past without a visible Church.

Wherefore the Cardinal seeing that he could not deny, that the state of the visible Church under the Old Testament was often interrupted, saith, It follows not, if that hapned to the Jewish Church, that the same can happen to the Christian Church, which hath great priviledges above the Jewish. *In the same manner* (saith he) *as there is three periods of mans generation; The first, in which man liveth only with the life of Plants; the second, in which he liveth with an Animal life; and the third in which he liveth with a Reasonable life.* And that it doth not follow, if under the two first states the soul is corruptible, that under the third it must be so too. But he is mistaken in his Philosophy: For it is most false, that there is a time or period in which a man liveth only with a plants life; for in that time he is not yet a man. That is said of the *embryo*, not of man, who never is a man till he have a reasonable soul. But the Church is alwayes a Church, and is one and the same body from *Adam* unto the last day. If the Roman Church had promises of visibility and perpetuity as express as the Church of Israel, she would brag of them with great ostentation. God speaks thus, *2 Chron.* 33. 4. *In Jerusalem shall my Name be for ever.* And *1 King.* 9. 3. *I have hallowed this house to put my Name there for ever.* And *Psal.* 132. 14. *Zion is my rest for ever, here will I dwell, for I have desired it.* And yet God hath put away that people from his Covenant, because these promises were to be understood conditionally, if that people would adhere unto God, and to his service. But the Roman Church hath no promise in the Word of God to ground her perpetuity upon it: Nor hath the very Christian Church in general any promise to be alwayes eminent and visible to them that are without; but Scripture teacheth us the contrary.

In the beginning of the preaching of the Apostles, when she was inclosed in *Jerusalem*, she was not visible to the *Sarmates*, *Spaniards* and *Moors*.

Shall the Christian Church be visible in the time mentioned, *Revel.* 13. 3. where it is said, That *all the world shall wonder after the Beast*? Or in the time marked by the Lord Jesus Christ, *Luk.* 18. *Do you think that when the Son of man cometh he shall find faith in the Earth*? The Roman Church that investeth herself with the Title of Universal; was she visible to the *Americans* before the Navigations of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*? And when it is said, *Revel.* 12. that wings were given to the woman (which is the Church) that she might flee into the Wilderness, where she might be hid for a time; was that Church then eminent and visible unto the Infidels? Do not our Adversaries say, that the Antichrist shall abolish the continual Sacrifice, that is, (as they understand it) the Mass?

At that time then the Roman Church shall be no more: For they hold that a Church cannot be without a Sacrifice; at least at that time she shall have no visible and no eminent state.

And since God commandeth his Church, *Revel. 18.* to come out of *Babylon*, may we not thence gather that the Church shall be for a time hid in *Babylon*?

And who doubts, but that the Church may come to be so dispersed for a season by persecutions, that she may even be unseen to some of the faithful, until God gather them again?

CHAP. IO.

Places of the Fathers upon that Subject.

THe Antients are full of passages to that purpose. *Austin*, who sometimes to favour his cause against the Donatists, will have the true Church alwayes eminent in multitude and splendor, in some other places is speaking otherwise. In the 80. *Epistle to Hesychius* speaking of the last times, (a) *The Church* (saith he) *shall not then appear, the impious persecutors exercising their violence beyond measure.* And in the 45. *Epistle to Vincentius*, (b) *The Church sometimes is obscured, and is as it were covered with clouds by the multitude of scandals.* He adds indeed, That at that time *Ecclesia* in firmissimis suis eminet; *the Church is eminent in those that are most firm in the faith.* But the faith of particular persons sheweth indeed the Religion, but shews not the Church, when no Congregations are seen. In the same place speaking of the time of *Constantius*, he saith, that at that time the Catholicks were of small number, compared to the Hereticks. And in the 119. *Epistle*, Chap. 6. (c) *The Church being yet in that mortal condition of the flesh, is by reason of that mutability signified by the Moon in the Scriptures.* And soon after, (d) *The Church looks obscure in the time of her Peregrination.*

(a) *Ecclesia non apparebit, impius persecutoribus ultra modum saevientibus.*
(b) *Ipsa est quae aliquando obscuratur & tanquam obnubilatur multitudine scandalorum.*
(c) *Ecclesia adhuc in ista mortalitate carnis constituta, propter ipsam mutabilitatem, Luna nomine in Scripturis significatur.*
(d) *Obscura videtur Ecclesia in tempore peregrinationis suae.*

Ambrose in the 4. of the *Hexameron*, Chap. 2. (e) *The Church seemeth to fail like the Moon, but she faileth not; She can be obscured, but she cannot fail.*

Tertullian in his Exhortation to Chastity, Chap. 7. (f) *Where three are, though they be Laymen, there the Church is; for every one liveth by his faith.*

(e) *Videtur sicut Luna deficere, sed non deficit; Obumbrari potest, deficere non potest.* (f) *Sed & ubi tres, Ecclesia est, licet Laici; unusquisque enim de sua fide vivit.*

(g) *Vas parietum amor cepit; male Ecclesiam Dei in testis edificisque veneramini. Male sub hoc nomen pacis ingeritis. Montes mihi & lacus & carceres & voragines sunt tutiores.*

Hilary in his Book against *Auxentius*, (g) *You are taken with the love of walls; You reverence the Church of God amidst, in the roofs and buildings: you propound the name of peace amidst under that colour; Mountains, and Lakes, and Prisons, and Bogs are unto me more safe.* And that none say, that he speaks there of the only Church of *Milan*, he saith in the same place, that in the East it is a rare thing to find a Catholick Bishop or people.

CHAP. II.

Testimonies and Reasons of the Adversaries for the perpetual Visibility of the Church.

Against this our Adversaries bestir all their strength. *M. du Perron* in Chap. 2. opposeth it with many texts, *Isai. 2. 2.* *And it shall come to pass in the last dayes, that the Mountain of the Lords house shall be established in the*

top of the mountains; And all the hills shall flow unto her. [For so he alledgeth that Text.] But that Text promiseth not a visibility, and perpetual eminency to the Church, and at all times. It is a prediction of a time, when at the preaching of the Gospel, many Nations shall be converted: which happened in the time of the Apostles and their Disciples. This is made plain by the following words, *For out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem.* He speaks of a time, when the Word of God must be carried from *Judea* and *Jerusalem* to the Gentiles, which came not to pass but in the Apostles time.

The same answer will serve for two other Texts which he brings; The one out of *Isa. 60. 3.* *The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightness of thy rising.* The other is out of *chap. 61. 9.* *Their seed shall be known among the Gentiles, and their off-spring among the people.* These Texts promise a time when the Church shall be much exalted in the sight of the Nations, but speak not of visibility and perpetual splendor.

To these Texts he adds two of the New Testament. The first of *Mat. 5. 14.* *You are the light of the world. A City that is set on a hill cannot be hid.* By the City (a) *Austin* understands the Church: *Basil* in his abridged definitions in the 277. Interrogation holds that thereby good works must be understood, because it is added, *that men may see your good works.* But the true exposition is that of *Hierom* in the second Dialogue against the *Pelagians*, and of *Chrysostom* in the Homily upon this place; Who say, that by the City set on a hill the Apostles are understood, whom Jesus Christ calls also the light of the world; and because both their persons and preaching were to be set forth in the sight of all Nations. Thus God said to the Prophet, *Jer. 1. 18.* *Behold I have made thee this day a defended City.* Yet suppose that this City set upon a mountain be the Church; What can be gathered from it, but that the Church shall be eminent and visible as long as it is set upon a hill? But this Text doth not say that it must always stand there. The Church of God is in a moving and wayfaring condition. God hath often removed her from one place to another.

(a) Lib. de
unitate
Ecclesie.

The second Text which he alledgeth out of the New Testament, is, *Mat. 18. 17.* *Tell it unto the Church; But if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen man and a Publican.* This we may call playing with the word of God. The question is, whether the Church, which is called Catholick or Universal, be visible? Is it any thing to this purpose to bring a Text where, by the word *Church* the Pastors of a particular congregation are understood? For that Text speaks of differences and offences between two Brothers, which to appease the universal Church is not convoked. Besides, they that are commanded by the Text to make their address unto the Church when they have received some wrong from their neighbours, belong unto the Church: But here the question is, whether the Church be always visible to them that are without?

M. du Perron was not ashamed to alledge *Psalm 19. 4.* *He hath put her tabernacle in the Sun,* to prove that God hath made his Church visible and eminent. But that Text is falsified, which is thus, according to the Hebrew truth. *In them* (that is in the heavens) *he hath set a tabernacle for the Sun.* A man that hath recourse to such proofs, shews himself conscious of a great weakness of his cause.

See *Sixtus Senensis editionis Venetae*, pag. 220. where he speaks thus. *Geminus ac proprius hujus litera sensus & expositio fit Deum posuisse soli tabernaculum in celo.*

Having so ill alledged Scripture, he brings in the Fathers to no better purpose. *Cyprian* in his book of the Unity of the Church, saith, *That the Church clad with the Suns light, spreads her beams over all the world.* He speaks of the Orthodox Church of his time, which was of a large extent: But he saith not that it should be so for ever. Also he alledgeth *Chrysostom* in the fourth Homily upon *Isaiah*, and makes him say that it is more easie to put out the Suns light, then to obscure the Church. But that Text is falsly interpreted: For the word *extinguere* of *Chrysostom* signifieth to be put out and utterly abolish, not to be obscured. This falsification is notorious.

Out of the same *Chrysostom*, in the same place he alledgeth this, *The Sun is not so manifest, nor his light, as the actions of the Church.* Yea to them that are of the Church, and have eyes to see. But as for them that are out of the Church, and

are blind in their understanding, *M. du Perron* hath confest before, that the Church is to them invisible.

Of Saint *Austin*, whom *M. du Perron* makes his main ground, as one that giveth often multitude for a mark of the true Church, we will speak hereafter, and shew that it is a deceitful mark.

Here one may ask, How then shall it be possible for the ignorant to be saved, if the Church sometimes be out of sight? For how shall they joyn with a Church which doth not appear? That Objection hath the like force against our Adversaries: For they acknowledge that there is, and ever was in the world a multitude of Nations that know neither Christ nor Christian Church, which therefore cannot aggregate themselves unto the Church, since they do not see her. That Objection then doth not strike at us, but at God, who knoweth the wayes to bring to salvation those that belong to his election.

CHAP. 12.

Answer to that Question made to us; Shew us where your Church was before Luther, remounting from Luther to the Apostles?

Our ears are even tired with that stale Objection: Shew us where your Religion was, and your Church before *Luther* and *Calvin*?

This is not a question of Divinity, but of History: A question not to be resolved but by the search of all the Books of Ecclesiastical History for the space of fifteen hundred years: which Books being Greek and Latin, and of an endless prolixity; if by that search we must attain to salvation, I know not who can be saved; seeing that even among the Doctors, scarce one of an hundred hath a mediocrity in that knowledge, and such as think themselves learned in it, do not agree among themselves.

In that Objection, mockery and fraudulent injustice are evident. Mockery, in that they will have us, to answer presently, and in few words, a question that needs above twenty years to frame an answer to it. And truly our Adversaries might with good reason laugh at us, if we would have them to prove to us in few words, that their Religion was believed in several countries, and in all ages from the Apostles till now.

Fraud also and injustice is evident in this, that to take us off from examining their doctrine by Scripture, they will cast us upon endless histories, where they know that the people can see nothing, and into a dark labyrinth that hath no way to come out.

And how unjust are they to exact that of our people, which God doth not require of us? and to which themselves do not oblige the people of the Roman Church? For God doth not oblige us to be learned in histories; that we may be saved; but he obligeth us to know, and to follow the rules of faith and manners contained in his Word. He will not ask us in the day of Judgement, whether we have believed as the Roman Church, or the French, or the German believed before *Luther*? But we shall be judged according to the Gospel; as Saint Paul saith, *Rom. 2. 13.*

Neither do they oblige their people to know the whole succession of chairs, and the whole thred of Histories of several countries since the Apostles. And there is none, I say not only of the people of the Roman Church, but even of the Doctors, that can affirm without rashness and untruth, that in the list of the Bishops of *Rome*, or of *Milan*, or of *Lyons*, &c. none of them hath changed any thing in the doctrine of his predecessor. All that is meer darkness unto the people, and the Doctors of the Roman Church never examine their people upon that.

In our respect especially that question is both absurd and unjust; for it presupposeth that the Orthodox Church must be visible to us in all ages. Now we have proved

proved that the Church sometimes seems to be extinct, and hath not alwayes a visible eminency.

And to make the injustice of their dealing superlative, they present that question to us by the wrong end: For common sense teacheth us, that in the search of Histories one must begin with the most antient, but they would have us to begin by *Luther*, and so remount to the Apostles, as if one began the History of the Jews at *Herod*, and from thence should come to the Maccabees, from thence to *David*, and from *David* to *Abraham*: For they avoid speaking of the time of the Apostles, because they know that their Religion was not then in being. Also because they know that the example of the Apostles is a rule and a law for the following ages. And seeing that our Religion is conformable unto that of the Apostles, they perceive that if one began that way, the search of the History of the following ages would be superfluous, since all the following ages ought to be ruled by that first age.

There then we must stop them, and since they will handle Controversies in the Historical way, let us begin by the first and the most antient; and let us see which of the two Churches is most conformable to that of the Apostles; Whether it be that Church which calls upon the Saints; that worshipperh Images and Relicks; that pretends really to Sacrifice the Body of *Jesus Christ* in the Mass; that calls the Virgin *Mary* the Queen of Heaven; that celebrates the Service in a tongue unknown to the people; that believeth a fire of Purgatory; that depriveth the people from the Cup in the Communion; that faith the Bishop of *Rome* is Successor to *St. Peter*, not only in the Bishoprick of the City of *Rome*, but also in the Apostleship, and in the Primacy over the Universal Church, having the power of Canonizing Saints; releasing of Vows and Oaths; dispensing against the Apostle; giving Indulgences to the dead, and drawing souls out of Purgatory; gathering the over-plus of the Satisfactions of Saints into the treasure of the Church, and converting it into a payment for others; and having the power to dispose of the Life and Crown of Kings, &c.

Or whether that Church which believeth none of these things, and rejecting those Traditions, keeps her self to Scripture only, be the Church conformable unto that of the Apostles? The Sun is not more clear then it is evident, that not only no trace of those things is found in the writings of the Apostles, but that even many ages after the Apostles, one man shall not be found that had a Religion any whit like the Religion of the Roman Church of our dayes. Which our Adversaries do sufficiently acknowledge, when they say, That the Pope and the Roman Church can change that which the Apostles have constituted, as Cardinal *du Perron* maintaineth, and with him all the Romish Doctors of our age, as we have proved, and will hereafter prove more accurately.

The Reader may observe in that question another evident mockery, full of insultation: For a thief that hath robbed a man of his cloak, should add mockery to his theft, if he asked him, *Where is your cloak now?* So the Pope who hath for many ages used his utmost endeavour to abolish the Church in the West by bloody persecutions, is now asking, where that Church was, which he thought he had extinguished?

It were easie for us to shew, that before *Luther*, there was in *France*, in *Germany*, and in other places, divers Churches of our belief, which our Adversaries charged with odious names, calling them *Waldenses*, *Albigenses*, *Picards*, and the like; (in the same manner as they call us now *Hugonots*;) and calumniously ascribing impious doctrines unto them. The sudden change hapned in *Luthers* time, shewed that *Europe* was full of people that knew the Truth, and sighed for Reformation, groaning under their captivity.

At this time also the Church of *Ethiopia*, containing seventeen great Provinces, agreeth with us in the Fundamental points of the Faith, although she observe many small superstitions: For she is not subject unto the Pope, knoweth neither his Indulgences, nor his Laws; believeth neither Purgatory nor Transubstantiation; maketh no Adoration of the Host in the Holy Communion, nor any

any elevation for worship : Celebrates the divine Service in the native language ; Communicates under both kinds ; worshippeth no Images : Hath no private Communion ; hath but one Table or Altar in every Church ; hath married Priests ; Baptizeth men-children forty dayes after they are born , and women-children threescore dayes after ; thereby shewing, that they believe not Baptism to be absolutely necessary unto salvation : as may be seen in the History of *Francis Alvarez*, a *Portuguese* Monk, who hath lived there six years. For *M. du Perron*s imputation to those Churches, that they are *Eutychian*, is a calumny. It is true, that they are subject unto the Patriarch of *Alexandria* who is an *Eutychian*, but that subjection is not in the Doctrine , but only in that the said Patriarch hath the right of the nomination of the *Abuna*, or first Prelate of the *Ethiopians*, when the See is vacant.

It is certain, that the Greek Church, more antient then the Roman, and from whom the Roman Church hath received Christianity, draws much neerer to our Religion then the Roman ; seeing that she doth not acknowledge the Bishop of *Rome* ; despiseth both his Laws and Indulgences ; believeth no Purgatory, and no Transubstantion ; giveth the cup to the people ; hath the Divine Service in the antient Greek tongue ; and hath married Priests.

But the search of Histories decideth no Controversies. We are ruled by no History but by that of the Apostles time ; for they have given Laws for the following ages. Wherefore whensoever our Adversaries ask us where our Religion was before *Luther* ? we must ask them, where their Religion was in the time of the Apostles ? for there both they and we ought to begin.

Note.

CHAP. 13.

Whether the Church can Err ?

THE Roman Church boasteth that she cannot err. And in the question, whether the Church can err, she bears her self as an infallible Judge. So that she is Judge in her own cause, and an infallible Judge of her infallibility.

By the Roman Church, which they will have to be an infallible judge, the people is not understood, but the Prelates that govern the people. This is arrogant language : For so the will of man, which ought to be ruled by the Word of God, is become the Rule it self ; and Scripture is become of little necessity, if it be so, that the Pastors our leaders cannot swerve out of the way ; and no other duty will lie upon us but to follow them, and stand to their verdict.

The Apostles had the gift of not erring ; yet none of them durst ever say, *I cannot err* : That was the language of the Jews, when they conspired against the Prophets sent by God : And under that false confidence, hardening themselves in evil, they would say, *The Law shall not perish from the Priest, nor the Word from the Prophet* : But God giveth them the lie upon that, and telleth them, *Ezek. 7. 26. The Law shall perish from the Priest, and the counsel from the Prophet, or the Antient.*

Jer. 18. 18.

* Augustin.
lib. questio-
num in Exo-
dum quæst.
46. Notan-
dum est
quemad-
modum
illud totum
malum quod
populus fecit
ipse Aaroni
tribuitur.

Against that Doctrine of pride, Scripture doth furnish us with many examples. The Church of the Old Testament was idolatrous in *Egypt*, as may be seen, *Ezek. 20. 7, 8.* *Aaron* the High Priest set up an Altar to the Golden Calf, and dedicated an holy day to it, *Exod. 32.* Whereupon *Moses* chides him, and saith, *What did this people unto thee, that thou hast brought so great a sin upon them ?* *Augustin* saith that *Aaron* was the cause of all the evil. *Uriah* another High Priest set up a Pagan Altar within the Temple of God, *2 Kings 16. 10, 11.* Under King *Ahaz* the Temple of God was shut up, and the sacred service ceased for a time, *2 Chron. 29. 7.* King *Manasseh* built Altars to *Baalim* in the House of God, the only Temple in the world dedicated to Gods service, and made Sacrifices unto false Gods in the two Courts of the Temple, *2 Chron. 33. 4, 5.* In which Temple how many abominations and idolatries were committed, is to be seen, *Ezek. 8.*

2 Chron.

2 Chron. 15. 3. It is said, *Now for a long season Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching Priest, and without law.* Which cannot be understood of the ten Tribes, as we have proved; for those ten Tribes never had a lawful Priest.

Did not the Church err in the time of *Isaiah*, who upbraided the people of the Jews, that *his watchmen were blind, and were all ignorant?* *Isai. 50. 10.* Or in the time of *Jeremiah*, who thus rebuketh the Church of his time, *The Prophets prophesie falsely, and the Priests bear rule by their means,* *Jer. 5. 31.* And *Ch. 2. vers. 8. The Priests said not, Where is the Lord? And they that handle the Law knew me not.* And *v. 26. Their Priests and their Prophets say to a Rock, Thou art my Father,* which is the language of Idolaters. The same Prophet upbraided *Judah*, then the only people of God, that they had as many Gods as Towns, *Jer. 11. 13.*

Did not the Church err in *Malachi's* time, who speaks thus to the Priests that taught the people, *Ye are departed out of the way, you have caused many to stumble at the Law, and have corrupted the Covenant of Levi?* *Mal. 2. 8.*

The Priests and Scribes that held the ordinary Chairs in the Church, were enemies of Jesus Christ, and decreed that whosoever should confess him to be the Christ, should be excommunicated, *Joh. 9. 12.* And *Caiaphas* the High Priest pronounced that Jesus Christ was a blasphemous, *Mar. 26.*

Chap. 9.

If then that Church, which was the only Church in the world where God was served, is fallen into error; is it credible, that when there are many contrary Churches, any of those Churches ought to presume that she can never err?

Yet our Adversaries defend that arrogant Doctrine with some Texts of Scripture, which they oppose unto experience, and to the examples attested by Scripture, to make the Word of God to fight against it self.

They alledge in the first place the Prophet, *Mal. 2. 7. The Priests lips * shall keep knowledge, and they shall keep the Law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts.* They should have added the followings words, where God accuseth the Priests to have erred and seduced the people; *But you are departed out of the way, and you have caused many to stumble at the Law:* The abuse lyeth in this, that of a Commandment they have made a Promise. As if I took the words of the Law, *Thou shalt not kill,* for a Prophecie that there shall be no murder in the world. God saith, *The Priests lips shall keep knowledge,* to command them to keep knowledge; not to promise them that they shall always keep it.

* The English version saith not *shall*, but *should*, to shew that it is a Commandment, not a Promise.

They fence themselves with Christs words, *Matth. 23. 2. The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses seat; All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do,* &c. To which they add, that *Caiaphas* the High Priest for that year prophesied, that Jesus Christ should die for the Nation, *Joh. 11.* as if Prophecie had been inseparably annexed unto the Priesthood; or as if *Caiaphas* could not teach false Doctrine.

All that is studying to deceive ones self: For Jesus Christ *Matth. 15.* accuseth the Scribes and Pharisees of transgressing the Commandment of God by their Traditions. And *Matth. 16.* he warneth his Disciples to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, that is, (as himself expounds it) of their Doctrine. And *Matth. 5.* he repureth the Law of the false constructions and rules which the Doctors of that time had pinned upon it. And *Caiaphas* is he that pronounced in judgement, bearing the authority of High Priest, assisted by the Priests and Scribes, that Jesus Christ was a blasphemous.

Wherefore when Jesus Christ commanded that all should be done that the Scribes and Pharisees should teach, he meant all that they should teach conformably to the Law and the Word of God, as it is specified, *Deut. 17. 11.* where the version of the Roman Church is express to this purpose; thus rendering that Text, *Thou shalt do all they shall teach thee according to the Law.* *Chrysostom Hom. 72.* upon *Matthew* understands it so. And *Hilary 24. Canon of the Comment upon Matthew,*

As

As for *Caiaphas*, he prophesied by the will of God; not because he could not err, but that the quality of the person might give more weight to that Propheſie whereby Jeſus Chriſt is juſtified by his enemies, and the fruit of his death is expounded.

* The Engliſh verſion hath all things.

It is to no purpoſe, to ſay, that God promiſeth his Apoſtles, Joh. 14. 26. to ſend them the Comforter that would teach them * all truth. For all that is promiſed to the Apoſtles, doth not belong to the Roman Church: Yet it may be ſaid, that God teacheth ſtill the Roman Church, and all the Heretical Churches in all truth: For God ſpeaks to them in his Word, but they reſiſt his teaching, and chooſe rather to adhere unto falſhood.

It is no more to the purpoſe to alleadge theſe words, *Tell the Church*, Matth. 18. 17. For there it is not ſpoken of the Univerſal Church, but of the Paſtors of a particular Church; nor of the judgement of the Doctrine, but of the reparation of wrongs done to a particular perſon. Note alſo that St. Peter is one of thoſe to whom Jeſus Chriſt ſaid, *Tell it unto the Church*. By theſe words then St. Peter is ſubjected unto the judgement of the Church. Above all, the preſuppoſition of our Adverſaries in this place is intolerable, pronouncing that by the Church, the Roman only be underſtood. Why the Roman rather then the Greek or the African?

M. du Perron heaps up many texts of Scripture, to prove that the Church is exempted from a poſſibility of erring; but they are of no uſe to this purpoſe: For ſome of them ſpeak of the Church of the Elect, as that Text, Cant. 4. 7. *Thou art all fair my Love, there is no ſpot in thee*. Did that Prelate believe that the Roman Church hath no ſpot in her manners? Such is alſo the text of *Iſaiah* 52. 1. *Henceforth there ſhall no more come into thee the uncircumciſed and the unclean*. And this Matth. 16. 18. *The gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt the Church*.

* Sanctam Eccleſiam de ſanctis in æternum permanſuris conſtructam, nullis huius vitæ perſecutionibus ſuperandam, ipſe ſuper quem adificata eſt, evidenter oſtendit, cum ait, Porta inferorum non prævalebunt adverſus eam.

Pope Gregory the 1. expounding the 7. Penitential Pſalm, expounds this text of the Church of the Elect, not of the Church of Rome. Theſe are his words, * *He upon whom the Church is built, evidently ſhewed, that the holy Church which is compoſed of Saints that ſhall abide for ever, ſhall never be overcome by any perſecutions, when he ſaid that the gates Hell of ſhall not prevail againſt her*.

Some other texts which the Cardinal brings, ſpeak of the duty of the Church, not of her infallible purity; as when ſhe is called the Pillar and ſtay of Truth, 1 Tim. 3. becauſe ſhe is appointed for the defence of the Truth. In the ſame ſenſe heretical Churches are pillars and ſtaves of untruth; but thence it follows not, that they can never be converted unto the true Faith.

Or they are texts that ſpeak of every faithful man, not of the Univerſal Church, as this, 2 Cor. 6. 14, 15. *What communion hath light with darkneſs? and what concord hath Chriſt with Belial?* Hereby the Apoſtle exhorteth every faithful man to ſeparate himſelf from the world, and from the uncleannels and allurements of Satan. Or if this belongs alſo to the Univerſal Church, it is an Exhortation, not a Declaration, or a Promise of an infallible purity. Of the like nature is the text of 2 Joh. 10. *If any bring not this Doctrine, — do not bid him God ſpeed*.

Or they are texts that ſpeak eſpecially of the Town of *Jeruſalem*, not of the Chriſtian Church; as that which is ſaid, *Iſai. 1. 26. Thou ſhalt be called the City of Righteouſneſs, the faithful City*.

Or they are texts alleadged without any colour of reaſon, as this, *Hof. 2. 20. I will betroth thee unto me in faithfullneſs*. Ergo, the Church cannot err: And that Church is the Roman. Such proofs have neither ſtrength, nor the ſhew of it.

The texts of the Fathers, which the Cardinal brings to the ſame end, ſerve only to raiſe the bulk of his Book. They ſay only that the Catholick Church, by which they mean the Orthodox, is ſeparate from that of the Hereticks: a thing that no man denyeth. But the queſtion is, Whether to the Church, which

which at this present is pure, it may not happen hereafter to fall into some error?

The fore-warnings which the Word of God gives us of the corruptions that will creep into the Christian Church, are stronger than any reasons for the infallibility of the same; and experience hath confirmed them. Our Saviour Jesus, *Luke 18. 8.* saith to us, *When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?* The Apostle Paul, *2 Tim. 4. 3, 4.* foretels that a time shall come, when men will not endure sound doctrine; — And shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables. And *1 Tim. 4. 1.* That in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and to doctrines of Devils. Of which doctrines he doth specify two; the prohibition of marriage, and the abstinence of meats, which God hath made for mans use. The same Apostle *2 Thes. 2.* foretels that the Son of perdition, who is the Antichrist; and calls himself God, and boasterh of miracles, shall place his seat and his domination in the Temple of God. We read *Rev. 13. 3.* that all the world wondered after the beast; & *v. 7.* that the Beast makes war with the Saints, and overcomeb them. And power was given her over all people, and tongue, and Nation: So that all that dwell on the earth shall worship her. Where shall at that time be that visible Church which cannot err? Do not our Adversaries say, that the Antichrist shall abolish all outward service, and all publike exercise of Christianity? And that one may not think that this so horrible corruption shall not come to pass but towards the end of the world? The Apostle in the fore-alleged place, *2 Thes. 2.* declareth, that even in his time the myserie of iniquity did already work, and that Satan was laying the plot of that work, for already they began to speak of preheminences, and the Church had many *Diotrephes*. Already they said, *I am of Cephas, and I am of Paul*: Already they were disputing of the service of Angels, and abstinence of meats, out of humility, and for exercise, *Col. 2.* And the Apostles were put to fight against Justification by Works. *Hierom* upon *Habak. 1.* speaks thus of the Antichrist, *He shall gather all Nations, and draw all peoples to his error; yet the same, when afterwards they shall see him killed by the Spirit of the mouth of Christ, shall comprehend that all that was foretold of him was true.* After the Council of Rimini under the Empire of *Constantius*, Arianism was preached over all the Churches: Infomuch that *Hierom* in his Dialogue against the *Luciferians*, saith, that the whole world did groan, and wondered to see it self turned Arian. *Liberius* Bishop of Rome, with three or four more with him, held for the true faith; but soon after he was overcome, and subscribed to Arianism.

It is most considerable, that the Jesuits *Ribera* and *Viegas*, who have written upon the *Revelation*, and *Bellarmin* himself in the third Book *de Pontifice*, and many others, by the great harlot called *Babylon*, clad with scarlet, sitting upon seven hills, that rulerh over the Nations, that shall seduce Kings and people, which is mentioned in the 13, 17, & 18. chapters of the *Revelation*, understand the City of Rome. It is also to be noted, how in *chap. 17.* it is said, that the same great harlot shall seduce Kings, and make Nations drunk: And that in *chap. 18.* the last ruin of that *Babylon* is described, after which ruin, she shall be built no more again: Things which cannot be attributed to the Pagan Rome, which seduced not Kings but extermined them. Neither was Rome ever razed under the Paganism, nor ruined with a final ruin.

What? may one say, Dare you affirm, that the universal Councils representing the Church of the whole world, can err in the faith?

I answer, that there hath been no universal Council since the Apostles time, in the sense that the word *universal* is taken, namely, for a Council convokated out of the Church of all the world. The Councils which are called *Universal*, are so called, because they were convokated out of the universal Roman Empire by the authority of the Emperors: Out of which Empire there hath been always a great number of Christian Churches. Not that I would say that the Councils of *Nicea*, of *Constantinople*, the first of *Ephesus*, and that of *Chalcedon* have

erred : But it is one thing to say that they have not erred, and another thing to say that they could not err. The universal Councils which the Pope assembleth in these last ages, are Councils of the universal Papal Monarchy. The other Churches have no part in it, but to be condemned, unheard.

The Doctors of the Roman Church believe not that the universal Councils cannot err, since they oppose with so much violence the first Council of *Constantinople*, and that of *Chalcedon*, for rising (as they speak) against the Bishop of *Rome*, and despising his authority. We shall see hereafter the invectives of Cardinal *du Perron* against that so famous and authentic Council of *Chalcedon*, where there were six hundred and thirty Bishops. *Bellarmin* in his Preface upon his Books *de Pontifice*, saith that (a) those two Councils have earnestly assaulted the Primacy of the Pope of *Rome*. The Jesuite *Cotton* makes the same complaint against these two Councils in the Preface of his Institution.

(a) *Primi qui sermo primatum Romani Pontificis oppugnaverunt, videntur fuisse Græci, anno, 39. &c.*
(b) *Quasi Romana Ecclesie Concilia ulla Legem præfixerint, &c.*
(c) *Sedes Apostolica sola rescindit quod præter ordinem congregatio Synodica putaverit usurpandum.* (d) *Andrad. lib. 2. Defens. fidei Tridentinæ. Liqueat minime eos errasse, qui dicunt Romanos Pontifices posse nunquam in Legibus dispensare à Paulo & primis quatuor Conciliis.*

The Pope *Paschal* in the Decretal *Significasti de Electione*, Tit. 6. (b) declares that the Roman Church is not subject to the Councils, and maintains that Councils depend upon the authority of the Roman Church. And Pope *Gelasius* in the Tome of the bond of Anathema, quarreling with the Council of *Carthage*, saith, (c) *The Apostolical See alone makes void that which a Synodal Assembly would usurp against the order.* Finally, Doctor *Andradinus*, who was present at the Council of *Trent*, declareth that (d) *Those err not, that say that the Popes can sometimes dispence from the Laws of Saint Paul, and from the four first Councils, which are the Councils of greatest authority.*

CHAP. 14.

That the Roman Church hath erred, and erreth.

BUT because all that our Adversaries preach of the infallible purity of the Church tends to no other end but to invest the Popes and the Roman Church with an infallible perfection, it will be expedient to shew by invincible proofs that the Roman Church erreth, and hath erred. We shall not produce the errors or impieties of particular Doctors, although their Writings be published with approbation; nor the errors and heresies of Popes, wherewith we might fill a great Volume. I will content my self to produce the errors approved not only by the Popes, but also by their Councils: For there principally our Adversaries place infallibility, when the Pope speaks in a Council, and that Council is approved by the Pope. Also the publick Laws unanimously received over the whole Roman Church.

1. In the year of our Lord, 787. a Council was assembled at *Nicea*, which the Roman Church approveth, and reckoneth among the Universal Councils; And it is called by our Adversaries the seventh universal Council: there sat the Legates of Pope *Adrian*, who not only approved that Council, but writ a (a) book purposely for the defence thereof.

(a) That Book is found in the third Tome of the Councils after the Council of *Nicea*.

If then that Council hath erred, it cannot be denied that the Church of *Rome* hath erred. Let us see then what was done in that Council. 1. In the seventh Action, that Council commands the adoration of Images upon pain of anathema, in these words: *We hold that the Images of the glorious Angels, and of all Saints must be adored and saluted: But as for him that hath not the will so to do, but staggereth, and is doubtful about the adoration of the venerable images, this holy and venerable Synod doth anathematize him.*

2. In the fourth Action of the same Synod these words are found: *Images are*
of

of equal worth with the Gospels and the venerable Cross: And in the same place, *Major est imago quam oratio, The image is greater then the word, or the prayer.*

3. In the fifth Action there is a manifest error, whereby (that there may be a ground for making images of Angels) the Council declareth that Angels are corporal. *The Church* (say these Fathers) *holds that the Angels are not at all without bodies, but that they have a delicate body made of air or fire.*

4. That same Council to prove the adoration of Images corrupts the Scripture with an horrible licence. These Fathers alledge that it is said in the second chapter of the Canticles, *Shew me thy face, and let me hear thy voice.* Also that God created man after his image and likeness, Gen. 2. Also that Abraham adored the Hittites, Gen. 24. That Moses adored Jethro his Father-in-law, Exod. 18. And that none having lighted the candle sets it under a bushel, Luke 18. 16. Whence they infer that we must worship images. And these goodly allegations are approved by Pope Adrian in the fore-mentioned Book.

And that the world might know what adoration was commanded in that Council; In the fourth Action those are condemned, which said that images must only be venerated without adoration. *All they that confesse that they venerate images, and yet deny them adoration, are reprov'd as hypocrites.*

5. In the year 869. a Council was held at Constantinople, which our Adversaries call the eighth Universal Council: Baronius in the year 869. of his Annals, §. 19. saith, that the Popes were wont in their reception to swear the approbation of that Council. The third Canon of that Council is in these words: *† We decree, that the sacred image of Jesus Christ, be adored with the same honour as the Book of the holy Gospels.* And a little after: *It is * convenient by reason of the honour which is referred unto principal things, that derivative images be honoured and adored as the Book of the holy Gospels, and the figure of the precious Cross.*

† Sacram
imaginem
Domini nostri
Jesu Christi
equo honore
cum libro
sanctorum
Evangeliorum
adorari de-
cervimus.
* In Latin
dignum est.

6. In the year of our Lord, 891. Formosus obtained the Roman Pontificate against the oath which he had taken in the hands of Pope John the ninth, that he would never receive the Papal degree though he were elected to it. From which oath Marinus that succeeded John, dispensed with the said Formosus, giving him leave to be perjured.

See Sigonius
de regno Ita-
lie, Platina,
Anastadius,
Luitprand.
Stella, &c.

To that Formosus, who was five years Pope, Stephen the seventh succeeded, who called a Council, wherein it was judged, that a man that hath received the Papacy contrary to his oath, is no lawful Pope, and that he could not be dispensed from his oath: Whereupon the said Stephen caused the body of Formosus to be digged out, cut off his fingers, those wherewith Bishops used to consecrate, and caused him to be sordidly interred as an unlawful Pope.

But as soon as that Stephen was dead, his Successor Romanus, made void all that his Predecessor Stephen had done. And soon after, John the X. held a Council at Ravenna, which reversed the judgement of the precedent Council against Formosus, and restored his memory to his former honour.

That John being dead, his Successor Sergius the III. condemned Formosus again, declared him an unlawful Pope, thrust his body out of the grave, caused him to be executed ignominiously, as if he had been alive, and then cast him into the river.

The question was of the necessity of keeping an oath, and whether the Pope can dispence with an oath made to God? Upon that question, you have divers and contrary Councils, where the Pope did preside, which conclude contrary things, and condemn and reverse the decisions one of another. Sure then there was error in one of the parties; for two contradicting opinions cannot be true together. And note that the worst opinion prevailed in the end. For yet at this day the Pope dispenseth from oaths, that is, he takes on him the power of declaring that a man is not bound to be faithful unto God.

7. In the year of our Lord, 1059. Pope Nicolas the II. assembled a Council against Berengarius, whereit was declared and pronounced, that the bread and wine which is put upon the altar after the consecration, is not only the Sacrament, but

Dist. 2. de
Consec. Can.
Ego Berenga-
rius.

* It seems
they meant
sensibly.

also the true body of our Lord Jesus Christ. And that not only the Sacrament, but the body of the Lord is * sensually and in truth, handled by the hands of the Priests, broken and bruised by the teeth of the faithful.

The Roman Church of this time believeth that no more: She saith indeed, that the species under which the body of the Lord is, are sensibly and truly broken and bruised; But she believeth not that the body of the Lord, be sensibly and truly broken and bruised by the teeth of the faithful: For note that the Council makes two things, sensibly, and truly broken; the Sacrament, and the Lords body. Neither doth the Roman Church believe that the bread after the consecration, be the body of Christ.

Baron. Ann.
1076.

8. In the year of our Lord, 1076. Pope Gregory the VII. called a Council to Rome, where among many articles, these three points have been resolved and determined.

That there is no other name under heaven, but that of the Pope.

That no Book is canonical without the Popes authority.

And that all Kings must kiss the Popes feet.

The first Point attributes unto the Pope, that which is attributed unto Jesus Christ alone, exclusively to all others, Acts 4. 12.

The second declareth, that the Gospels and the Books of the Prophets and Apostles, are not to be received, unless the Pope approve them by his authority: And yet these sacred Books had already their full authority before there was any Pope or Bishop of Rome. The Books of Moses and of the Prophets were authenticall long before the Apostles.

Of the third, the pride is detestable; for it attributes unto the Pope an honour which Jesus Christ and his Apostles never asked or lookt for: But they have been subject unto Emperors, and have paid them tribute, and have appeared before their judicial Seat: Neither did they ever give their feet to any man to kiss.

9. In the year 1215. Pope Innocent the III. assembled a Council at Rome in the Lateran Church, and made it as great and solemn as he could, because at that time those whom the Roman Church nicknamed Waldenses and Albigenses, did multiply; Also because they were to consult how to recover the holy Land taken by the Saracens. In that Council the third speaks thus; *If the Temporal Lord care not to satisfy within the year, let it be made known to the sovereign Prelate, that from that time he declare his subjects absolved from his subjection, and expose his country to be seized upon by Catholicks, that they may exterminate hereticks.*

In that decision of the Council, there are four most pernicious errors.

The first is an usurpation of the Pope, approved by the Council, whereby he disposeth of the temporals of Princes, as if the disposition of them belonged unto him; and divests them of their Lands and dominions, without the authority of Gods word, and without any example of the Ancient Church.

The second error is, that it makes Ecclesiastical censures, which are spiritual corrections, to become temporal punishments: as if a Priest to lay a penance upon a sinner, would cut his purse, or rob him of his cloak, or put him out of his house.

The third error is, that this Canon absolveth Subjects from the oath of allegiance, which they have sworn to their natural Prince, and teacheth them to be perfidious and dis-loyal with a good conscience, though against the Word of God, which saith, *Thou shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths*, Mat. 5. 33. *though it were to thine own hurt*, Psal. 15. 4. And against the rules and examples of the Apostles, who have commanded Christians to pay tribute, and to be subject to Princes and higher powers, although Princes were Pagans and persecutors in those dayes, Rom. 13. 1, 2. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14.

The fourth error is, that in the same chapter, the Pope and the Council preach murther and massacre, and set on the people to exterminate those whom they call hereticks: which not only is against the Law of God, but against that of Nations:

ons : For even Pagan Princes never permitted their subjects to fall upon their Fellow-Citizens, and massacre them. These are not the wayes to plant the Gospel ; which prepareth us to sufferings, and to be persecuted, not to persecute. If that exhortation to slaughter is ill becomming any man, much more a Pastour of the Church, who ought to teach to render good for evil, and to love them that hate us.

10. As for recovering the Holy Land, at the end of that Council there is a Papal Bull ; but with approbation of the Council, the language whereof makes ones hair stand up, so horrible is the impiety of it. There a Commandment is made to all that belonged to *Croisada*, to meet in *Sicily*, or the neighbouring places, in *July* to begin that journey ; To perswade the people to undertake that voyage, the Pope by the Councils authority speaks thus ; *To all that will bear that labour in their own persons, and at their charges, We grant full Remission of those sins, of which they shall have Contrition and Repentance, and in the Retribution of the Righteous, we promise them in Paradise an augmentation of Eternal Salvation.* What was that Pope, and what that Council, that could promise to Souldiers a degree of glory in Paradise, above the common sort ? especially seeing that the Pope and the Prelates were not themselves sure that they should never go into Hell ? But let us hear the rest : *But to them that will not go in that voyage in their own persons, but only shall send fit men according to their means, we give full Remission of their sins.* To those poor souls an equal degree is not promised : They were to content themselves with the remission of all their sins ; and for all reward, they had no more but eternal life.

11. But here is the extremity of impiety. The same Bull with approbation of the Council denounceth to all that will refuse, and not care for this Commandment, that *they shall answer him in the last day of judgement before the terrible Judge* : As if the Pope must then be an Assessor of the Judge ; or as if he must condemn sinners in the day of Judgement. Thou Earth-worm, who turnest up against Heaven, is that the style of the Apostles ? Is that the Apostolical humility ?

12. In the year of our Lord 1300. *Boniface the VIII.* instituted the Jubilee every hundredth year, in which they that come to *Rome* for the great Pardons, should get full, more full, and most full remission of sins. That liberality is fetcht from the treasure of the Church, wherein the Pope layeth up the over-plus of the Satisfactions of Jesus Christ and the Saints, of which treasure the Pope is the keeper and the steward ; converting them into a payment for those that visit the Roman stations. Wherefore the Citizens of *Rome* and Inhabitants of the neighbouring places have a great advantage above others ; for they have the full remission of their sins at their door, and get it without pain and cost. But they that live three or four hundred leagues from *Rome*, and have neither Horse nor money, are deprived of those spiritual graces.

The following Popes moved with a fatherly compassion to the people, have shortned that term, and brought the Jubilee first to every fiftieth year, then to every twentieth year ; and there is hope that shortly they will bring it to every thirteenth year : For it cannot be said, what a mass of wealth that Jubilee brings to the Pope, and to the Inhabitants of *Rome*, by the offerings and the sojourning of strangers that flock to *Rome* from all parts. It is the most famous and the most lucrative fair of *Babylon*.

The invention of the Jubilee is spick and span new, there being no trace of it in all Antiquity ; whereby the Popes of this time accuse the High Priests of the Old Testament, and the Apostles and their Successors for many ages, to have neglected the over-plus of the Satisfactions of *Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Job*, and the Apostles themselves, and not to have gathered it into the Churches Treasury, but suffered it to be lost by their ill husbandry.

The Satisfaction of Jesus Christ being sufficient for the sins of the whole world, it is an outrage offered to him, when to his sufferings other satisfactions are added ; as those of Saints and Monks, to satisfy the justice of God for the pain due

to our sins. By this means they will have God to take two payments for one debt. What need of a second payment when the first is sufficient? But their second payment is insufficient, seeing that no man can satisfie for the sins of another; and we learn of the Apostle, *Gal. 6. 5. that every man shall bear his own burthen*. Besides, those Saints and Monks whose satisfactions the Pope will apply unto others, were sinners, and had need that Christ should satisfie for them, so far they were from satisfying for others, and for those for whom Jesus Christ hath fully satisfied. Then those Saints were above measure rewarded for their labours, when God raised them up unto his Eternal Glory, yea though it were granted that their works were meritorious: For if God hath rewarded them above their merits, can one and the same work be meritorious for him that hath done it, and satisfactory for another? As if one and the same sum of money served to buy a house, which is a thousand times better then the money, and together to pay the ransom of another.

This is seen
in their life,
written by
St. Antonin
Archbishop
of Florence.

Certainly the Pope who layeth up in his treasure the super-abounding satisfactions of the Saints, and hath constituted himself the keeper and dispenser of them, ought to make his power to appear, and produce his Commission. He ought to shew when, and where God hath entrusted him with that distribution, and tell us what assurance we may have, that God accepteth as a payment for us the fastings and whippings of St. Dominick, and of Katherine of Siena, whom the Pope hath made Saints; who whip themselves with an Iron chain for the ease of the souls in Purgatory, One hath need to be of very easie belief, to believe that God will be paid with such light coin: For those be the things which the Pope joyns to the sufferings of the Son of God, to make the total of the satisfaction for the pains due to the sins of those that get these pardons.

I pass by the palpable Error, whereby it is pretended that the Saints have suffered more pains then their sins deserved, since there is no man, be he never so holy, but stands in need that God forgive him his sins. No man but deserveth eternal death, if God would deal with him according to the rigour of his justice.

13. Other actions and laws of the same Pope Boniface the VIII. shew by what spirit he was led: Especially the *Extravagant Unam Sanctam, De Majoritate & Obedientia*, wherein the Pope attributes to himself the power over the spiritual and the temporal of all the world. Which he proveth by texts of Scripture rarely applied. We are taught (saith he) by the words of the Gospel, that unto the power of the Church two Swords are belonging, the Spiritual and the Temporal: For the Apostles having said, Here be two Swords, that is, here in the Church; the Lord did not answer the Apostles, It is too much; but, It is enough. Certainly he that denyeth the Temporal Sword to be in St. Peters power, doth not regard well the Word of the Lord, who said, Put up thy sword into the scabbard. And a little after, to prove that the temporal of Princes is subject unto the Pope, He alleadgeth Gods Word unto Jer. 1. 10. See I have this day set thee over the Nations, and over the Kingdoms. And he will have that Prophecie to be fulfilled in the Ecclesiastical, that is, in the Papal power, which he saith cannot be judged by any, because St. Paul said, 1 Cor. 2. The spiritual man judgeth of all things, yet he himself is judged of no man. Finally he concludes thus, Whosoever then resisteth that power ordained by God, resisteth the Ordinance of God, unless he will make two principles with the Manicheans; which we judge to be false and heretical, seeing that Moses testifies that in the beginning God created Heaven and Earth. Wherefore we declare, say, define, and pronounce, that it is of necessity of Salvation to be subject to the Roman Prelate. That venerable Pope hath found a proof of his primacy in the first words of the Bible, God in the beginning made Heaven and Earth. These are Laws and Papal Ordinances, pronounced with all the forms, and inserted into the body of the Pontifical decrees; Which to excuse from Error, one must want both conscience and common sense.

14. In the year of Lord 1414. a Council was held at Constance to reform the

the Church in *capite & membris*, as it was agreed in the precedent Council of *Pisa*. In that Council, convoked by the authority of Pope *John XXIII.* three contending Popes were deposed, this *John XXIII.* for one, for threescore and eleven crimes; among others for publicly and notoriously denying the immortality of the soul, and maintaining that there was neither Paradise nor Hell.

*Council. Con-
stant. Sess.
XI.*

15. To that Council *John Hus* and *Hierom of Prague* were invited to defend their cause: and because they made difficulty to come, a safe conduct of the Emperour *Sigismund* was given them, and faith was sworn unto them that no harm should be done unto them. But after some form of Disputation, they were seized on and burnt alive: And because the Emperour made a scruple to break his faith, the Council declared unto him, that he was not bound to keep faith unto Hereticks: For which purpose a Canon was made in this form; *This holy Council declareth that the safe conduct given to Hereticks, or defamed for heresie, by the Emperour, Kings, and other secular Princes, thinking thereby to turn them from their Errors, with what bond soever they be bound, brings no prejudice to the Catholick Faith, or to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. Neither can put any hinderance, but that it may be lawful for a competent and Ecclesiastical Judge, notwithstanding the foresaid safe conduct, to make inquisition of the Errors of such persons, and duly to proceed against them as much as justice shall require, if they obstinately refuse to renounce their Errors; although they be come to the place of judgement, trusting to that safe conduct. Declaring that he that made that promise, remains not obliged by it, after he hath done that which lyeth in him.* Note that the safe conduct was granted to these two men by the advice of the Council.

Here is perjury and disloyalty authorized by an Article of a Council, conformably to the Decretal of Pope *Innocent the III.* in the second Book of the Decretals, *Titulo chap. 24. Sicut nostris*, the Inscription whereof is, *An Oath taken against the profit of the Church bindeth not.* Where by the profit of the Church, he meaneth the rights and temporal profits of a Bishop.

16. The same Council in the XV. Session makes an enumeration of the Errors of *John Hus*: The 19. Error for which he is condemned, is for saying, that the Popes and the Bishops pardons avail nothing, unless God pardon. That Council declareth that the Popes pardons serve a sinner, although God hath not pardoned him; which is putting the Pope above God, since he pardoneth those that have offended God; without Gods pardon, and since the Popes pardons are in force, though God approve them not.

*Juramen-
tum contra
Ecclesie uti-
litatem pre-
stitum non
tenet.*

*Dixerunt
se audivisse
quod Joannes
Hus dixisset
quod indulgentie
Papae & Episcoporum non valent nisi Deus
indulgeat.*

17. The same Council in the XX. Session depriveth *Frederick Duke of Austria* of all his goods, and devesteth him of all his Dominions, because he had usurped or wasted some part of the Patrimony of the Church about *Trent*. So the Prelates of that Council declare themselves Temporal Lords of all the estates of the earth; and that they may dispose of them at their pleasure: which is a pernicious Error, authorized by many new Councils; for the ancient Councils speak quite otherwise.

18. The same Council takes away from the people the Communion of the cup. That order is found in the XIII. Session, where these Fathers confess that *Jesus Christ* hath instituted the Eucharist under two kinds, and that the ancient Church did so administer it unto the people. Yet hear how these Fathers speak of those that would have the people to enjoy the Communion of the Cup; *Some presume rashly to affirm that the Christian people ought to receive the Sacrament under the two kinds of Bread and Wine.* What? Is it a rash presumption to obey *Jesus Christ*? to follow his example? and to desire to enjoy that which the Son of God hath given us? They add that although *Jesus Christ* did after Supper institute the Sacrament under the two kinds; yet the custom of giving to the people one kind only, which is the bread, must be held for a law, and those that say the contrary, must be driven away as Hereticks, and grievously punished by the Inquisitors of heretical perversity. Can one more directly condemn *Jesus Christ*, and contradict his Word?

19. In the year 1423. *Martin the V.* held a Council at *Siena*, where the same

Indul-

Indulgence was granted to them that would fall upon the Hereticks, as to them that go to defend the Holy Land. Thus remission of sins and salvation, is proposed as a reward of cruelty and popular fury. As if the Pope said, Because thou art a murderer, and a wicked man, thou shalt have eternal life.

20. To the Acts of that Council are inserted the instructions which the same Martin V. gives to his Embassadours sent to the Emperour of Constantinople, wherein he gives these titles to himself, *The most holy and the most beate [or happy.] who hath the heavenly government, who is Lord in Earth, Successor of Peter, the Christ of the Lord, the Master of the Universe, the Father of Kings, the Light of the World, the Sovereign Pontife* Martin, commands his Embassadour, &c. It wanted no more, but to call himself Creatour of Heaven and Earth. Soon after he commends the fidelity of that Embassadour, the Cardinal of St. Angelo, * who (saith he) is come not to do his own will, but the will of the Lord Pope that sent him. Which are the words of the Son of God speaking of the obedience which he yielded unto his Father, Joh. 6. 38.

Sacratissimus & Beatissimus, qui habet celeste arbitrium, qui est Dominus in terris, Successor Petri, Christus Domini, Dominus Universi, Regum Pater, Orbis lumen, Summus Pontifex. * Veniret non ut faceret voluntatem suam sed voluntatem Domini Papae qui misit eum.

These impieties might be ascribed to Martin's arrogance, and not reckoned among the Errors of the Church of Rome, but that these things are inserted in a Council where the Pope presided, and that they were done in the Council.

21. That which follows is no better. In the year 1440. the Council of Florence assembled by the authority of Pope Eugenius the IV. defineth and declareth in the last Session, that the Roman Church can add to the Symbole, and that the Pope hath the primacy over all the world.

22. And now we are upon Primacy, the last Lateran Council, which begun under Julius the II. in the year 1511. and lasted 8. years, in my opinion carryeth the primacy for impiety, above all other Councils of the Roman Church, yea above all Assemblies that ever were.

In the first Session, the Popes Officers take the Oath of allegiance and fidelity to him, having toucht the holy Scriptures, which were laid at his feet, as it were to signifie that the holy Scripture is subject unto him. In the same Session the Pope is called *Prince of all the world, not inferiour in authority to Saint Peter*. In the same place Boniface the VIII. is commended, and set forth as an example, for depriving Philip le Bel of the Kingdom of France.

In the second Session the Pope is called a *High Priest, and a King, that must be adored by all people, and most like unto God*.

In the V. Session the Council speaks thus of Pope Leo the X. before his face; *Weep not thou Daughter of Sion; for behold the Lyon of the Tribe of Judah, the root of David, behold God hath raised thee a Saviour, &c. O thou Beatissime [or most blessed] Leo, We wait on thee for our Saviour: We have hoped that thou shouldst come to be our Deliverer*.

In the IX. Session, the Council by the mouth of Puccini, Clark of the Chamber, speaks thus unto the Pope, *The aspect of thy divine Majesty, the bright splendour whereof dazzleth our infirm eyes*. And a little after, *The Royal race of the Roman Pontife*. And in the same place, *In thee alone, the true and lawful Vicar of Christ, and of God, this sentence of the Prophet ought to be fulfilled again: All the Kings of the Earth shall worship him, and all Nations shall serve him*. Which is a prophesie that concerns Jesus Christ, which that Council applyeth unto the Pope. Here is more of the same vein. *We are not ignorant, that to thee alone the Lord hath given all power in Heaven and Earth*. Then the Universal Church is personated, thus speaking unto the Pope; *Am I not, O my sweetest Bridegroom, thine only and well-beloved, which now may exclaim, Look not upon me, because I am black! Cant. 1. 6*.

If these impieties were in some Decrees or Epistles of the Popes, one might bring the ordinary excuse, that Popes may err as men, but not as Popes: But being

Sacratissimus & Beatissimus, qui habet celeste arbitrium, qui est Dominus in terris, Successor Petri, Christus Domini, Dominus Universi, Regum Pater, Orbis lumen, Summus

Officiales ad pedes Sacratissimi Domini nostri, et huius sacrosanctis Scripturis, praefuerunt corporale iuramentum.

Psal. 72.

being pronounced in a Council, which our Adversaries call Universal, the Acts whereof have been carefully reviewed by persons appointed thereunto, and approved by the Pope himself, as it appeareth in the very beginning of the Council, they may serve as an evident proof that the Roman Church can err, since it is the voice of an Assembly representing the whole Roman Church.

23. In the same Council, in the III. Session held in the year 1512. the Kingdom of France is put under interdict: which is a custom received in the Roman Church for many ages, and often put in practice by the Popes; where the impiety is horrible, and tyranny is raised to the highest degree. For when the Pope puts a Country under interdict, he makes divine service to cease in it, but only in some privileged places, in favour of those that adhere not to the Sovereign Prince, for whose sake the interdict is put upon the Land; He silenceth all the bells of the Kingdom: He shuts up the burying places, and hinders burials in holy ground: He exposeth the Country to the invasion of the first Conquerour; whence wars and desolations arise, and great blood-shed. All that die under the interdict, die out of the Communion of the Church of Rome, and by consequent are deemed to be eternally damned. England under King John, hath been six years and a half in that case, in which time, above six hundred thousand persons died. Of late date, Paul the V. having put the Commonwealth of Venice under interdict, was advised to put up his sword into its scabbard.

Those interdicts were always thundred out for some disagreement between Kings and Popes, by reason of investitures and collations of benefices, and other temporal rights which the Popes pretend over Kingdoms: Or because of some invasion of the Popes upon the territories of Kings and Princes. Against which, if a King defends himself, the Pope puts his Kingdom in interdict; and the Kings Subjects that had no hand in the quarrel suffer for it.

I ask then whether the Roman Church did not err, when in full Council, the Pope put the Kingdom of France in interdict? Is it not a great error to believe that the Pope can send all the French into perdition, make divine service to cease in such a great country, and prohibit burials? All that for civil causes. Wherefore the Clergy of France opposed the judgement of the Pope and the Universal Council. And the good King, Lewis the XII. assembled a Council at Pisa against the Pope, and beat him in a battle near Ravenna; which beating wrought this effect, that the King was sued to and received with as many spiritual graces as he was pleased to have, and that the Kingdom of France was reconciled unto his Holiness.

24. Here is more work of that Council: In the end of it you have a thundering Bull against Luther, who then began to preach: There thirty nine heresies are reckoned; the seventh whereof is, *That the best penitence of all is a new life*: Which yet is an excellent sentence of the Spirit of God, Rev. 2. 4.

25. The six and twentieth heresie of Luther, mentioned in that Bull, is this assertion, *It is certain, that it is not at all in the power of the Church and the Pope, to make Articles of faith*. If this be an heresie, we may expect other Articles of faith from the Pope; and Christian Religion is not yet perfected, since other Articles of the Christian faith may be added, such as we know not, and such as the Apostles have never taught either by Word or Writing.

Finally, the Council of Trent came, which having begun in the year of our Lord, 1545. lasted eighteen years. Of which, if one would examine the doctrine, and shew that it is contrary unto the word of God, he must go through all our controversies; I will produce but some passages of it.

26. In the fourth Session, it is decreed and declared, that unwritten Traditions must be received *patri pietatis affectu & reverentia*, with the same affection of piety and reverence, as the holy Scripture: That is, That the invocation of Saints, the distinction of meats, the adoration of relicks, the Popes power to give, and to take away Kingdoms, to fetch souls out of Purgatory, and to canonize Saints, the honour yielded unto images, the divine service in an unknown tongue, the consecration of *Agnus Dei's*, and of blessed beads, and such unwritten traditions,

Of the Interdict, See Cardinal Tillet of the Institution of Priests, Book 1. chap. 15. And Emanuel Sa in Aphorismis in Verbo Interdictum. Westmonast. & Mart. Paris in vita Johannis.

See Nicole Gyles in the life of Lewis the XII. fol. 134. & 135.

Optima penitentia nova vita. Certum est in manu Ecclesie aut Papae prorsus non esse statuere Articulos fidei.

Rom. 7. 7.
I had not
known sin,
but by the
Law: for I
had not
known lust,
except the
Law had
said, Thou
shalt not
covet.

must be received with the like piety, faith, and reverence, as the Law of God, and the doctrine of our redemption in Jesus Christ, contained in the holy Scriptures.

27. The same Council cannot be excused of error, for declaring and pronouncing in the fifth Session, that the concupiscence forbidden in the Law is no sin, although the Apostle *Rom. 7. 7.* call it so: So that with those Fathers it is no sin to transgress the Law of God; And by their Doctrine the Apostle spake amiss, when he said, that coveting forbidden in the Law is sin. These be the words of the Council; *This holy Synod declares, that the Catholick Church never meant that this coveting, which sometimes the Apostle calls sin, is truly and properly sin in the regenerate.* Upon this account, if a regenerate man covets his neighbours wife, he sinneth not, and so one may transgress the Law of God without sin. And the Apostle (if we believe them) spake neither truly nor properly, when he called concupiscence a sin: Note that the Apostle speaks of the concupiscence which he felt in himself, which he calls sin, and which he saith to be forbidden by the Law.

28. The same Council cannot be excused of error, when it decreed, that the Latin vulgar version of the Bible should be the only authentical, thereby authorizing a thousand depravations of the true original Text, which are Hebrew and Greeck. This is freely confest by the most learned of our adversaries: as *Sixtus Senensis*, who speaks thus; *Our vulgar Edition, which is said to be of Saint Hierom, is in many things remote from the truth of the Greeck Text.* And truly two the most learned Hebricians that the Roman Church ever had, *Santes Pagninus* a Monk of *Luca*, and *Arias Montanus* a Spaniard of *Sevil*, have translated the Bible, and made excellent versions, conformable to the French [and English] versions of our Churches, and have altogether forsaken the Vulgar version of the Church of *Rome*. Yea, since the time of the Council of *Trent*, several Popes have caused that Vulgar version to be revised, and have altered many things in it. Whence comes the diversity which is seen in the Bibles of our Adversaries.

Bibliotheca
lib. 7.

Verum et si
ea quam dixi-
mus modera-
tione usi su-
erimus, loca
tamen ad octo
millia annota-
ta atque
emendata à
nobis sunt.
† Deus voluit
nonnulla in
ejus lucubra-
tionibus hu-
mane imbecil-
litas extare
vestigia.
Voluit sancta
Synodus ad
hanc Latinam
editionem amplectendam nos arctare, non quidem simpliciter, sed dummodo esset à vitis que in eam ir-
repperunt, & ab omnibus mendis & erroribus emaculata atque repurgata.

Isidorus Clarinus, a Monk of *Montcassin* hath revised that Vulgar version approved by the Council of *Trent*: To which he hath prefixed a Preface, where he saith, that although he hath winkt at many faults of that version for fear of sending the Church, yet he hath corrected about eight thousand places.

Andradus in the fourth book of the defence of the Tridentine faith, *I will shew* (saith he) *that some very inconsiderately have thought that more faith must be given to the Latin edition than to the Hebrew Books.* He addeth † that in the *watchings* [that is, in the labours] of the *Latin Interpreter* some traces of humane infirmity are found.

The Jesuite *Salmeron* in the third *Prolegomen*, endeavours to excuse that Decree of the Council of *Trent*, speaking thus; *The holy Synod would oblige us to embrace that Latin Edition, and follow it in all things, yet not absolutely, but upon condition that it be cleansed and repurged from the vices and errors which are crept into it.* And he wisheth that a sedulous care may be taken about it: Which nevertheless was not done.

29. Who can excuse that version which to establish the adoration of the creatures, saith, *Heb. 11. 21.* that *Jacob adored the top of his staff*? And *Psal. 98. 5.* *Adore his footstool*: whereas for the first, there is in the Original, that *Jacob worshipped on the top of his Staff*; And for the second, *Worship towards his footstool*.

Thus in the sixteenth verse of the fifteenth chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, which our Adversaries put among the Canonical Books, whereas the Greeck Original saith, *Every one shall find according to his works*, the Latin Vulgar version of the Roman Church, to defend merits, saith, *every one shall find according to the merit of his work*.

To prove the perpetual visibility of the Church, they commonly alledge the nineteenth *Psal. v. 5.* where there is according to the Vulgar version, *he hath*

put

put his tabernacle in the Sun; But there is in the Hebrew, *He hath set in them* (that is, in the heavens) a tabernacle for the Sun, which true allegation, *Sixtus Senensis* sincerely acknowledged.

Editionis Venerabilis, p. 240.

Genes. 3. 15. God saith, that the seed of the woman (which is Jesus Christ) shall bruise the Serpent's head: Instead of that, the vulgar version approved by the Council of Trent, saith, *The woman shall bruise the Serpent's head*: to attribute unto the Virgin Mary, that which belongs unto Jesus Christ.

We read, *1 Cor. 11. 24.* that our Saviour said, *This is my body which is broken for you.* The vulgar version translateth, *This is my body which shall be delivered for you.* That one may perceive that the Lord spake of his Sacramental body, which was broken, when he spake the word, not of his natural body which is not broken in the Eucharist.

The remnants of *Esther* are held for Canonical by our Adversaries. Towards the end of the fourth chapter, there is a prayer of *Mordecai*, in which he gives a reason, why he would not kiss *Hamans* feet; viz. for fear of putting a man above God, and adoring another besides God. Those words have been taken out of the vulgar version, because they are contrary to the custom of kissing the Popes feet.

Saint Peter saith, *Acts 2. 24.* That God hath raised up Jesus from the dead, having loosed the pains of death. The vulgar version saith, *the pains of Hell.* A corruption employed to prove the local descent of the Lord into hell.

Eccles. 49. 17. There is according to the vulgar version, *The bones of Joseph have been visited, and they have prophesied after death.* A place, used for the adoration of relicks. But that Text is not found in the Greek, which is the original.

The Apostle, *Heb. 13. 16.* saith, *To do good and to communicate, forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well-pleased.* The vulgar version to defend merits, saith, *for one merits with God by such sacrifices.*

One might bring a thousand such faults, which the Council of Trent hath authorized, by establishing the only vulgar version, and rejecting all other translations.

30. The same Council approveth excommunications to find goods lost, but will have none to use that way but the Bishop. A great abuse of the keys, for they are given to the Church to censure or reconcile sinners, not to find an horse or an ass strayed.

Session
X X V.

31. The same Council of Trent hath devised a crafty by-way to prohibit the reading of Scripture unto the people: For of that prohibition there is no mention in the Council: But in that Council, some Prelates and Doctors in good number were named and appointed to make an Index or list of books, the reading whereof must be prohibited. Now the very first of those prohibited Books, is the holy Scripture; of which they say, in the fourth of those rules they have set before that Index; *That the reading of the Bible in the language of the Countrey, being indifferently permitted, brings more harm then benefit.*

Index librorum prohibitorum.

That Index hath been often printed; Once at Colen, by Goswin Colen, an. 1618.

Printed at Paris, by Toussain Denis, in Saint James-street near Saint Yves Chapel, an. 1521.

32. The traffick of holy things so expressely forbidden in the word of God, might be taken for a corruption in manners, not for an error, but that it is established by Laws and publick order. There is a Book made purposely for that by the Popes authority, with this title, *The tax of the Apostolical Chancery, and Roman Penitentiary*; Where the absolutions of all sorts of crimes, and the dispensations are taxed at a certain rate. In the thirty sixt leaf this is found; *The absolution for him that hath carnally known his Mother, or his Sister, or his Gossip, costs five groats.* And in the thirty eight leaf, *The absolution for him that hath killed his Father or his Mother, costs five groats or seven: But if he that was killed was a Clergy-man, the murderer is obliged to visit in person the Apostolick See.* But the absolutions of offences committed against the Pope, cost three times more. For in the thirty seventh leaf, *The absolution for him that hath falsified the Apostolical letters, costs seventeen or eighteen groats.* And these absolutions extend even to the dead. In the thirty seventh leaf, *For a dead man excommunicated, for whom his kindred supplicate, the letter of absolution is sold for one ducat nine pence.* These are the ancient taxes, but now they are grown a hundred times dearer.

In the twenty third leaf these words are found, *The dispensation of contraiting*

* Et nota diligenter quod ejusmodi gratia & dispensationes non conceduntur pauperibus quia non sunt, ideo non possunt consolari.

(2) Curia Romana sine pecunia nihil dat; ipsa manuum impositiones & Spiritus S. dona venduntur; nec remissio peccatorum nisi nummatis impenditur.

[marriage] in the spiritual kindred, costs 60. Groats. Nevertheless (saith the Datary) I have expedited one for 30 Groats, but by favour. The same judgement is in the second Degree, for which one must compound with the Datary for a very great sum, sometimes of three hundred, and sometimes of six hundred groats, according to the quality of the persons. * And note diligently that such graces are not given to the poor; because they have not wherewith to pay, therefore they cannot be comforted.

And that none may be ignorant of this abuse, hear the verdict of Pope Pius II. otherwise *Aeneas Sylvius*, Epist. 66. to John Perregal. (1) The Roman Church gives nothing without money; yea the imposition of hands, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost; and the Remission of sins, are bestowed upon none but such as have money.

To shew that the Doctrine of the Roman Church is directly contrary to the Word of God, and to follow all the particulars, would be a long work. Some of them I will set down here.

33. God saith in his Law, Deut. 4. 15, 16. Take good heed unto yourselves — lest you corrupt your selves, and make you a graven Image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female. In which Text it is spoken of the Images whereby God is represented. The Roman Church doth the clean contrary to that command, making Images of the Trinity, and representing God in stone and picture.

34. God saith in his Law, Thou shalt not commit adultery; but the Pope permit-eth whoredom at Rome, and sets up brothel-houses.

35. The Apostle saith, 1 Tim. 3. 2. A Bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, — having his children in subjection with all gravity. And 1 Cor. 7. 2. Let every man have his own wife. And v. 9. If they cannot contain, let them marry, for it is better to marry than to burn. But the Roman Church suffers not a Bishop to have a wife: and if a Monk burn with incontinence, he is not suffered to marry.

36. God saith, 2 Chron. 6. 30. That God only knoweth the hearts of the children of men. But the Roman Church holds that the Saints know our hearts.

37. Jesus Christ, *Matth.* 18. 18. saith to his Disciples, Whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven. But the Pope looseth under the earth, and fetcheth souls out of Purgatory.

38. God in his Law commands us to love and serve him with all our heart, and with all our strength. But the Roman Church teacheth, that a man can do more then the Law of God commandeth, even works of Supererogation, and by consequent that he can serve God above all his strength; which is both absurd and impossible.

39. God saith in his Law, Six dayes shalt thou labour. But the Pope prohibits to labour six dayes, prescribing many holy dayes upon the week dayes, in which one must not work.

40. *Numb.* 30. 4. A daughters vow without her fathers consent is declared void. But in the Roman Church, children enter into Monasteries against their fathers will.

41. The Apostle, 1 Cor. 10. 27. saith, If any of them that believe not, bid you to a feast, — whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for conscience sake. Where St. Paul forbiddeth distinction of meats: and in the same Epistle, Chap. 14. v. 19. he forbids speaking and praying in the Church in an unknown language, saying, In the Church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue. All that against the ordinary practice of the Roman Church.

42. * The Bull de *Cena Domini*, which is an Excommunication which the Pope thunders out every year upon Thursday before Easter in the place of St. Peter, is one of the most palpable abuses of the Roman Church. By that Bull the Pope Ex-

* Cardinal Tolet. lib. 2. Institut. Sacerdotal. recitantes that Bull.

communicates all those that have committed any of the cases reserved to the Pope, of which the Pope only can give the absolution, excepting only upon the point of death: Of which cases an enumeration is made in that Bull. These crimes are not sodomy, nor incest, nor perjury, nor blasphemy against God, nor parricide. But to appeal from the Pope to the future Council: To plunder the lands of the Church; to raise tenths or taxes upon the Clergy; to carry arms to Hereticks; to molest those that go to *Rome* to get pardons; to stop the victuallers that carry provision to the Papal Court: Of these so enormous crimes, none but the Pope can give absolution; except only in the point of death. But as for the crimes committed directly against the Law of God, Bishops and Priests will commonly give the absolution: For to violate the Law of God is not held such an enormous crime, as to imbezil the profits of his Holiness.

43. The Oath which Bishops take in their Consecration, is one of the most express marks of the Myserie of Iniquity: For although the charge of a Bishop be to feed his flock with heavenly food, which is the pure Doctrine of the Gospel; yet in that Oath there is not one word concerning God, or his Word, or the true Doctrine; only the Bishop swears allegiance and fealty to the Pope; promisseth to defend the life, honour, and rights of the Pope; to receive his Legats honourably, and to persecute the Hereticks: To visit once in three years the threshold of the Apostles at *Rome*, that he may give an account of his actions: Not to sell or alienate any part of the Patrimony belonging to his Bishoprick without the Popes advice. In effect it is an Oath, not of a Pastor of the Church, but of a Vassal to his Leige Lord, and of a Prince subject to the temporal Monarchy of the Pope.

44. The Mass only will afford multitude of examples of contradiction to the Word of God. 1. Jesus Christ instituting his Holy Supper, spake in a language understood of them before whom he spake. But the Priest in the Mass speaks in an unknown tongue. 2. Jesus Christ giveth the Communion to all the assistants; but the Priest often drinks and eats alone. 3. Christ saith, *Drink ye all of this*; but in the Roman Church the Priest drinks alone. 4. Christ offereth nothing to God; but the Priest in the Mass pretends to make an offering unto God of his Son. 5. Jesus Christ made no elevation of the Host; as also the Apostles deferred no adoration to it: but in the Roman Church the Priest lifts up the Host, and causeth it to be adored. 6. Christ sacrificed not, and made no mention of sacrifice; but in the Mass they pretend to sacrifice the Body of Jesus Christ. 7. Christ had no bones of the Saints under the Table, and did not pray by their merits, as it is done in the Mass. 8. The Gospel tells us that Jesus Christ took bread, and brake it, and gave it; but the Priest in the Mass, saith that he breaketh no bread, and that he giveth no bread. 9. Christ giving the bread, said that it was his body. But the Roman Church teacheth, that the bread is not the body of Christ, but that it is transubstantiated into the body of Christ. 10. Christ saith that it was the fruit of the Vine which he drank; but the Priest denies it to be the fruit of the Vine.

45. One might observe a thousand of the like oppositions, which are all comprehended and inwrapt in one; namely in that impiety whereby our Adversaries maintain that the Pope can dispense against the Apostle, and alter the Commandments of God contained in the Scriptures: Of which we have already produced many examples, and will hereafter produce more.

I might here lay up a great heap of *Romish* immundities, able to make the Readers heart to ake; but these few proofs drawn out of the most authentical rules of the Roman Church, will be a pattern more then sufficient, to shew to any man that is not resolved to lose himself; and that seeks instruction, that the Roman Church can err.

CHAP. 15.

OF THE ANTIQUITY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

A Treatise wherein it is shewed that the Ceremonies of the Roman Church are descended from the antient Hereticks, and that the Pagans and the Jews have contributed towards them.

IT is certain, that truth is more antient then falshood, since falshood is a corruption of truth. Nevertheless every antient Doctrine is not therefore true: For Untruth is almost from the beginning of the world, and is but few hours or dayes later then Truth. Wherefore in matter of Salvation every Doctrine must be accounted new which is not from the beginning, and hath not God for Author, although it boast of Antiquity, and make a shew of many Ages; Yea, I say, that the more an untruth is antient, the more pernicious it is, because it is more deeply rooted.

The Roman Church boasteth of antiquity, which we do not gainsay; but freely acknowledge that a good part of her Errors hath been of a very long continuance: For the Roman Religion is patcht up with several raggs of antient Heresies. It is a Pandora of Errors, and a coat to which every old Error hath sowed up its piece. If each of them would take again what they have brought, she would stand more naked then *Horace* his Crow. Of that the proofs are numberless: Some of many I have here gathered.

I.

Of Traditions and the unwritten Word.

(a) Νόμιμα
πολλὰ πα-
ρονομή-
σαντες ἐν
πατρί-
σιν ὁ
ἀδελφός,
ἀ-
πορ ἔκ
ἀνα-
γέγραπται
ἐν τῇς Μου-
σῆος νόμοις.

Iosephus in the 13. Book of Antiquities, Chap. 18. speaks thus of the Pharisees: (a) They have given many rules and observations by the succession of Fathers, which are not written in the Laws of Moses. Wherefore also: *Jesus Christ*, *Matth.* 15. 3, 9. taxeth them to have transgressed the Commandment of God by their Traditions. Which Traditions for the most part, were not Doctrines directly contrary to the Law, but additions and superstitious observations, and Doctrines not commanded; as to make long their Phylacteries, to fast twice a week, to use many washings, &c.

(b) Dicunt
quod ex Scri-
pturis non
potest inveni-
ri veritas.
Non enim per
litteras tradi-
tam illam sed
per vivam
vocem.

The old Hereticks have followed them: for where Scripture failed them, they had recourse unto Tradition. *Irenaeus* chap. 2. of the third Book against Heresies, shews it: (b) Hereticks say, That the truth cannot be found out of the Scriptures, by them that are ignorant of the Tradition, because it was not delivered by letters, but viva voce. There you have the unwritten word. And *Eusebius* in the last chapter of the third Book of his History, saith, that *Papias* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, Disciple of *St. John*, gave himself to unwritten Doctrines, and so brought in strange and fabulous things.

(c) Lib. de
verbo Dei
non scripto.
c. 8. §. Acce-
dit.

That which is most to be noted, is, that they defended their Traditions and the unwritten Word by the same reasons as the Roman Church in our dayes defends unwritten Traditions: For *Irenaeus* saith in the fore-alleadged place, that those Hereticks fenced themselves with *St. Paul's* words, 1 *Cor.* 2. 6. We speak wisdom among them that are perfect; Which Text (c) *Bellarmin* likewise useth for the defence of the unwritten Word.

(d) Non om-
nia volunt il-
los revelasse;
quedam enim
palam & universis,
quedam secreto &
paucis demandasse.

Tertullian in his Book of Prescriptions against Hereticks, written before he turned Montanist, Chap. 25. saith (d) the Hereticks of his time would affirm, that the Apostles had not revealed all things unto all, but that they had com-

manded

manded some things publicly, some privately unto a few persons. But himself being turned Heretick, defends his heresie by the unwritten Tradition in the book of Monogamie, Chap. 2. affirming that Christ sent us back to Tradition, when he saith, *I have many things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them yet.* And Austin in the 97. Treatise upon St. John. (e) *All the unwise Hereticks that bear themselves for Christians, will colour the boldness of their inventions, which humane sense abhorreth, with the pretence of this sentence of the Gospel, I have many things to say unto you:* Which are the same reasons and Texts which Bellarmine useth to underprop Traditions and the unwritten Word. See (f) Bellarmine in his Book of the unwritten word, Chap. 5. & 11.

Ireneus saith in the 3. Book, chap. 2. That (g) *the Valentinians and other Hereticks when they are confuted by the Scriptures, will accuse the very Scriptures.* And they say that the Truth cannot be found out by such as are ignorant of the Tradition. This is the language of our Adversaries, who being prest by the Scriptures, will say, that Scripture is obscure and ambiguous, and contains not all that is necessary to salvation, and so send us to the unwritten word.

pto. c. 5. §. Ad primum; & cap. 11. §. hora. (g) Cum ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem vertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non posset inveniri veritas ab his qui nesciunt traditionem.

(e) Omnes insipientissimi heretici qui se Christianos vocant, audacias figmento: ut suorum quas maxime exhorret sensus humanus, hac occasione Evangelicæ sententiæ colore solent, Adhuc habeo multa vobis dicere.

(f) Bellarm. lib. de verbo Dei non scri-

I I.

Of the Images of God.

THE Hereticks called *Vadiani* or *Audiani*, would represent God in an humane shape, as Austin (a) attelleth, chap. 50. *ad quod vult Deum.* Nicephorus speaking of the Armenians and Jacobites in chap. 53. of the 18. Book, saith, *They represented the Images of the Father, and of the Holy Ghost, which is a most absurd thing.* An Error condemned by Pope Gregory the 11. in an Epistle inserted in Baronius, an. 726. But Baronius notes in the margin, that the Church observeth that rule no more: For the Roman Church chose rather to follow the antient Hereticks, then to obey (b) Gods command, who forbids to represent God in the likeness of male or female.

(a) Vadiani cogitatione carnali fingebant Deum ad similitudinem corruptibilis hominis.

(b) Deut. 4. 15. & 16.

III.

Of the Images of Jesus Christ and the Saints.

IRENEUS, Book 1. chap. 24. speaks thus of the Gnosticks, (a) *They have some painted Images, and some other formed with other matter, saying that they are the figure of Christ, made by Pilate.* The like is in the Roman Church where they have Images of Jesus Christ, which they say to have been made by St. Luke. Austin in the first book of Heresies, *Ad quod vult Deum*, saith that Simon Magnus (b) made his Disciples to worship Images, his own and his Harlots. And in the Chap. 7. (c) Marcellina of the Sect of Carpocrates, served the Images of Jesus, and Paul, and Pythagoras, worshipping them, and giving them Incense. Epiphanius saith the same in the 27. Heresie. And in the first Book of the manners of the Catholic Church, Chap. 34. (d) *I know many worshippers of Sepulchers and Pictures: I know many that will drink with excess over the dead.* And in the first Book of the consent of the Evangelists in the 10. chapter. (e) *So they deserve*

(a) Habent imagines quasdam depictas, quasdam de rebus, qua materia fabricatas dicentes esse formam factam à Pilato.

(b) Imaginesque & suam & ejusdem meretricis Discipulis.

lis suis præbebat adorandum. (c) Sæcæ Carpocratæ traditum fuisse sociæ quædam Marcellinæ quæ colebat imagines Jesu, & Pauli, & Pythagoræ, eas adorando incensumque ponendo. (d) Novi multos esse Sepulchrorum & Picturarum adoratores. (e) Sic omnino errare meruerunt qui Christum & Apostolos, non in Sanctis Codicibus, sed in pictis parietibus quaesierunt; nec mirum si à pingentibus fingentes decepti sunt.

to fall into error, that have sought Jesus Christ and the Apostles, not in the holy Scriptures, but in painted walls. Eusebius in the seventh Book of his History, chap. 17. speaking of the Statue of Jesus Christ at *Pancas*, which is *Cesarea Philippi*, and of the images of the Apostles, saith, that it was done by some *ἰδνὴ συνθεῖα*, by an heathenish custom, thus to honour those whom they think to be their Saviours. Wherefore the *Eliberin* Synod, Canon thirty six, (f) forbids to put any image in the Churches, for fear that the thing that is adored be painted on the walls. Saint Epiphanius in great anger tore a veil in the Church of *Anablata*, wherein the Image of Jesus Christ, or some Saint was painted, as himself saith in his Epistle to *John* of *Jerusalem*, which (g) Saint Hierom hath translated.

But that which is most to be noted, is, that the Pagans and the makers of images defended the images of their Gods with the same reasons, as the Roman Church useth for the images of the Saints. Tertullian of the Book of idolatry, chap. 5. saith, that the Image-makers alledged the example of *Moses*, who made the brazen Serpent. Arnobius in the first Book against the Gentiles, saith, that the Pagans called images the Books of ideors.

Eusebius in the third Book of Evangelical Preparation, chap. 7. alledged Porphyrus the sworn enemy of Jesus Christ, saying, that men have represented divine vertues to the sense by familiar images, (i) having figured things not appearing by visible works, to them that by statues as by books have learned to know divine doctrine. So spake the mortal enemies of Christ.

Athanasius in his oration against the Gentiles, saith, that they excused themselves, saying, (k) the images were unto men like the Scriptures, upon which fixing their sight, they may comprehend something of Gods knowledge. And a little after, (l) If these images be unto you as Scriptures to contemplate God, as you falsely say, All that is the language of the Roman Church.

Also the excuse of Image-worshippers is borrowed from the Pagans; for Austin makes one of them speaks thus, (m) *Nec simulacrum, nec demonium colo, sed per effigiem corporalem ejus rei signum intueor quam colere debeo*. I serve not the image nor the devil; but in this bodily representation, I see the sign of the thing which I must worship.

(f) Placuit in Ecclesiis picturas esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus pingatur.

(g) Apud Hieron. Tom. 2.

(h) Curre ergo Moses in eremo simulacrum ex are fecit?

(i) ἀνδρες τὰ ἀφανή φανεροῖς διτυπώσαντες πλάσματα, πῶς καὶ δεῖ ἐν βιβλίῳ καὶ ἀγαλλῆσθαι ἀναλίσκειν τὰ πνεύματα τοῦ Θεοῦ μεμεμαυμένα.

(k) Καὶ ὅτι τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ μεμαυμένα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,

τοῖς οἷς ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι δύνανται γνωσθῆναι περὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κατανύξεως. (l) Εἰ γὰρ ὡς εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶπεν ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα ὡς ψεύδεται τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν διαρείας. (m) August. in Psalm. 113.

IV.

Of the Service of Angels, and of their mediation with God.

The Roman Church serveth Angels contrary to the Apostles prohibition, Col. 2. 18. Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and service of Angels, &c.

Tertullian in the Book of Prescriptions, chap. 33. (a) The Magick of the Simonian discipline which serveth Angels. Austin ad *Quod vult Deum*, puts the Angelicks among the Hereticks, who in *Angelorum cultu fuerunt inclinati*, bowed themselves in the service of Angels. They have been condemned by the Council of *Laodicea*, Can. 35. (b) Christians must not leave the Church of God, go away, call upon Angels, and make Assemblies: and if any be found serving to that secret idolatry, let him be accursed; because he hath left our Lord Jesus Christ.

Of which order and the cause thereof, Theodoret speaks thus in his Comment upon Col. 2. That vice of serving Angels, hath long been used in Phrygia and Pisidia: Wherefore the Synod of *Laodicea*, which is the Mother-City of Phrygia, expressly forbids praying to Angels: and yet to this day they have among them Oratories of Saint Michael: which last words are remarkable; for in the Roman Church, there are many Oratories of Saint Michael: Note that he saith expressly, that the Council

(a) Simonian discipline which serveth Angels.

(b) Ὅτι ἡ δὲ χριστιανὸς ἐγκαταλείπει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπέρχεται, καὶ ἀσπάζεται ὁνομασμένους &c.

Council forbids praying to Angels : And that one may not say, that those ancient Hereticks adored Angels as Gods, and bestowed Divine worship upon them, which the Church of Rome doth not ; *Theodoret* addeth, that they served Angels out of humility, pretending to go to God by the intercession of Angels. *They said, that the God of the Universe is invisible, but that he is accessible by his Angels : And this is the same thing that Saint Paul saith, by humility and service of Angels :* Wherefore Cardinal *Baronius* an. 60. 20. is displeased with *Theodoret*, and raunts him. (c) *Theodoret* (saith he) by his leave, hath not well understood the sense of *Saint Paul's* words.

The Pagans would alledge the same reason, saying, that they address themselves unto Demons and inferior Spirits, that they might present their prayers to the Gods, and help them with their intercession. *Austin* in the eighth Book of the City of God, (d) *In vain* (saith he) *Apuleius* hath deferred that honour to the Demons, that they should make a report unto the Gods of our prayers, because no God is mingled with man. And in the twenty second chapter, he saith, that they accounted them inter Deos & homines internuncios, & beneficiorum impetratores, to be mediators between God and men, and obtainers of benefits. In the twenty sixth chapter, he alledgeth *Hermes* saying to *Esculapius*, that (e) his Grandfather having invented medicine on earth, was esteemed to heal the sick even after his death. In that manner the Roman Church speaks unto the Saints, employing Angels for intercessors, and addressing her self unto certain Saints in certain sicknesses.

And *Epiphanius* in the heresie of the *Simonians*, which is the twenty one, relates, that *Simonians* would say, that (f) by the [Angelical] principalities and powers, sacrifices must be offered to the Father of the Universe.

ces nostras. (c) *Avus tuus* O *Aesclepi*, medicina primus inventor, omnia nunc hominibus adjumenta præstans numine suo que antea solebat medicine arte præbere. (f) Καὶ τὰς πνευματικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ἀγγέλους τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναγγελλόντας τὸν Θεόν.

(c) Ex his videas Theodoretum hunc feliciter (cuius pace dictum sit) affectum esse Pauli verborum sensum. (d) Frustra eis [demonibus] hunc detulit honorem, ut quoniam nullus Deus miscetur homini (quod Platonem dixisse perhibent) isti ad Deos perseverant præces.

V.

Of the adoration of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of the title of Queen of Heaven attributed to her in the Roman Church.

IN the forty fourth chapter of *Jeremy*, v. 17. the Idolaters make profession of worshipping the Queen of heaven, saying, *We will burn incense to the Queen of heaven.* And *Apuleius* in his eleventh Book calls the Moon (a) the Queen of heaven. That profane name hath been transported to the holy and blessed Virgin Mary, by some old Hereticks named *Collyridians*, against whom *Epiphanius* writes in the seventy nine heresie, where after a long discourse, he condemneth the women that worshipped the Virgin Mary, saying, that such an honour belongs not to a woman, no not to the Angels. He addeth, (b) *Let such women be repress by Jeremiah, and let them trouble the earth no more, and say no more, we honour the Queen of Heaven.* He had said a little before, *If God will not have the Angels to be adored, much less her that was born of Anna.*

(a) Apud Miles. 11. Regina cali, five in Ceres.

(b) ἐμὲ δυνάτωσαν τὸν δαίμονα τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ.

ἐμὲ ἀποτίωσαν τὴν δεικνύμενην, μὴ λογιώσαν τιμῶμεν τὴν βασίλειαν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ.

G

VI. of

VI.

Of the Adoration of Inanimate things.

THe Pagans worshipped some inanimate, some irrational things; the Sun, the Moon, the Ox, &c. The Roman Church worshippeth the ashes, the bones, and the rags of the dead. The second Council of *Nice*, which is reckoned as the seventh Universal, in the I V. Action, saith, *We worship the ashes, the rags, the blood, and the Sepulchers of Martyrs.* Bellarmine by an expresse Book maintains the adoration of relicks. All the Romanists speak the same language, and it is a common practice. The Jesuite *Vasquez* in his 2. Book of the Adoration, in the 4. Disputation, and the 4. Chapter, saith that (a) *by right of nature a thing inanimate may be worshipped*: Yea he comes so far as to say, that (b) *It is lawful to worship the earth, yea to adore a straw.*

(a) *Res inanimata jure naturæ adorari potest.*
(b) *Vasquez lib. 3. de Adoratione, Diss. 1. cap. 2.*

VII.

That the Papists imitate the Pharisees and Jews in many things.

1. The Pharisees did study to make works of supererogation, and works not commanded, as to fast twice a week, and to give the tithes of all their goods, *Luke 18. 12.*

2. They had Traditions, and an unwritten word, as we shewed before.

3. They boasted of *Moses* Chair, as the Roman Church of that of *St. Peter*, and of an imaginary succession.

4. They taught that concupiscence was no sin, as one may see in (a) *Josephus* 13. chapter of the 12. Book of Antiquities. And Jesus Christ, *Matth. 5. 28.* rebuketh the Scribes and Pharisees for misinterpreting the Law; holding that he that had lookt upon his neighbours wife with a lustful eye, was not guilty of adultery. The Council of *Trent* in the 5. Session, declareth that the coveting prohibited in the Law, which *St. Paul* speaks of, *Rom. 7. 7.* is no sin, although the Law of God forbid it, and *St. Paul* call it sin.

5. The Pharisees used vain repetitions in their prayers, and for that were condemned by Jesus Christ, *Matth. 6. 7.* The Roman Church doth the same, repeating the same prayers while they turn their heads, and binding themselves to a certain number of reiterated words.

6. The Priests and Pharisees had brought the traffick and the market into the Temple. Wherefore Jesus Christ, *Joh. 2.* accuseth them to have turned the House of God, which is a house of prayer, into an house of merchandize. Likewise the Pope and the Clergy of *Rome* have brought into the Church the traffick of absolutions, dispensations, annates, benefices, &c. Of which the Popes themselves and the Doctors of the Roman Church complain.

7. The Pharisees and Scribes to exempt themselves from giving account of the corruption of the doctrine which they had brought into the Church of the Jews, stopt Christ and his Apostles with questions about their Mission or Vocation, saying to the Lord Jesus, *With what authority dost thou these things? and who hath given thee this authority?* *Matth. 21. 23.* And *Act. 4. 7.* *By what power, or by what name have ye done this?* The Roman Church followeth that example; and that she may not be obliged to defend her Doctrine against our Objections, stops us about our mission, and asks us reason of our calling.

8. The Pharisees demanded miracles of Jesus Christ, and that he would shew them some sign: The same demand our Adversaries press upon us.

9. The Pharisees were nice in small Observations and Ceremonies, but left the principal, and the Essence of Piety. They washed pots, they tithed mint, annise, and cummin, but left the principal, even judgement and mercy, *Mat. 23. 23.*

The

(a) *Τὸ μὴ κατὰ ποίησαι τὸ ἐργον ἐλευσόμενον, οὐκ ἐστὶν πῦμας ἀξίον.*

The Roman Church doth the like, exactly observing distinction of meats, and Rogation weeks, and amusing the people about a thousand petty Ceremonies of Candles, Pilgrimages, Holy dayes, &c. but instructing not the people in the Redemption by Jesus Christ, and justification by Faith, and hiding holy Scripture from them.

10. The Pharisees preach justification by the works of the Law, and the Jews were forestalled with that Doctrine, which made the Apostle St. Paul so carefully and thoroughly to confute that Error in the Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians, establishing justification by faith without the works of the Law. This is also one of our principal quarrels against the Roman Church, which takes part with the Pharisees, by teaching justification by works.

11. The Scribes and Pharisees were taxed by Jesus Christ for adorning and beautifying the Sepulchers of the Prophets, while they persecuted those that followed the Doctrine of the Prophets, *Matth. 23. 29.* The like they do in the Roman Church: they reverence the relics of the Apostles, but persecute them that follow the Doctrine of the Apostles.

12. The Jews did boast of the Temple of God, crying up, *The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord*, *Jer. 7.* and in the mean while profaned that Temple by their life. So doth the Roman Church, making a great noise with the title of the Church; a name used for a shelter of Errors, and to set up tyrannie: For the Pope hath changed the Church, which is a spiritual Kingdom, into a temporal Monarchy.

13. The Jews being enemies of the Prophets, yet boasted that their Prophets and Priests could not err, saying, *Jer. 18. 18. The Law shall not perish from the Priest, nor the counsel from the wise, nor the Word from the Prophet.* But God contradicteth that presumption, saying, *Ezek. 7. 26. The Law shall perish from the Priest, and the counsel from the ancient.* This is also the boasting of the Roman Church, that the Pope, as Pope, cannot fall into Error, and that the Church of Rome cannot err.

VIII.

Of the Fulfilling of the Law, and of the Perfection of Justice.

THE Pelagian Hereticks taught that man can fulfill the Law of God, saying that God should be unjust, if he enjoined us to do things which we cannot do, and gave us a Law which is above our strength to obey. *Austin* is diligent in confuting that doctrine, in the Book of Perfection of Righteousness. In the sixth Reason, *Celestinus* a Pelagian argueth thus; (a) *It must be asked again, whether it be commanded to man to be without sin: For either man cannot be without sin, and by consequent, that is not commanded; or he can, because it is commanded: For why should an impossible thing be commanded? And in the eleventh reason; In vain should that be forbidden, or commanded, which cannot be avoided, or which cannot be fulfilled.* This is directly the Doctrine of the Roman Church, and the objections of our Adversaries, whereby they go about to make our Doctrine odious; saying, that as much as in us lyeth we make God unrighteous, when we say, that he hath given us Commandments which we cannot fulfil. To which we answer with *Austin*, (b) in the same place, That it is no injustice to ask of a man what he oweth, although he be unable to pay, especially when his unableness comes by his fault: And that God requiring of us more then we can do, teacheth us what we must ask of him, and what he will do in us by his grace.

cognosce quid debeat agere, in corruptione cognosce tuo te vitio non habere, in oratione cognosce unde accipias quod vis habere.

(a) *Iterum querendum est utrum preceptum homini sit sine peccato esse. Aut enim non potest preceptum non est; aut quia preceptum est potest. Nam cur precipietur quod fieri omnino non potest?*
(b) *August. lib. de corruptione & gratia, cap. 3. O homo in preceptione*

IX.

Of Semipelagianism.

IN this the Semipelagians differed from the Pelagians, that they acknowledged Original sin, and distinguished between Nature and Grace. Yet they had a secret Intelligence with the Pelagians, in that they made Grace to be alwayes joyned with Nature, saying that to the end that men may be saved, God giveth to all men an universal and sufficient grace; the use whereof depends from mans free will. This their Doctrine is set down in the Epistle of *Prosper* to *Austin*, and in the Epistle of *Hilary* to the same, inserted in the VII. Tome of *St. Austin*. It is the Doctrine of the Roman Church of this time. A doctrine confuted by *Austin*, in his Answer to these Epistles, with the same reasons as we use this day.

X.

Of the Limbus of little Children.

THE Pelagians put the little children dead without Baptism, in a middle condition between Hell and the Kingdom of Heaven, in which they were exempt from pain, as it is attested by *Austin* in the Book of Heresies, *ad quod vult Deum*, Chap. 88. An opinion which that holy Doctor opposeth with all his strength in many places, especially in the first Book of the origine of the soul; and in the 107. Epistle, and in the 14. Sermon *De verbis Apostoli*: Also in the Book of the good of Perseverance, Chap. 10. 12. and in many other places, where he stifiy maintaineth that between Paradise and Hell there is no third place. Upon that opinion of the Pelagians the Limbus was built, wherein the Roman Church shuts up little children dead without Baptism, where they feel no pain, but are excluded from the sight of God, and the Heavenly glory. Only that our Adversaries may seem in something to disagree from the Pelagians, they will not give to the condition of those children the title of *beatitudo* or blessedness.

XI.

Of Swearing by the Creatures.

THE Hereticks whom *Epiphanius* calls Ossenians, did teach to swear by the creatures, as the same *Epiphanius* witnesseth. They swore by the salt, by the water, by the bread, by the heaven, and by the wind. *Austin* in the 19. Book against *Faustus* the Manichean, in the 22. chap. upbraiddeth the Manicheans, that they swore by the light, and by the flies, and by *Manichæus*; contrary to the rule of Gods Law, which saith Deut. 10. 20. *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and shalt swear by his Name*. The Catechism of the Council of *Trent*, expounding the Commandment of the Law, which forbiddeth to take the Name of God in vain, teacheth to swear by the crofs, by the reliques, and by the Name of God. The Jesuite *Valquez* in the third Book of the Adoration, *Diff. 1. cap. 2.* saith, *The unreasonable and the inanimate creature may be the matter of an Oath, which is an Act of Religion*. Which none needs to wonder at, since he maintains that one can adore things inanimatte, even a straw, with the cult of *Latria*. The excuse of those Hereticks was, that by swearing by those creatures, they swore by him that made them, which is the excuse that the same Council of *Trent* brings: For our Adversaries bind themselves Prentices to the antient Hereticks. Whereas
Jesus

Jesus Christ, *Matth. 5. 34.* forbids us to swear by Heaven, because Heaven is the Throne of God. The Jews swearing by Heaven, could bring the same excuse, and say they intended to swear by him that made Heaven, and hath placed his Throne in it.

XII.

Of Perjury.

THE Hereticks called (a) Priscillianists taught perjury, as *Austin* saith in the 70. Chap. *ad quod vult Deum*. The Roman Church also is a School of perjury, for the Pope dispenseth from the Oaths made unto God, and dispenseth the Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance to a Sovereign Prince (b). The Council of *Constance* hath made an expresse Canon about it, in the XIX. Session, whereby it is declared, that a Prince who hath given a safe conduct to Hereticks, without which they would not have come, may proceed against them, and put them to death, contrary to the Faith given them. The inscription of the ch. *Sicut nostris*, in the 2. of the Decretals, in the IV. Title, is such, *juramentum contra Ecclesiasticam utilitatem præsistum non tenet*. The Oath made against the profit of the Church bindeth not. Where by the profit of the Church, they understand the temporal profit and commodity: That Decretal is of Pope *Innocent* the III. See the Canon *Alins*, in the 15. Cause, *Quest. 6.* and the Gloss upon that Canon, where it is disputed, whether a debtor be obliged to pay a sum due to an Excommunicate person. Hence come the equivocations in justice taught by the Jesuites, whereby a man may with a good conscience deny Christian Religion before an unrighteous Judge, saying, *I am no Christian*, with this mental reservation, *to tell it you, or since three dayes.*

verim; etiamsi de salvo conductu confisi ad locum venerint judicii, alias

(a) They used to say *Furas perjuris; secretum prodere noli.*

(b) *Licet judici competente de hujusmodi personarum erroribus inquireres & alias contra eos debite procedere, eisdemque punire, quantum iustitia sua debet, si suos errores revocare pertinaciter recusant non venturi.*

XIII.

Of Believing without Knowing.

THE Valentian Hereticks would have their people to believe them without enquiring. *Tertullian* in the first Book against the *Valentinians*, chap. 1. saith, **They discover not [their doctrine] to their own Disciples, before they have made them their own. That Art they have, to persuade before they teach. Now the Truth persuadeth by teaching, and teacheth by counselling.* That is the very implicate faith of the People of the Roman Church, which believeth without knowing what the Church must believe; and believeth what the Roman Church believeth, not knowing whether that Church teach conformably to the Word of God.

* *Ne discipulis quidem propriis ante committunt quam suos fecerint. Habent artificium quo prius persuadent quam edoceant. Veritas autem docendo persuadet & suadendo docet.*

XIV.

Of forbidding the people to read Scripture.

HOLY *Athanasius* in his 2. Tome disputeth against some Hereticks that dissuaded the people from reading the Holy Scripture, pretending that it is too high & difficult for the people; but the real cause why they did so was, because Scripture was contrary to them. (a) *They turn the people away* (saith he) *from the Scriptures, pretending that they dare not undertake [to come neer them] as unaccessible; but the truth is, that they flie the Scriptures for fear of being convinced by them.*

(a) *Pag. 241. Ἀπειχάζον τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, λέγοντες ὅτι οὐ δύναται ὁ λαὸς καταλαβέσθαι.*

μὴν ὡς ἀποστόλων, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ ὡς τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλεῖσθαι.

XV.

XV.

Of Purgatory and Satisfaction after this life.

(a) *Πυλῶν
καὶ Σαρῶν.*

Epiphanus in the 21. Heresie, relateth that the Simonians taught (a) the purgation of souls. *Austin* in his Book of Heresies, *ad quod vult Deum*, chap. 43. ascribeth the same Error to the Originists, saying, *There are also other opinions of the same Origines, which the Catholick Church doth not receive at all, Those especially that concern purgation and deliverance.* Such was the opinion of *Plato* in the *Phedon* or Dialogue of the Soul, as *Eusebius* hath observed in the last chapter of the 11. Book of the Evangelical Preparation. * *Those (saith he) that have lived indifferently well, come to that lake, and there dwell, and being purged, and having born the pain of their iniquities; they are released.* *Virgil* hath followed him, speaking thus of the souls of Purgatory, *Æneid. 6.*

* *Οἱ μὲν ἀν-
δρῶν μι-
σῶς βίω-
σιν αἰ-
νάτω, ἐπὶ
τῶν ἀφικ-
νούντων εἰς
λίμνην, ὅτε
οἱ οἰκῶσι τε
καὶ καθαί-
ρουνται τῶν
ἀδικημάτων
διαδόντες
δίκην ὑπολύ-
ονται.*

— *Alia panduntur inanes
Suspenda ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.*

Out of that source Purgatory is sprung. As for the purgation of souls at the wind or in the water, *Pope Gregory* the 1. teacheth it, in the 4. Book of his *Dialogues*; where there are many apparitions of souls, saying that they are in Purgatory, in the wind, or in the water, or in hot Bathes: For the Purgatory in a subterranean fire was not yet invented.

XVI.

Of Prayer and Service in an Unknown Tongue.

(a) *Page.
146. Ταῖς
ἄνους ὁμο-
λογεῖν οἱ
ἀνθρώποι
εἶναι δύνα-
μις τῆς
βαρβαρῆς
φωνῆς λεγ-
ομένης.*

The Ossenians (as *Epiphanius* relates in the 19. Heresie) made prayers in an unknown tongue, being unwilling to be understood by the people. *Austin* chap. 16. *ad quod vult Deum*, saith the same of the Heracleonites; And *Hierome* in the Epitaph of *Lucinius Andalusian*, saith that they amazed the people with a barbarous tone, so that they admired that most which they understood least. Of that the reason is given by *Clemens Alexandrinus* in the first Book of the *Stromates*, namely that (a) men hold prayers pronounced in an unknown tongue to be most effectual.

That abuse is past into the Roman Church which blindfoldeth the people, and keepeth them in a stupid awe by a service in a barbarous tongue; using Laymen to pray to God, not understanding what they say to him. We shall hear in the progress of this work the Cardinal saying to us, (b) that the merit of Faith is there greater, where there is less intelligence. Conformably to (c) *Bellarmines* saying, that Faith is opposite to science, and is better defined by ignorance then by knowledge,

(b) *Du Perron* Book 6.
chap. 1.
p. 1080.
(c) *Bellarmin.* lib. I.
de justificatione c. 7. §. *judicium. Fides distinguitur contra scientiam, & melius per ignorantiam quam per notitiam definitur.*

XVII.

XVII.

Of distinction of Meats.

IT cannot be denied but that many ancient Christians have abstained from certain meats upon fasting days. Yet if the matter be searcht at the spring, it will be found that Hereticks were the first authors of distinction of meats: *Tertullian* who writ two hundred years after the nativity of Christ, was a sectator of the heretick *Montanus*, of whom *Eusebius* after *Apollinaris* speaks thus, in the 17. Chapter of the first Book of his History; (a) *Montanus* hath set Laws about fasting. The same *Tertullian* hath written a Book *Contra Psychicos*, that is, against the natural men, [to expound the word *Psychicus*, as our English version translates it, 1 Cor. 2. 15.] So he calls the Orthodox in contempt; as men given to please their nature, and serve their belly; because they did not fast enough to his mind. In the 1. chapter, he saith of the Orthodox, that (b) they found fault with the Montanists; because they extended their fast till the Evening, ate nothing but dry meats, abstaining from flesh, and all things that had joyce and moisture. Whereupon it will be expedient to see in the following Chapter, how the true Christians of that time disputed against those Hereticks. (c) *The Law and the Prophets* (say they) *have lasted until John*; since that time fast is to be observed indifferently, and according to the will of every one, according to the time and the causes that everyone hath, not according to the Ordinance of this new Discipline. So the Apostles have observed it, having not imposed any yoke of certain fastings, which must be observed by all in common. They add, that *Jesus Christ* said, that which enters into a man defileth not a man; and that *St. Paul* hath foretold, that there should come Doctors teaching to abstain from meats, &c.

(a) *Montanus* dicitur leges circa ieiunia posuisse.

(b) *Argumentum* non quod stationes plebique in vespere producamus, quod etiam xerophagias observemus siccantes cibum ab omni carne & omni iuventutia.

(c) *Lex & Prophetæ usque ad Joannem*;

Itaque de cetero ieiunandum

dum ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ disciplinae pro temporibus & causis unusquisque. Sic & Apostolos observasse nullum aliud imponentes iugum certorum & in commune omnibus observandum jejuniorum.

As that language of the ancient Christians is the same, and those very reasons which we use against the Church of Rome: So the answer of *Tertullian*, in the defence of the Montanists, is the very same which the Roman Church useth in our days. The Apostle (saith that Heretick) (d) condemneth before-hand the Hereticks that should impose a perpetual abstinence, to destroy and despise the works of the Creator. And a little after; *We abstain from the meats, which* [non rejicimus, sed diffimus] *we do not reject, but only put off the use of them.* And a little after again; *The Apostle* accuseth certain chastisers, and forbidders of meats, who abstained from them [ex fastidio, non ex officio] out of disdain, not out of office. It was also the excuse of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, who having established many such observations, was condemned in the Council of *Gangra*. His excuse was, that he had not brought in those abstinences out of pride, but by a pious exercise, and according to God, as *Sozomenus* saith in the 13. Chapter of the 3. Book.

The Manicheans also were very scrupulous in their Fasts; of them *Austin* saith in the 13. chap. of the 2. Book of the manners of the Manicheans, that they ate no flesh-meat. To which rules the Monks of *St. Benedict* bind themselves; as the *Carthusians*, *Celestins*, &c. He saith also that among the Manicheans a man was not thought to have violated the rule of Holiness, that should burst his belly with Mushromes, Rye, and Cakes; but he that should have to his supper a few herbs with a bit of rusty Bacon. The Roman Church following those Hereticks in that distinction of meats, is gone far beyond them; taking it for a violation of fast to eat a bit of flesh, but to stretch ones stomach upon Wine, Fish, and Sweet-meats, breaks no fast with them.

(d) *Prodamus* jam hereticos perpetuam abstinentiam præceptos ad destruenda & despicienda opera creatoris.

XVIII.

Of overthrowing the humane nature of Christ.

THe *Valentinians* and *Marcionites* forged an imaginary body unto Jesus Christ, and the *Eutyrians* would clothe the humane nature of Christ with the perfections of the divine.

The Roman Church doth the same, attributing a body unto Christ, which is in an hundred thousand several places, and upon an hundred thousand several Altars at the same time; A body which is really present both in heaven and in earth, but is not in the space between both, and is by consequent remote from it self; A body which in the Mass hath no distinction of parts, and no diverse situation of Limbs, since all the parts of his body are in the host under one and the same point; A body without place, and taking no room, and therefore more spiritual than the spirits; For a Spirit cannot be in many separated places, nor be far from it self; And that not only since the glorification of Christ's body, but also when he was yet mortal and infirm, celebrating the Sacrament with his Disciples. Each of which assertions overthroweth and abolisheth the humane nature of Jesus Christ, and none of them is compatible with an humane body.

XIX.

Of Baptism conferred by women.

(a) *Μαρκίων
ἀδελφὸς τοῦ
Ἰωάννου ἐν-
τεταμένον
ἀπὸ τοῦ
Ἰωάννου.*

(b) *Non
permittitur
mulieri in Ec-
clesia loqui;
sed nec tinge-
re, nec offerre.
(c) Ipse
mulieres he-
retica quam
procaces, que
audeant dace-
re, forsitan
et tingere!*

IN the Roman Church, not only a man of the people, but also a woman may confer Baptism. The *Marcionites* did the same, as *Epiphanius* witnesseth in the forty second Heresie: (a) *Marcion indifferently permits, even to women to give Baptism.* The same he saith in the seventy ninth Heresie: Where also he maintains, that it would not have been lawful for the Virgin *Mary*. *Tertullian* in the book *Of the Virgins that must be veiled*, chap. 9. saith, (b) *It is not permitted to a woman to speak in the Church, nor to baptize, nor to offer.* And in the fourty first chapter of the book of the *Prescriptions*, he saith, that (c) *heretical women are so impudent, as to offer to teach and to baptize.* See *Clements* constitutions in the third book, chap. 9. whereof the Title is, *Quod non oportet mulieres baptizare, impium est enim & à Christi doctrina alienum: That women must not baptize; for it is an impious thing, and remote from the doctrine of Christ.* *Basil* in the Epistle to *Amphilochius*, rejecteth the Baptism conferred by Laymen.

XX.

Of the Baptism of inanimate things.

Pag. 90.

THe second Book of Sacred Ceremonies, in the seventh Section relateth, how the Pope baptizeth *Agnus Dei's*: It is ordinary to baptize bells in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: And they have a Godfather and a Godmother that give them their name. All which is an imitation of the error of the *Armenians* and *Jacobites*, of whom *Nicephorus* writes thus, in the eighteenth book, chap. 53. *They will not yield the due honour unto the cross, before they have baptized it, as if it were a man.* The Pagans did much the like to that; for before bells were invented, they used trumpets, which they consecrated by washings and purifications; and the day of that Ceremony was called *Tubilustrium*, as it may be seen in the fifth book of the *Fasts* of *Ovid*, and in *Festus*.

XXI. of

XXI.

Of Transubstantiation.

THe Capernaits Job 6. 52. did imagine a real manducation of the body of Jesus Christ with the mouth, saying, *How can this man give us his flesh to eat?* The *Eutychians* taught the transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ in the Eucharist; using that example to perswade that in the same manner the flesh of Christ by virtue of the union with the Verb [or the essential Word] was become spiritual and divine. In the second Dialogue of *Theodore*, entituled, the *Inconfuse*, the *Eutychian* Heretick speaks thus: (a) *The signs of the body and blood of Jesus Christ are others before the invocation of the Priest, but after the said invocation they are changed and become others.* To that Heretick teaching transubstantiation, the Orthodox answereth in these words; (b) *Thou art taken in the net which thou hast woven; for the mystical signs after the consecration, do not change nature; for they remain in their first substance, figure, and form, &c.* For which cause, the Jesuite *Gregorius de Valentia*, in the book of the Transubstantiation; chap. 7. §. *Quod si*, blameth *Theodore*, saying, that *Theodore* hath been taxed of other errors in the Council of *Ephesus*. The Roman Edition of the Greek Dialogues of *Theodore* hath pre-fixed this warning in the beginning of the book; That *Theodore* being carried too far by the desire of defending the truth, sometimes hangs too much on the other side. *Vigilius* in the fourth book against *Eutyches*, disputes against the *Eutychians*, in the same manner as we do against the Roman Church, in the second book against *Eutyches*, who said, that the Word and the Flesh of Christ were but one nature. (c) *If (saith Vigilius) the Word and the flesh of Christ have but one nature, how comes it to pass that the Verb being everywhere, the Flesh is not found also everywhere? For when it was in earth, it was not in heaven; and now because it is in heaven, it is not in earth.* Which are very remarkable words.

ἢ ὅ ἐν τῇ περὶ τῆς ἑνότητος καὶ τοῦ συνήματος. (c) Si verbi & carnis una natura est, quomodo cum verbum ubique sit, non ubique invenitur & caro? Nam quando in terra fuit, non erat utique in caelo, & nunc quia in caelo est, non est utique in terra.

The *Marcosian* Hereticks (as *Epiphanius* witnesseth, in the thirty fourth herefie) would make the world believe, that in the cup the wine was turned into blood. Cardinal *du Perron* in his book of the Eucharist against *M. du Pleffis*, pag. 191. saith, that the *Valentinians* beleived that in the Eucharist, the bread and the wine became truly the body and blood of Christ.

XXII.

Of Communion under one kind.

THe Synod of *Constance*, in the thirteenth Session, establisheth the Communion under one kind, and takes the cup from the people: Yet in the same Canon, these Venerable Fathers confess, that Jesus Christ instituted this Sacrament under the two kinds, and that the ancient Church did so celebrate it.

The same did the *Manicheans*, and thereby a *Manichean* was discovered, when he made difficulty to receive the Cup in the Sacrament; as Pope (a) *Leo* the I. said in the first Sermon of *Lent*. Of them, Pope *Gelasius* speaks in the Canon *Comperimus*, in the second distinction of the Consecration; *We have learned (saith he) that some having taken one portion only of the sacred body, abstain from the cup of the sacred blood.* And a little after, *The division of the same Sacrament cannot be done without a great Sacrilege.* The ordinary answer is, that *Gelasius* speaks of Priests that abstained from the cup, not of the people.

H

But

(a) Ore indigno Christi corpus accipiunt, sanguinem autem nostrum redemptoris, &c.

(b) Nulla
ibi de Sacer-
dote sacrifi-
cante mentio
habetur, ut
planè quod
generalitèr
dictum esse
apparet,
ad Sacerdotes
restringi mini-
mè debere sa-
tis intelligi
possit.

But (b) Cardinal *Baronius* an. 496. §. 20. confuteth that shift, and with good reason maintaineth (as also the whole Text of the Canon shews it) that he condemneth those of the people that abstained from the cup, calling that a sacrilege. As indeed in the same Canon, *Gelasius* decreeth, that such as make difficulty to receive the cup, be no more admitted to the communion of the bread, and be cut off from the whole Sacrament, which cannot be said but of the people presenting themselves to the Communion.

XXIII.

Of the Titles and Honours which the Pope usurpeth.

THE Pagan Emperors caused themselves to be called Gods. *Caligula* gave his feet to *Pompeius Pennus* to kiss, as *Seneca* testifieth in the twelfth chapter of the book of benefits. *Julius Capitolinus* saith the same of the yong *Maximinus* Emperor. *Pomponius Latrus* saith the same of *Dioclesian*. The same Emperors made themselves adored, and the Roman Senate had the right of Apotheoses or Canonizations. The Pope having usurped the place of the ancient Emperors of Rome, hath also usurped these honours, and is called by his flatterers, (a) *God* in earth, and the divine Majesty, giveth his feet to kiss, and causeth himself to be adored: Which is done with an especial solemnity upon the (b) day of his election: Then is he set upon the Altar by the Cardinals who all one after another come to the adoration. The Senate of Cardinals hath the right of Apotheoses or Canonizations, and to admit whom they please into the list of the Saints of Paradise. The Preface of the second book of the sacred Ceremonies, calleth the Canonization of Saints of the Papacy, *Divorum nostrorum Apotheosis, The Deification, or Apotheose of our Saints*: This is foretold by the Spirit of God, *Rev. 13.* that the second Beast should erect the image of the first Beast: for the Papal Hierachy hath set up an empire after the likeness and imitation of the Roman Empire.

(a) Glossa
Extravagan-
tes Cum in-
ter. Papa vo-
catur Domi-
nus Deus
noster & Ja-
pe alibi:
Concil. La-
ter. ult.
Sess. 9. Ma-
jestatis sue
divine con-
spectus.

(b) This ceremony is described in the book of sacred Ceremonies, Sect. 1. chap. 6. The practice of it is to be seen in an Epistle of Cardinal de Joyeuse inserted among those of Cardinal de Perron, where it is related, how after the election they came to the adoration.

XXIV.

Of the dissolution of Marriages.

THE Pope separateth and dissolveth marriages lawfully contracted, upon pretence of a greater perfection, and to enter into the Monastical life, against the expresse prohibition of Jesus Christ, *Mat. 19. 6. What God hath joyned together, let no man put asunder;* and *1 Cor. 7. 5. Defraud you not one the other;* and in the verse before, *The Husband hath no power of his own body, but the Wife.* The *Britishianist* Hereticks did the same; of whom *Austin* to *Quod vult Deus*, (a) saith, that they separated marriages, and dis-joyned Husbands from their Wives, against their will. If marriage be made a Sacrament by the faith mutually given, or by the blessing in the Church, as they hold in the Roman Church, how dares the Pope dissolve a Sacrament? Or if the Sacrament be not entire nor fulfilled without the consummation of matrimony, doth it not follow that the Priests conferring the Sacrament of matrimony, confer but half a Sacrament?

(a) Ch. 70.
Disjunct
vivos a no-
lentibus semi-
nis.

XXV. of

XXV.

Of the Titles and Offices given to the Saints.

THE Pagans or Heathens did give particular Offices to each of their Gods : One governed the Sea, another bore sway in Hell ; one had care of the wheat, another over women in child-bed, &c. And every Land or Countrey had his Tutelary God. *Juno* was the Patroness of *Carthage*, *Venus* of *Paphos*, and *Pallas* of *Athens*, &c.

The Roman Church hath transported these titles to the deceased Saints, and hath given to every one of them their office. Saint *Margaret* Patroness of child-bed women, did succeed the Goddess *Lucina*. Saint *Nicolas* which is called upon by Navigators, did succeed *Castor* and *Pollux*. Saint *Eustache* hath taken the place or room of the hunting *Diana* ; Saint *Christopher* that of *Hercules* ; and Saint *Eloy* of *Vulcan* ; and every Town, City, or Kingdom hath its Tutelary Saint. Saint *Mark* is the Patron and Protector of *Venice* ; Saint *James* of *Spain* ; and Saint *Denis* of *France*, &c. And those offices have been given to those Saints which are in Heaven, by men which are on earth, without knowing whether the Saints did accept of them ; or whether God doth approve or allow of such boldness, that Men, Ignorants and sinners, dare distribute or bestow offices to the Saints which are in Heaven.

XXVI.

Of the Equipage or setting forth of Saints Images and Adornments.

THE Roman Church hath borrowed from the Pagans, the equipage and ornament of her images. They gave a key to *Janus*, as the Church of *Rome* gives one to Saint *Peter*. They represented *Jupiter Ammon* with horns, as *Muses* is now figured. (a) The *Genii* or Household Gods had a dog with them, as now Saint *Hubert*, and Saint *Eloy* : who also hath an hammer, as *Vulcan* in oldtime. *Hercules* had a Club ; and so hath Saint *Christopher* : *Apollo* had an harp in his hand, and Saint *Genest* the Patron of the Fiddlers hath a Violon.

Before the Pagans images, (b) wax-lights were lighted, and incense was burnt, which is done still to the images of Saints in the Roman Church ; A custom much derided by *Tertullian*, *Arnobius*, and *Lactantius*. *Tertullian* in his book of Idolatry, chap. 15. Let those (saith he) light Lamps that have no light : And *Arnobius* asketh, whether the Gods have the sense of smelling : And *Lactantius* in the sixth book, chap. 2. (c) Is that man in his right sense, that offereth candles to him that is the author and giver of light ?

(a) Ovid. *Fastor.*

(b) Ovid. *Epiet. Med. Ardet ut ad magnas pineas ada Deos.* Cicero *Offic. 3. Omnis viciis statu & ad*

cas thus & cerei. Tertul. *Apol. c. 42. Thura non enimus ; Si Arabiz querantur, sciant Sabai, &c.* (c) Num memis sue compos putandus est qui auctori & datori luminis candelarum ac cercorum munus offert pro munere ?

XXVII.

Of Relicks applied to Women with child.

Tertullian in a Book of the soul, chap. 39. saith, that the Pagan women used to gird their belly about with rollers, made before the idols : Much like the custom of women in the Abby of Saint *German*, in the suburb of Saint *German* of *Paris*, girding themselves with the girdle of Saint *Margaret*. See in the first chapter of *Fenestella*, [otherwise *Andr. Dominicus Floccus*] how women would come to the *Luperci*, who smote the palm of their hands with Goats-skins to make them conceive.

XXVIII.

Of Unshod Monks.

† Excalceatorum est heresis que excalceatos ambulare debere homines asseruit, &c.

Philastrius Bishop of Bress, who writ about the year of our Lord, 380. hath made a Catalogue of ancient heresies, among the which he puts the Heresie of † the Unshod, who went barefoot, because God said to Moses, Put off thy shoes from off thy feet; which he calls a vain superstition. Yet many of our Monks have followed it, placing merit in going barefoot. The superstitious Jews had a holy day in which they went barefoot, which Hierom in his first book against Jovinian, calls nudipedalia, of which, Juvenal speaks,

Observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges.

XXIX.

Of Mendicant Fryers.

Mendicity, which before was an affliction, now is a profession, yea a work of supererogation. All is full of begging Fryars, whose idle mendicity is fatter then the plenty of many of the people. The same was among the Pagans, among whom, the Priests of the Syrian Goddess, and those of Cybele, went about begging from Town to Town, bearing sacks, where they put the provision that was given them. This is very exactly described in the eighth book of the *Milesia* of Apuleius, and in the fourth book of *Fasti* of Ovid. Tertullian (a) in the thirteenth chapter of his *Apologeticus*, saith of it; *The mendicant Religion goeth about the Taverns*. The Hereticks *Massilians* (b) did forsake the world, clad with sacks, begging about, as Epiphanius describes it in the eightieth heresie.

(a) *Circuitur campum religionis mendicans.*
(b) *ἐκτινέουσι τὰς χεῖρας μετατρέφοντες αἱ ἀβύσσους αὐτοῖς ἀντημύουσι.*

XXX.

Divers customs of Paganism borrowed by the Papism.

HE that would specify all the ceremonies and customs of the Pagans, which the Roman Church hath borrowed, should undertake an endless task.

The *Lacedemonians* would whip themselves, as the Penitents at Rome do now. See Tertullian in the end of the *Apologeticus*, and in the fourth chapter of his book to Martyrs: (a) Upon which, Rhenanus makes this annotation; *Istius veteris & austerius vestigium videas apud Italos in Litanis: Of that old fashion of whipping ones self, a trace may be seen among the Italians in the Litanies*. Thus the Priests of Baal did cut themselves, 1 Kings 18. 28. And the Priests of Cybele called (b) *Curetes*.

(a) *Apud Lacedaemonas sollemnitas maxima est dactylorum.*

(b) See Ovid. *Fast.* 4.
(c) Ovid. *Fast.* 5.
Menſe malum Maio nubere vulgus ait.
(d) Ovid. *Fast.* 2.
Festus & Varro de lingua Latina.

The Pagans (c) made difficulty of marrying in March and May, as now our Adversaries in *Leinr*. (d) Ashwednesday falls much upon the same time, as the day of Purifications and Propitiations for the dead in the Pagan Rome, which was upon the eighteenth of February.

Rhenanus upon the fifth book of Tertullian against Marcion, acknowledgeth, that *Candlemas* is an imitation of the februal ceremonies of the Romans.

The Pagans had sacrifices for the rain, which were called *Aquilicia*: For the same use as the shrine of Saint Genoveſa, is taken down at Paris.

Pliny in the sixteenth book, chap. 44. saith, that the Vestal Virgins hanged their hair at a Tree; for they shaved themselves, as our Nuns do.

The

The Pagans had their Convents of sacred Virgins, as the Vestals and the *Fanfinian* Virgins instituted by *Marcus Antoninus Pius*, as *Julius Capitolinus* saith in his life.

They used holy water, wax-lights, and incense.

They clothed their images. The history is known of *Dionysius* the Tyrant, who eased the images of the gods of their golden heavy cloaks, and gave them other cloaks of cloth, saying, those of cloth were both warmer and lighter.

The † Pagans had the great Altar consecrated to *Hercules*.

Twelfth-tide, * in which the meanest of the house (if it happen so) is King, is an imitation of the Saturnales, in which the servants were Masters.

The Rogations and Processions about the fields of corn, have succeeded to the Processions called *Ambarvalia*.

As the Pagans suffered not any male to enter into the Temple of *Bona Dea*, so there are Chappels in the Roman Church where women enter not, as the Chappel of St. *Lawrence* at *Rome* out of the wals, as the book of the Roman Indulgences shews it; And the quire of the Lateran Church at *Rome*.

Pope *Boniface* the VIII. hath instituted the Jubile every hundredth year, after the imitation of the Roman secular games, As *Onuphrius* acknowledgeth it, lib. *de ludis secularibus*.

The spittle used in Baptism by the Roman Church, is derived from the Pagans, who made use of spittle for preservative and expiation. *Pet. sim Sat. 2.*

*Infami digito & Instralibus ante salivis
Expiat.*

† *Fenestella*.
c. 2.
Valer. Max.
lib. 1.
* The French
call it the
day of Kings.
The Lord of
misrule in
Christmas is
also a trace
of the Sa-
turnals at
that time of
the year.
Horat. Sat. 7.
lib. 2. *Agell.*
bertale De-
cembris.

XXXI.

Confession of our Adversaries.

Our Adversaries themselves do not dissemble it, and are not ashamed to boast that they have borrowed many things from Paganism.

Cardinal *Baronius* upon the year of our Lord 260. §. 5. (a) *After that (saith he) it was purposely introduced, that the offices of Pagan superstition, being consecrated to the service of the true God, should be employed to the service of true Religion.*

The same *Baronius* upon the year 58. §. 76. saith that the *Agnus Dei's* hanged about the neck, have been instituted after the imitation of those brooches called *bulle*, which the Pagan boyes wore about their necks to avert charms.

On the year 183. §. 11. he saith that the insolencies of Shrove-tyde, come from the Bacchanals. Which is more, on the year 324. he makes no difficulty to say, that the Popes have succeeded in the habits, the apparel, and the privileges of the Pagan Pontifes.

The Jesuit *Cotton*, in the second book of his Institution, chap. 57. saith, that as the Temples dedicated unto Idols, were turned into Churches dedicated unto God; So the ceremonies which of themselves are indifferent, have been with good reason transported to Gods service.

The Gloss of the Canon *Consecrationem*. Dist. 1. *de consecratione*, speaking of the Pagan customs and ceremonies, saith, (b) *If the Pagans did that, we much more ought to do it. And so it is an argument whereby we draw inferences out of the examples of Infidels.*

(a) *Consulto
introducitur
videtur ut
que erant
Gentilitie
superstitionis
officia, eadem
veri Dei cul-
tui sanctifi-
cata in vera
Religionis
cultum im-
pendeantur.*

(b) *Si Gen-
tiles faciebant,
multo magis
facere debe-
mus, &c.*

CHAP. 16.

Reasons why Cardinal du Perron, making little account of the three first ages, confines himself to the time of the four first Councils. And that he sets down unjust rules, and such as himself observeth not.

(a) In the 4. chap. of the 4. observation of the 2. book, p. 726 and in many other places.

OVER all the book of Cardinal du Perron, against his Majesty of great Brittain, he makes very little use of Gods Word, as of a tool which doth not fit his hand. But he (a) takes the Fathers of the time of the four first Councils for his Judges; The first whereof, which is the Council of Nice, was held in the year of our Lord, 325. and the last, which is that of Chalcedon, was held 126. after. Within these limits he confines himself, making little account of the time before. He brings for his reasons, the rarity of the writers of that time, and that they had no occasion to write of such matters, or that the books were lost. Yet have we many Authors more antient then the Council of Nice; Justin Martyr, Ignatius, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius; To which I adde Eusebius and Athanasius, who were present at the first Council. From whose writings we may learn, what was the belief of the Church of their time, as much as from any else that lived since. But the true cause is, that in the antienter Authors no mention is found of those chief points, about which we dispute against the Roman Church, as the Primacy of the Pope over all the world, the invocation of Saints, the service of images, and many the like things, the seeds whereof were sown, and the occasions did rise many years after.

So the Kings words are related by the Cardinal, in the 4. observation of the second book.

The Cardinal alledgeth another reason why he restrains himself to the time of the four first Councils; That his Majesty of Great Brittain, hath taken the Fathers of that age for his Judges: Which is an untruth, for the King never chose other Judges then the Word of God; And in his search of Antiquity, he never meant to exclude or undervalue the Fathers, that writ before the sitting of these four Councils. For these are his words, *The King with the Anglican Church admitting the first four Oecumenical Councils, sheweth enough that he includes not the State of the true and lawful Church within one age or two, but goes much beyond that.* By these words, his Majesty shews evidently, that he confines not himself within the space of 126. years, which is the time of the four first Councils, reckoning from the first to the last.

For example, we find that the first Father that called upon the Saints departed, was Gregory Nazianzen, about the year of our Lord 370. Before him, no mention is found of the invocation of Saints; But all the Fathers antienter then he, say unanimously, that none but God alone must be invoked. Shall we think that the Cardinal hath sufficiently proved, that the ancient Church hath prayed to the Saints; because in the fourth age (in which those four Councils began) some examples are found of that invocation? Yet to that the Cardinal, in the fore-alledged place, declareth himself not to be obliged; And saith, that to offer to bind him to search the ages before, is harsh and unjust dealing; For he holds, that if something be found to have been universally observed by the Church, in one of the four first ages, it must be presupposed, that the same thing was observed in all the other ages, so that there be no proof to the contrary.

The Reader may here observe, that M. du Perron not only acknowledgeth that some doctrines are held by the Roman Church, which have no precedent in the three first ages; but also that he sets Laws which he breaks all over his book, fixing bounds to himself, within which he doth not keep. For he maintains many doctrines, of which not only no mention is made in the Doctors of the first ages, but which also are condemned by those Doctors; Such is the exclusion of the people from the cup, the service of images, the invocation of Saints, the fire of Purgatory immediately after death, the Popes power over the temporal of Kings, and over

over their crowns, praying to God when one understands not himself, and many other things.

Besides, to shew that a doctrine hath been received in the ancient Church, The Cardinal will have no more required, but to shew that it was universally received in one of the four first ages. Now this he doth not shew; for all the proofs which he brings about the principal controversies, and chiefly about the dignity of the Roman Church, and the power of the Pope, are inclosed within the compalls of the Roman Empire; and serve only to shew that the Roman Church and her Bishop, had some preheminance above the Churches & Bishops of the Roman Empire, but not over those Churches that were without the Roman Empire; for with them the Bishop of Rome had no communication, neither did he for many ages pretend any preheminance over them. And truly the Cardinal, as nimble as he is to invent things that are not, and magnifie small things, could never in all his book produce any one appeal from the Church of *Perfia*, or *Ethiopia*, or *Assyria* to *Rome*; nor any law given in that time by the Church of *Rome* to the Churches of all the world.

CHAP. 17.

Of the authority of the Church, And whether she must have more authority with us then the holy Scripture. Opinion of the parties.

THIS dispute is an especial spot of these last times, in which the spirit of blasphemy, which before did but whisper in corners, hath made bold to get in to the pulpit, and set forth his impiety in publick. For who so shall look neer-hand into the nature of that question, whether the Church must have more authority with us then Scripture, shall acknowledge, that the plain issue of the question is, Whether of the two is the greatest and most to be beleaved, God or men?

Indeed the Roman Church acknowledgeth that the writings of the Prophets and Apostles are divine, and that they are the Word of God. But in that she saith that (a) Scripture cannot be Judge of the doubts about faith, that the Church giveth authority to Scripture; and that Scripture hath neither strength nor authority, but so far as the Church declareth it: In that (I say) she overthrowes the authority of Scripture, whilst she feigneth to establish it. For the way to shake a certain truth, is to ground it upon uncertain proofs. The way to bring in Atheism without noise, is to ground the divine Oracles upon humane testimonies, and to command that credit be given to the Word of God, because the Pope and the Roman Church have commanded it. He that proveth clear things by obscure proofs, doth like him that sheweth the full Moon with his finger, or that believeth that the Sun is bright, because his neighbour told him so. By this means men are esteemed more credible then God, and if God will have servants and some persons that believe his Word, he must be obliged for it to the Pope.

To bring down the Authority of Scripture and raise that of the Church (that is their own) they charge Scripture with imperfection, saying, that all that is necessary to salvation is not contained therein; and thereupon setting up another [but unwritten] Word of God, which is found in the mouth of the Church, that is, in their own mouth.

They call the Church a speaking Judge, but the Scripture a (b) dumb rule; and yet not a whole rule, but a piece and a part of one. They accuse Scripture of obscurity, and wish that it were more obscure yet, that it might have less strength to condemn them. Whereupon they bear themselves as infallible Interpreters of Scripture, thereby making themselves Law-givers under the title of Interpreters.

The Cardinal in the seventh Chapter of the second observation of the second Book, maintains, that one must not have recourse to the age of the Apostles, that

Bellar. lib. 5.
de verbo Dei,
c. 9. initio
capituli. *Judex
difficultatum
non potest esse
Scriptura.*

(b) The Jesuit *Arnova*, that writ against this Author about the French Confession of Faith, saith § 19. That the Protestants will abuse a dumb rule, shaking off the yolk of Interpreters.

(c) Bellar.
lib. 4. de Ver-
bo Dei
Scripto.
c. 12. §.
Dico secundo,
Scripturam
etiam non est
facta præci-
pue ut sit re-
gula fidei,
esse tamen re-
gulam non
totalem, sed
partialem.

(d) Matth.
10. 40.

that is, to the example and doctrine of the Apostles to repurge the Church. *Bellarmin* (c) saith that Scripture is a piece of a rule, and that it was not written to rule our faith, but only for a wholesome counsel, equalizing the authority of Scripture, bearing witness to her self, to the authority of the Alcoran of *Mahomet*.

The Jesuite *Bayle* in the first Treatise of the Catechism, saith, that without the authority of the Church he would believe the Gospel of St. *Matthew* no more then *Titus Livius*. *Charron* in his third *Verity*, saith, that he that is instructed by Scripture is no Christian; and many times over-pronounceth this maxime, that the Church and the Scripture are Judges, but the Church principally, and with great preheminance. The Jesuit *Salmeron*, in the 13. Tome, 8. Disput. upon St. *Pauls* Epistles, giveth to the Scripture a nose of wax. *Gregorius de Valentia* in the 4. Book of the Analysis, 3. Chap. calls the Scripture a rock of offence. And alwayes these Doctors by the Church understand the *Roman*, not the *Greek*, more antient then the *Roman*, nor the *Syrian*, more antient then the *Greek*; And by the *Roman* Church they understand the Pope, in whom alone all that authority resideth. For (if we stand to their judgement) that man should be very wide of the truth, that would take the word Church in this question, in the same sence as in the Symbole. They have given to that word a new signification.

After they have so vilified Scripture, it was easie for them to forbid the reading of it. Yet because it would be a thing of ill favour, if in the publick service the Scripture should have no place, they read a few texts of it, but in a tongue which the people understand not. By these means they shelter themselves against Scripture, and take an order that their doctrine may not be Judged by the Word of God, for they have made themselves Judges of the Word of God.

For our part, we reverence the authority of the Church which teacheth us according to the Word of God, and receive with respect those that speak in Gods name; Of whom the Lord Jesus saith, (d) *He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me*. We know also that though they have no power to add or change any thing in the doctrine, yet the Pastors of the Church being assembled, can make Laws concerning Ecclesiastical policy, use reprehensions, censures, and excommunications against vices, and declare the doctrines, which Scripture hath condemned, erroneous.

But five things ought to be observed, about the limitation of that authority.

I. That this authority belongs to none but the Orthodox Church, which retains the true ground of the faith, and by consequent that one hath need to know well which is the Orthodox Church, that teacheth the true doctrine, before he attributes any authority to her.

II. That this authority is subject unto the Word of God, and that no man ought to presume beyond that which is written, 1 Cor. 4.

III. That the authority of the Church in the Apostles time, is far greater then that of other ages. For these holy lights had the continual assistance of Gods Spirit, and are still sitting upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of *Israel*.

IV. That we have no law, and no order established by the Universal Church, but the laws and rules that were established by the Apostles, who governed the Universal Church, and did represent it. But all the Ecclesiastical laws made since [that are worth keeping] were made by Countils assembled, not out of the Universal Church, but out of the universal Roman Empire.

V. That although the Church of the whole world were met together, yet it can never have so much authority as the holy Scripture, since it is subject unto Scripture, that is, unto God, speaking by his Prophets and Apostles, as St. *Paul* saith, *Rom. 3*, that the oracles of God were committed unto the Jews. The Orthodox Church is a witness unto Scripture; and subjecting her self to the authority of Scripture, doth not presume to give her authority; For by Scripture we understand not the paper and the characters, but the divine doctrine contained in it.

That none may think that we impose upon our Adversaries that which they believe not, or that others among them speak with more respect of Scripture then

Cardinal

Cardinal du Perron doth, it is expedient to hear what their other Doctors say of it.

Bellarmin in the 3. Book of the unwritten word, Chap. 9. (e) saith, God ought to have provided a Judge for the Church; Now that Judge cannot be Scripture. And soon after, It appeareth that Scripture is not a Judge.

Kindanus in his Panoplia, In the Index of the Chapters of the 5. Book. (f) The Church hath not been limited to the Scriptures by the will of God, but to the living and perpetual testimony of the Holy Ghost.

The Jesuit Costerus, in the first Chapter of his Manual (g) Christ would not have his Church to depend upon writings in paper.

In the same place speaking of the Traditions of the Roman Church, and calling them a more excellent kind of Scripture, he saith, The excellency of that Scripture exceeds much the holy Scriptures which the Apostles have left us in parchment.

Salmeron in the first Prolegomen, (i) Although the authority of the Church and of Scripture be from God, yet the authority of the Church is more ancient and of more worth, seeing that Scripture was made for the Church. If that reason hold, the authority of the people shall be above the laws and edicts of Kings, for those laws were made for the people.

And in the second Prolegomen, (k) It is no wonder if Scripture be subject to the Church of God, which hath the Spirit. By that means the Law of God is subject unto men.

The Jesuit Serarius in the tenth Prolegomen. qu. 2. (l) Scripture is deaf to hear causes, and stupid to examine them, and is a most unfit Vicar of God (the Judge) to pronounce a sentence properly so called.

Gregorius de Valentia Jesuit, in the 4. Book of the Analysis, Chap. 4. Scripture by a secret judgement of God is as a rock of offence, and a temptation to the feet of the unwise, that those that will ground themselves upon it alone, may most easily stumble at it, & go out of the way.

Stapleton in the 2. book of the authority of Scripture, Chapp. 11. (n) I have said and say, that Scripture in it self is not so much the rule of faith, as the faith of the Church is the rule of Scripture.

ac Scripturæ autoritas à Deo sit, illa tamen Ecclesiæ antiquior est à quæ adco dignior, siquidem Scriptura propter Ecclesiæ contexta est. (k) §. Septimo. Non mirum si Scriptura Ecclesiæ Dei qua Spiritum habet subiciatur. (l) Scriptura ad causarum auditionem surda, ad examen stupida, ad propriæ dictæ sententiæ dictionem vicaria Dei judicii perinepta est. (m) Scripturam arcæ Dei judicio esse velut lapidem offensionis & in tentationem pedibus insipientium; ut qui velint ea sola niti, facillime impingant & errent. (n) Dixi & dico, non tam ipsius fidei regulam in se esse Scripturam, quam ipsarum Scripturarum regulam esse fidem Ecclesiæ.

So a course is taken that Gods subjects shall rule his Law, and that God shall become subject unto men. It is Charron's doctrine in his 3. Verity, 2. chap. We acknowledge the Church to have, in our regard, more authority then Scripture. Tea Scripture cannot be the last rule and the sovereign Judge of doctrine.

Truly the Roman Church must needs be acknowledged to have more authority then Scripture, that is, then God speaking by his Prophets and Apostles, if it be so that she have power to change that which God hath commanded in the Scripture, as M. du Perron will tell us hereafter.

By the way observe how little these men understand what they say. For Bellarmin in the fore-alledged place, saith that God ought to have provided a Judge for his Church. And yet our Adversaries will have the Church to be Judge. And the same men that ground the authority of Scripture upon that of the Church, will alledge Scripture, when they are asked upon what ground the authority of the Church is founded.

(e) §. Probatum.

Debit D us judicem aliquem Ecclesiæ providere, at iste judex non potest esse Scriptura.

(f) Ecclesiæ non esse ex Christi voluntate Scripturam, sed vivum ac perpetuum Spiritus auctoris testimonio.

(g) Christus Ecclesiæ suam à charitatis scriptis pendere voluit.

(h) Huius Scriptura præstantia multis partibus superat scripturas quas nobis in membranis Apostoli reliquerunt.

(i) §. Nunc de.

Est Ecclesiæ

CHAP. 18.

Proofs that the Word of God contained in the holy Scriptures, is above the Church, and ought to be of greater authority with us then the Church.

I. **T**Hat unto which the Church is subject, is of greater authority then the Church: and the Laws of a Sovereign Prince, are above the men subject unto his Laws. Now the Church is subject unto the Word of God, contained in the holy Scriptures, for they contain the laws of the Sovereign God. Then they have more authority then the Church which is subject to these Laws. Should that man have been suffered in *Moses* his time, that would have said that the people of *Israel* was above the Law of God given by *Moses*? or that the Priests and Levites gave authority to that Law, whereas that Law did establish the Priests and gave them authority?

II. The authority of God commanding, is alwaies greater then the authority of men to whom God gives commandments in his Word. If God in Scripture gave authority to the Church above Scripture, he would give her also authority above her self. For it is God that speaks in the holy Scriptures.

III. If we do not believe God speaking in the Scriptures, but because the Church commands it, men should be more credible then God.

IV. That which is subject to error, and is guided by Pastours subject to be led away by evil affections of pride, covetousness and hatred, must needs have less authority then that which is exempt from those vices. Now we have proved before, that the Church is subject to these inconveniences, and that she can err. And the Pastors may be led away by perverse affections. She must then have less authority then Scripture which is exempt from all that.

V. If the authority of the Church be grounded upon Scripture, it is certain, that the authority of Scripture is greater then that of the Church; For it is Scripture that saith, *Tell it unto the Church. If he hear not the Church, let him be unto thee as a Pagan and a Publican*: And without the authority of Scripture we should not so much as know that there must be a Church in the world. Our adversaries go about to prove the authority of the Roman Church by texts of Scripture; They do then acknowledge that Scripture hath more authority then their Church.

VI. The same is evident, in that the holy Scripture commands the Church and giveth her Laws. But the Church doth not command Scripture, only she declareth that such a book is Scripture, and is a witness and keeper of his truth. And by making that declaration, she doth nothing but what she is bound to do. Thereby she makes profession of the obedience which she oweth unto Scripture. Now to command, is a thing of far greater worth and authority then to be a witness only.

VII. The Apostle *St. Paul*, *Eph. 2. 20.* foundeth the Church upon the Prophets and Apostles. *You are built (saith he) upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets.* He means not that the Church is built upon the persons of the Apostles and Prophets, who were dead, or mortal, but upon their doctrine contained in the holy Scriptures.

VIII. If this proposition be well examined, that the authority of the Church over *Us*, is greater then that of Scripture, it will be found void of common sense; For this word *Us* signifieth no other thing but the Church: So the sense of that proposition will be, *Thus the authority of the Church over the Church, is of greater authority then that of Scripture.* And if by that word *Us* the people only be understood, then that proposition is false in respect of the Pastors.

IX. Every Judge between two parties, must be acknowledged by both the parties. Now Scripture is acknowledged both by us and by our Adversaries to be the true word of God; But we acknowledge not the Roman Church to be the true Church. Wherefore the Roman Church cannot be Judge of our controversies:

Other-

Otherwise she should be both Judge and Party, and should be Judge in her own cause.

X. There is but one holy Scripture, but there be many dissenting Churches, which should be made friends before we can know which must judge us, if so be that the Church must be our Judge: For the Greek and the syrian will pretend to be Judges as well as the Roman, as being more antient.

XI. If the Roman Church be not grounded upon the Word of God contained in the Scriptures, our Adversaries must produce some other ground, and divine proof upon which it is grounded; which they can never do.

XII. We desire also to know whether in the Controversie concerning the authority of the Church, or in the question, *whether the Church be Judge*, the Church must be Judge; and whether she be Judge of her own duty, and of the Laws to which God hath subjected her. Shall the Church judge without erring, whether the Church can err? Also we should be told before, whether the Pope be subject unto Scripture? for if he be subject to Scripture, he is not a Sovereign Judge in the points of Faith; and the power of altering that which God commandeth in Scripture is falsely attributed unto him; if he be not subject to Scripture, he is then above God, and exempted from his obedience.

XIII. But what Decrees of the Church can be brought which give authority to Scripture? Shall they bring the Canons of the Councils? But Scripture had her full authority before these Councils. And if these Canons give authority to the holy Scripture, then these Canons are the holy Scripture with more reason than that which we call so: For that which makes a thing to be holy and authentic, hath need to be more holy and authentic. Why then are they not inserted in the holy Scripture? But that is altogether impossible, seeing that the Canons of the Councils which define what Books of Scripture must be Canonical, are contrary to one another: For the Canons of the Councils of *Laodicea*, and *Carthage*, and *Trent*, dissent about the Catalogue of the Canonical Books.

XIV. Should that man have been suffered in the Church of *Israel*, who had said that the High Priest had more authority than the Law of God? and that the authority of the Law was grounded upon that of the High Priest? whereas the authority of the High Priest was grounded upon the Law of God, whereby he had been established in his charge. Without question such a man should have been stoned, unless he had been held for a mad man. If then the authority of the Law did not depend from the lawful High Priests, is it like that in our dayes it depends from the Roman Popes, whose Office is but imaginary, and invented by men?

XV. Now if the authority of the Church be brought in question, must the Church herself be Judge in that cause? Or if that cause be judged by Scripture, shall then Scripture be Judge of the Church?

XVI. And though it were granted that the authority of the Church is greater over us than that of Scripture, yet it must be presupposed that such an authority is not proper, but to a Church which is not heretical, and retains the true doctrine. Now one cannot know whether a Church have the true doctrine conformable unto Gods Word, but by examining her Doctrine by the Word of God contained in the holy Scripture. And so we must still return to Scripture, and acknowledge it for the Judge of the Church, before we can ascribe any authority to the Church.

St. *Austin* is very expresse upon that question. In the XI. Book against *Faustinus* the Manichean, chap. 5. (a) *The Holy Scripture is set up in a certain high seat, to which every faithful and pious understanding must serve.* And in the Book of the Unity of the Church, chap. 2. (b) *We must seek the Church in the words of Christ, who is the Truth, who knows very well his own body: And a little after, I will have the Church shewed to me, not by humane Precepts, but by divine Oracles.* And chap. 3. *Ergo in Scripturis Canonicis quaeramus Ecclesiam, Let us then seek the Church in the Canonical Scriptures.* Let M. du Perron expound *Austin* as he will, saying, that *Austin* will have us to learn of Scripture, that the Church

(a) *Tanquam in sublimi sede constituta est, cui serviat omnis intellectus.*

(b) *Puto quod in Christi verbis potius Ecclesiam quaerere debemus qui veritas est et optime novit corpus suum.*

(c) ἡ δὲ ἐν ἡ
 δευτέρῳ
 ἡμῶν δια-
 τικτοῦ γε-
 ρῶν.
 (d) αὐτὸς τὴν
 οὐκ ἐγγύ-
 μῳ τῷ εὐρε-
 σθαι αὐτὴν
 χρῶμεθα
 κρίνειν.

must be alwayes eminent and in greater number; For alwayes this remains, that St. *Austin* will have those marks of eminency and multitude to be learned out of Scripture, and by consequent that we must address our selves to Scripture before we know the Church, and that Scripture in that point is Judge of the Church. And if in one point, why not also in other points. *Basil* in the 80. Epistle to *Eustathius*, (c) *Let the divinely inspired Scripture judge us.* *Clement Alexandrinus* in the third of the *Stromates*, (d) *In the search of things we make use of Scripture to judge.* And *Austin* 18. chapter of *Grace and Free-will*, *Sedent inter nos iudex Apostolus Johannes, Let the Apostle John sit Judge between us.*

CHAP. 19.

Reasons of our Adversaries to the contrary.

NOW let us see what reasons our Adversaries can have to set man above God, and make the authority of the Word of God to depend from the authority of men.

1. They say that without the authority of the Church, one should not know that this is the Scripture, and that such and such Books are Canonical; Whence they conclude that the Church hath more authority then Scripture.

I could make an argument like that, and with better reason, saying, that without the authority of holy Scripture, one should not know that there is a Church in the world, and that by the Scripture one discerneth which Church is the best, and therefore that Scripture hath more authority. But to answer directly, I maintain that it is not by the authority of the Church, that one knows that this is Scripture, but by the testimony of the Church. The Church neither ordaineth nor commandeth, nor maketh that these Books be the holy Scripture, but only testifieth and declareth that these Books are the holy Scripture. The Churches authority doth not make us become bound to receive Scripture, since her self is bound to receive it. It doth not belong to subjects to ordain what Laws they must obey. And all that the Councils declare upon that, is but a profession, and a declaration of their obedience, and an acknowledgement of the perfection of the Word of God contained in the holy Scriptures.

That by this declaration the Church cannot pretend any authority above Scripture, it appeareth, because heretical Churches make the same Declaration, and bear the like testimony unto Scripture: Yea it may happen that he who hath received the holy Scripture from the Church, will by that Scripture justly reprove the Errors of that very Church. As if one hath shewed me the Kings Edicts, it doth not follow that he is above those Edicts. Likewise if the Church testifie unto me that this is Scripture, it doth not follow that the Church is above the Scripture; else the Stationers should be above all the Laws of the Kingdom.

Besides, the testimony of the Church is not to be received, unless she be pure in the faith. Now whether she be pure in the Faith, one cannot know but by the holy Scripture, which in that question is not only a Witness, but a Judge, and speaks with authority.

I say more, That the testimony which a Church pure in the faith delivereth to an ignorant person, that such Books are Divine and Canonical, is in regard of that ignorant person a doubtful and weak testimony, because he knows not whether that Church be Orthodox and worthy to be credited. He shall never have a certain belief that these Books are Divine, until by the hearing or reading of the Doctrine contained in them, God illuminate his understanding, and touch his heart. For the trust which we ought to have in the Word of God contained in the holy Scriptures, is an effect of Gods Spirit, and cannot be grounded

grounded upon the only testimony of men. It is by Faith that we believe Scripture: Now the Church doth not give that Faith, but it is an effect of God Spirit.

As the Samaritans, *Joh. 4.* having beleived with a light belief to a womans testimony, who had told them that Jesus was the Christ, having since heard Jesus Christ himself, said to the woman, *It is no more for thy word that we believe, but our selves have heard and known that this is truly the Christ the Saviour of the world;* So it happens that an ignorant man who hath received Scripture by the probable testimony of the Church where he liveth, when afterwards he hath got instruction by Scripture, doth not ground himself upon the testimony of men, but is himself toucht with the effectual power of that Word, and is instructed by experience.

It is an Error to say, that one cannot prove by Scripture, that Scripture is holy and divine: For as the Sun is seen by his own light, and needs no other witness; Likewise the Word of God, more piercing then any two-edged sword, makes the faithful that have received it, sufficiently to feel that it is a divine Word; neither is there any need of any other proof, or to have it authorized by men. Besides, one part of Scripture is confirmed by the other. The New Testament alleadgeth the Old; and the Old foretels the New. *Moses* and *Elias* appear to Jesus Christ in the Mountain. *Peter* bears testimony to the Epistles of *Paul*.

Then the same reason may be retorted against our Adversaries; and we may say that the Church cannot bear testimony to her self that she is the true Church; and that another witness, and that infallible, must be had, and some other then her self must give her authority. Now that other, without doubt, is God speaking in his Word.

Our Adversaries insist, and say, that such and such Books are not Canonical, but by the authority of the Church. But we have said already, that the Churches declaration that such and such Books must be held for the Rule and Canon of the Faith, doth not make those Books to be sacred and divine, and to be the Rule of Faith. And that by such a Declaration the Church giveth no authority to Scripture, but professeth her subjection to Scripture.

By the way, we must know that the knowledge that such and such Books are Canonical, is not a Proposition of Divinity, but of History: For to be Canonical, signifies not to be holy or divine, but *to have been received in the Church as Divine, and as a Canon or rule of Faith.* Wherefore some Books have been Canonical at one time, and not at another; some are received as Canonical in some Churches, not in another. But before any Council had made a Canon or Catalogue of the holy Scriptures, these Books were divine, and of Sovereign authority.

But let us hear their further Objections. That which is more antient (say they) hath more authority. Now the Church is more antient then Scripture; *Ergo*, It hath more authority then Scripture. Of this argument both the Propositions are false: It is false, that whatsoever is more antient, hath more authority: The people is more antient then either the Laws, or the Kings that govern the People; and yet the People is subject to the Law and the King. Now Scripture is the Law of the Church. Likewise that the Church is more antient then Scripture, is a Proposition lyable to exceptions: For that which Scripture saith of the Nature of God, of his Counsels, of the works of Creation, and of the Election of the faithful, is more antient then the Church.

This Objection they press very much. That which speaks not, cannot be a Judge: Now Scripture speaks not; It is a dumb Rule saith the Jesuite (a) *Arnonax*. Then there is need of a speaking Judge, and that Judge is the Church, that is, the Pope and his Prelates. The Jesuite (b) *Salmeron* goes so far, as to say that Scripture is like dumb men, or like *Jack-Puddings* and Players who make themselves to be understood with signs; so horrible a hatred have these men conceived against the holy Scripture.

(a) In his Book against the Confession of Faith of the French Churches upon the 5. Article.

(b) *Salmeron* 2. Prolegom. §. *Altera*. Adde mysticorum & spiritualium sensuum varietates quod est nutibus & signis obscurius loqui, perinde atque muti faciunt & bistriones.

Indeed

(c) Ἀρεσβὴ
 ζῶντων ἀπὸ τοῦ
 νόμου καὶ τῆς
 χάριτος καὶ
 τῆς χάριτος.

(d) Bellar.
 lib. 4. de
 Verbo Dei.
 cap. 12. Scri-
 ptura finem
 proprium &
 præcipuum
 non fuisse ut
 esset regula
 fidei.

(e) Stapl.
 lib. 2. de
 Autoritate
 Scripturæ
 Dixi & dico
 non tam ipsi-
 us fidei regu-
 lam in se esse
 Scripturam
 quam ipsa-
 rum Scriptu-
 rarum regu-
 lam esse si-
 dem Ecclesiæ.

Indeed Paper and Ink speak not; but it is enough that God hath spoken, and pronounced the things contained in that Book, and inspired those that have written it. It is enough, that it is a rule according to which they that are called Judges must speak: Thus *Isai. 8.20.* sends the Church to the Law, and to the Testimony, and if they speak not according to this Word, it is because there is no light in them. It would be a Capital crime, if the authority of the Kings Edicts should be despised, because the Paper upon which the Edicts are written doth not speak. By speaking thus, they perceive not that by the same reason they reject the Councils, the Fathers, and the Decrees of the Popes, who are dead long since, and declare that they will not have them for Judges: For the Tomes of the Councils, and the Fathers, and the Roman Decree speak no more then the Paper and Ink of Scripture. And if the Word Judge displeaseth our Adversaries, at least they should not take from Scripture the title of a perfect Rule to rule our Faith, which is the title that *Chrysostom* giveth to Scripture in the 13. Homily upon the 2. Epistle to the *Corinthians*, where he calls it, (c) an exact ballance, a square and a rule of all things. But that doth not suit with our Adversaries humor; for (d) *Bellarmino* saith, that the proper and principal end of Scripture was not to be the Rule of Faith. And *Stapleton*; (e) Scripture is not so much the Rule of Faith, as the Faith of the Church is the rule of Scripture. And *Charron* in the 3. verity, *The Scripture is not, and cannot be the last Rule and the Sovereign Judge of the Doctrine.*

They add, that the Church is sooner known then Scripture, and that which is more known, must have more authority. By that reason we should honour men more then God, because we know them sooner, and more clearly then God. Besides, it is false, that the Church is sooner known with a distinct knowledge then Scripture, with such a knowledge as makes one truly know which is the true Church. Without knowing the doctrine contained in the holy Scriptures, one may see the Church as a society of men. But thereby one cannot know whether it be the true and Orthodox Church: For so much cannot be known, but after one hath been instituted in the Doctrine contained in the holy Scriptures.

But, say they, the Church hath changed some Laws contained in the Scripture, as the prohibition of eating blood and strangled things, *Act. 15.* I answer, that this Law ought to be kept, but that Scripture teacheth us that it was altered. That alteration is found *1 Cor. 10. 27.* which was written since that order made *Act. 15.* for the Apostle *Paul* speaks thus, *If any of them that believe not, bid you to a feast, and ye be disposed to go, whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for conscience sake.* Now it might easily happen that, on the tables of the Infidels some blood was served, or some strangled thing. Should the Church which is subject unto God, and to his Laws, have authority to abolish Gods Laws? Must the Laws depend from the authority of Subjects? By this means the Church shall have no other laws but such as she will like and authorize.

One of the ordinarie reasons which our Adversaries use, to depreß the dignity of holy Scripture, and bring it under unwritten Tradition, is to say, that God hath commanded the Prophets and Apostles to speak and preach, not to write. If the Priests had as carefully perused Scripture as they do their Missal, they would not speak so; for they should have found *Exod. 17. 14.* that God said to *Moses*, *Write this for a memorial in a Book.* And *Deut. 17. 18.* God will have the King of Israel to keep a copy of the Book of the Law. God himself writ his ten Commandments with his finger in the stone. And *Isai. 30. 8.* God saith to his Prophet, *Now go, write it before them in a Table, and note it in a Book, that it may be for the time to come for ever and ever.* And *Jer. 36. 2.* *Take thee a Roll of a Book, and write therein all the words that I have spoken unto thee.* The same Commandment is given to *Hab. 2. 2.* *Write the Vision.* And to *St. John, Rev. 1. 11.* *What thou seest write in a Book.* The Apostle *2 Tim. 3. 16.* saith, that *All Scripture is given by inspiration of God.* Now the Inspiration of God is stronger then a

Com-

Commandment; for Commandments strike the ears, but Inspiration changeth the heart: Many disobey the Commandment of God; but one cannot have a will to resist his Inspiration when it is once come. When God inspires one to speak and to write, not only he commands him to speak or to write, but also he speaks and writes by him: His Inspirations are not only imperative, but operative. Wherefore *Austin* in the first Book of the consent of Evangelists in the 7. chap. saith, that (f) *Whatsoever God would have us to read of his deeds and sayings, he commanded them to write it, as if they had been his own hands.*

(f) *Quicquid ille de suis factis et dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperavit.*

Finally, they go about to prove the authority of the Church above Scripture, because the Church can add to Scripture, and give Laws not contained in Scripture. This they call Traditions, and the unwritten word. Of which Traditions (with Gods help) we will treat hereafter.

CHAP. 20.

Examination of the places of the Ancients which M. du Perron objecteth to this purpose.

BEING beaten out of all their reasons, they have recourse (as it is their manner) to the Fathers. For it can hardly be but that in such an infinite number of Books of the Antients something may be found, which they may draw to their advantage.

They say that the Fathers confute by the authority of the Church those Hereticks that rejected some part of Scripture, and that *Tertullian* in the Book of Prescriptions would convince them by the authority of the Apostolical Churches; That *St. Austin* against the Epistle of the Foundation, disputeth thus against the Manicheans; *It is necessary for me to believe that Book if I believe the Gospel, since the authority of the Catholick Church commendeth both the one and the other Scripture.*

We answer, that against those that reject Scripture or part of it; we must indeed, out of necessity make use of some other proof or authority then that of Scripture, which they reject. So when we dispute against Pagans that reject all the holy Scripture, we employ humane reason to endeavour to make them receive the Scripture. But hence it follows not, that we give authority to humane reason over the Scripture.

Secondly, we must consider that *Tertullian* lived about an hundred and twenty years after the Apostles, when it was easie enough to prove, that all the Churches founded by the Apostles, had alwayes kept the same Doctrine; but now after so many ages and revolutions, that argument hath no more place. Already in *Austins* time the Orthodox Churches dissented about the number of the Canonical Books, as he testifieth in the 8. chapter of the 2. Book of the Christian Doctrine, where he adviseth the faithful Reader (a) to receive those Books for Canonical, which most Churches receive; and where the Churches do not agree, to follow those which have the greater authority.

(a) *In Canonicis Scripturis Ecclesiarum Catholicarum quam plurimum auctoritatem sequatur. In eis que non recipiuntur ab omnibus præponat eas quas plures gravesque accipiunt.*

They object also this place of *Austin* against *Cresconius* in the 1. Book, ch. 33. *The truth of Scripture is kept by us when we do that which the Universal Church liketh, which the very authority of Scripture doth recommend.* But it is clear, that this text sets Scripture above the Church, since it groundeth the authority of the Church upon Scripture. Besides, in that place *Austin* doth not speak of matters necessary to salvation, but of some customs of an indifferent nature, wherein we willingly yield to the authority of a Church which is Orthodox and found in the Faith. But that soundness in the faith is not known but by Scripture. And it is very considerable, that by the Universal Church *Austin* means the Churches of Asia, Africa, and Europe, which at that time agreed, but now they are divided,

vided, and excommunicate one another. So that if *Austin* lived now, he could speak so no more.

But the place which they most brag of, is, that of the same *Austin* in the 5. chapter of the Book against the Epistle of the *Foundation*, where speaking of himself before he was a Christian, he saith, *As for me, I had not believed the Gospel, had not the authority of the Church moved me.* But I see not how they can thence infer that the Church hath more authority over us then the Gospel. A son may say, I should not fear God, nor believe his Gospel, had not my Fathers authority brought me to it. Doth it follow therefore that such a son acknowledgeth his Fathers authority greater then that of God, or his Word? Only he saith, that God made use of that means to draw him to his fear. In the beginnings God many times makes use of weak means, and probable reasons to draw us to himself: But after, he gives us stronger reasons, and by his Spirit giveth us a Faith which is not grounded upon the testimony of men, but upon his Word.

Observe by the way St. *Austins* style, *crederem* for *credidissim*, and *commoveret* for *commovisset*. It is the custom of this Author, and of the Africans: as in the 2. Book of the City of God, chap. 22. *Collis Capitolinus ipse caperetur, nisi saltem auferes Diis dormientibus vigilarent.* And in the 2. Book of Perseverance, ch. 9. *Tyr & Sydon crederent si viderent hac signa:* And in a thousand other places he saith, *crederent* for *credidissent*, as among others in this place, which is thus alledged by (b) *Gerson*, *Evangelio non crederem nisi me autoritas Ecclesia commovisset.* And which is more, Pope Leo the X. in the Bull *Exurge*, which is in the end of the last Council of *Lateran*, alledgeth the same place in this manner, *Ut dixerit Augustinus se Evangelio non fuisse crediturum nisi Ecclesia Catholica intervenisset autoritas.* *Andradus* in the 2. book of the defence of the Tridentine Faith, picks a quarrel with *Durandus*, because in that text of St. *Austin*, by the Church, he understands only the Church of the time of the Apostles. Wherein *Durandus* speaks not without reason.

(b) *Gerson*
Tom. 1. pag.
523.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Authority of the Church to interpret Scripture infallibly.

THIS question is one of those where impiety and tyrannie are most open. The Roman Church boasteth that she cannot err, and that she is the infallible Judge of all doubts and Controversies in Religion. Now the most part of the questions of Religion is about the duty which the Church oweth unto God. Must then the Church be Judge of that duty which she oweth unto God? And when the dispute is about the authority of the Church, must the Church be Judge of her own authority? The assuming of that power giveth fair play to the Prelates to be their own carvers, and to deal unto themselves such a game as they like best, yea so far as to subject the Word of God unto their authority.

And indeed the Roman Church with the same pride attributes unto her self the right and authority of judging of the sense of Scripture, and giving an infallible interpretation of the same, of the like force and authority as the writings of the Prophets and Apostles: For (say their Doctors) the Sponse only knows the intention of her Bridegroom. And St. Peter saith in his second Epistle, that the

† There is in
the Text no
prophecie,
&c. 2 Pct.
1. 20.

† Prophets are not of private interpretation.

And here they bestow calumnies upon us with a liberal hand, saying, that every private man among us expounds Scripture after his own fancy, as being inspired of God. But we take no such thing upon us: Rather we maintain that in things necessary to salvation, Scripture is so clear, that it needs no Interpreter; and the Interpretations that we use in our Sermons, and Books, are not ours, but are drawn from Scripture, which expoundeth her self. And what interpretation
soever

soever we bring, the sense of private men is never given among us as a law.

For as there are two wayes of judging, the one which is no more but discerning, as when one judgeth of meats by the taste; the other which is pronouncing Decrees and Judgements with authority: so there are two sorts of interpretation of Gods Word; the one whereby each one saith his opinion about the sense of a Text of Scripture, as our Preachers and Commentators do; who give not their interpretations for laws; neither doth any hold himself of necessity obliged to follow their opinion, but so far as it is grounded upon Scripture. But there is an Interpretation which hath the force of a law, as when the King himself interprets his own Proclamation, or when a man cleareth his Will by a Codicil: For that kind of interpretation, we use none but such as God himself useth, when one text of Scripture doth expound another. It is proper to the Roman Church to ascribe to her self to be an infallible Interpreter of Scripture; and to bring interpretations of equal authority with the Word of God; and those interpretations taken for the most part, not from the Word of God; but from the unwritten word.

The worst is, that such Interpretations are of greater authority with the ignorant people then the Holy Scripture, since the people is not obliged to follow the words of Scripture, but is subjected unto the interpretation of the Roman Church.

I have much to do to perswade my self, that our Adversaries speak in good earnest when they speak thus; For they plead for an Interpretation which is not to be found, since there is no such thing in being, as an Interpretation or Exposition of Scripture approved by the Universal Church. There is no Book of which one may say, Behold the Ecclesiastical Exposition of Scripture allowed by the Universal Church: Only divers Comments and Sermons are found of Authors, some old, some late, that dissent in their Interpretations; upon none of which the Roman Church doth pin her Faith.

How unjust is that claim of the Roman Church to be an infallible Interpreter, and Judge of those Texts which concern the authority of the Roman Church: for so she will be Judge in her own cause, and in the question, *Whether the Church must be Judge*, the Church her self shall be Judge.

Nothing is further from reason, then to require that men sinful and guilty before God, such as we are all, be infallible Judges of the sense of that Law by which their sin must be judged: As if Fellons in the Jayl would be Judges of the sense of that Law which concerns their crime.

That Master to whom his servants take the liberty to say, *You have commanded us such a thing, but we give you to your command such an interpretation*, must not expect much obedience from such servants. By such interpretations servants might turn their Master out of doors. The Glossaries of the Decretals, *Caus. 29. qu. 1. Canon. Sunt quidam*, are so bold as to say, That (a) *the Pope dispenseth in matter of the Gospel, by giving interpretation to it. And we shall see hereafter that the Church of Rome contradicteth Scripture under that colour of Interpretation.*

(a) *Papa dispensat in Evangelio interpretando ipsum.*

Pride and Ambition have hatcht that Monster; and intangled the spirits of men with violent interpretations, fitted to the profit of those jolly men, who triumph over the ignorance of the people. But things necessary to salvation are so clearly set down in Scripture, that they need no Interpreter: as St. Austin saith in his fiftieth Treatise upon St. John, (b) *There are things so clear in Scripture, that they require rather a Hearer then an Interpreter.* And in the Book of the Unity of the Church, chap. 16. *These words, In thy seed shall all Nations be blessed, need no Interpreter.* And a little after, *These words, Christ must have suffered and risen the third day, need no Interpreter, &c. As these words, This Gospel of the Kindom shall be preached over all the world, &c. need no Interpreter, &c. (c) As these words, Let both grow until the harvest, need no Interpreter, because when they needed interpretation, Christ himself did interpret them.* And if some hard Text be found in Scripture, it is better to be ignorant of the

(b) *Quaedam in Scripturis tam manifesta sunt, ut potius auditorem quam expositorem desiderant.*

(c) *sicut non eget interprete Sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem, quid cum egeret interprete, ipse Dominus interpretatus est.*

sense of it; then to presume to be infallible Judge of the Word of God. Take me that Text, the sense whereof is most controverted, even these words, *This is my Body*. The way is easie to end the difference, by keeping close to the form of the Institution, that is, by speaking and doing as Jesus Christ spake and did with his Disciples, without any more dispute, believing that Jesus Christ brake and gave bread to his Disciples, and that the bread which he gave is his body, and that it is the remembrance of him; that he drunk the fruit of the Vine, and that we eat bread: For all these are words of Scripture, in which no command is found to worship that which we eat, or to sacrifice the body of Jesus Christ.

Here any man that hath not put his own reason under interdict, will easily judge what clearing of Scripture can be expected from the Pope, and the Prelates, and Doctors of his Church: For is it credible that those that hide the Scripture from the people, would seriously go about to clear it? or that they would have Scripture to be understood, when they will not have it seen?

Let any man of sound judgement, consider whether the High Priests which in the time of King *Manasseh* had suffered the Book of the Law to be lost, or those Priests to whom the Prophet *Malachy* makes that reproach, that they had corrupted the Law, should have been good Interpreters of the Law, which they had lost or corrupted?

Should the Scribes and Pharisees sitting in *Moses* chair have been chosen to be Interpreters of the Law, seeing that the Lord Jesus, *Matth. 5.* repurged the Law from their false interpretations? and *Matth. 15.* reproacheth them, that they had transgressed the Law of God by their Tradition?

Had Pope *John XXIII.* who denyed the immortality of the soul, been a good Interpreter of the Texts that speak of eternal life? Should the Popes, who set up Brothel-houses at *Rome*, and make a sale of Dispensations and Absolutions, be good Interpreters of those Texts that prohibit Fornication, and the traffique of spiritual things? Should the Pope, who forbids the marriage of Bishops, and Priests, be a good Interpreter of the Text of the Apostle? *Let the Bishop be blameless, the husband of one wife, — having his children in subjection with all gravity?* 1 Tim. 2. Should the Roman Church (which hath cut off from the Offices and Breviaries the second Commandment, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image, or any likeness, &c.*) be a faithful Interpreter of that Commandment which she hath suppressed?

In a word, it is certain, that if Felons be Judges of the sense and interpretation of Laws, they will be sure alwayes to bring favourable Interpretations to their crimes. Neither is there any thing so unjust as this Doctrine, that makes sinners infallible Interpreters of the sense of Gods Laws, whereby their sin is condemned. But they much deceive themselves, if they believe that God in the last day will judge them, not according to the words of his Law, but according to their interpretation.

And whosoever will sift narrowly that Proposition, *That the Pope with his Roman Church is a Sovereign and infallible Interpreter of Gods Law, and of the holy Scriptures*, shall find that the Pope under the name of an Interpreter makes himself a Law-giver, yea that he lifts up himself above God; since by that rule the people is no more subject and bound to the words of the Law which God hath pronounced, but to the Interpretations of that Sovereign and infallible Interpreter; who will not fail to give such Interpretations as will be lucrative to himself, and will exalt his Empire. It is certain, that if there were in *France* such a Sovereign and infallible Interpreter of the Kings Edicts, he could give Interpretations which would strip the King of all authority. It is by those Interpretations that the Pope was raised to such a high Throne.

CHAP. XXII.

Seven differences between our Interpretations of Scripture, and those of the Roman Church.

Comparing our way of interpreting the Scripture with that of the Roman Church, I find seven differences between them.

I. The first is, that our interpretations are taken from Scripture itself; but the interpretations of the Roman Church, are not fetcht from Scripture, but from the unwritten word. The Council of Trent interprets these words of the Lord, *Do this in remembrance of me*; as if thereby he instituted an unbloody sacrifice of his body in the Eucharist: But of that unbloody sacrifice of the Lords body, Scripture makes no mention.

Scripture saith, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*. The interpretation of our Adversaries, is, that the Lord will have the rule of latria deferred unto God alone; for (say they) the cult of dulia is for the Saints: But that distinction is not found in Scripture; which will have the cult of dulia deferred unto God; as Rom. 12. 11. *in eo dantes, yieldung dulia unto God*: And Mat. 6. 24. *You cannot Oia daven, yield dulia unto God and to Mammon*.

Jesus Christ said to Peter, *I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not*: They interpret it as a promise made to Peter and to the Popes his successors, that they cannot err in the faith: But of Popes and of a succession in the Apostleship of Saint Peter, there is not one single word in the whole Scripture.

Austin in his book of the unity of the Church, chap. 5. acknowledgeeth no other way to interpret Scripture but by Scripture it self. (a) *If (saith he) those things were not found in the Scriptures, there would be no way to lay open those things that are hid, and to clear those that are dark*. And in the second book of Christian Doctrine, chap. 6. *None almost of those obscurities are brought forth, but are found very clearly delivered in other places*. And in the ninth chapter, (b) *To clear the darker expressions, let examples be taken from the clearer places*. And Basil in his *Asceiticks*, in the Answer to the two hundred sixty seventh interrogation: The things which seem obscurely said in some places of Scripture, are expounded in other places, and clearly set down.

II. The second difference is, that when we have expounded Scripture out of Scripture, we exhort the people to read and consult the places; But the Roman Church removes Scripture from the eyes of the people: Their Preachers alledge Scripture in Sermons; but they will not suffer the people to go and see whether they have faithfully alledged it: The interpreters of the Imperial Laws, put the Text of the Laws before their interpretation; But the Pope and the Roman Church give an interpretation without a Text; and while they interpret the Text of Scripture unto the people, they forbid the people to see the Text of Scripture, thereby giving to themselves licence of deceiving, and insinuating their contradictions unto Scripture under colour of interpretation.

III. We say that Scripture needs no interpreter in things necessary to salvation; and that it is clear enough of it self: But our Adversaries find it obscure; And they have some reason for it: For one with *Argue* eyes cannot find in Scripture the invocation of Saints, nor the sacrifice of the Mass, nor the succession of the Pope in the place of Saint Peter: We say then with Saint Austin in the second book of the Christian Doctrine, in the ninth chapter; That (c) *in the things that are clearly set down in Scripture, all things are found which concern faith and manners to live well*: And that so much as is clear in Scripture, is sufficient unto salvation.

IV. We give not our interpretations for Laws; but the Roman Church attributes that perfection to her self, to judge infallibly of the sense of Scripture.

V. We do not wrest Scripture by violent interpretations, and put it not upon the

Mark 4. 10.

Luke 22. 31.

(a) *Que si in Scripturis non inveniantur, nullo modo esset unde aperirentur clausa, & illustrarentur obscura.*

(b) *Ad obscuriores locutiones illustrandas de manifestioribus sumantur exempla.*

Note.

(c) *In his que aperte posita sunt in Scripturis, inveniantur illa omnia que continent fidem moreque vivendi.*

(d) *Povo
Specialiter
ostensum est
ut ea macta-
ret & man-
ducaret. Illi
soli iussum est
ut rete plenum
piscibus ad-
litus traher-
et.*
1 Cor. 2.

(e) *S. Pra-
terea; & S.
Item.*

(f) *Dist. 8.
Can. Propo-
siti.*

the wrack to make it serve ambition or covetousness. Pope *Nicolas* the I. in the Epistle to the Greek Emperor *Michael* proveth the Papal power, (d) because it was said to Saint *Peter*, *Kill and eat*; and because that privilege was granted to *Peter* alone to draw a net full of fishes to Land. And Pope *Bonifacio* the VIII. *Extravagante Unam sanctam*, prove his sovereignty and primacy, because it is written, *In principio creavit Deus calum & terram*. In the beginning God created heaven and earth. And because Saint *Paul* saith, *Spiritualis homo iudicat omnia*; *The Spiritual man discerneth all things*. Whence he inferreth in the same place, that the Pope must judge of all things. And because Saint *Peter* having said, *Here is two Swords*; *Iesus Christ* answered, *It is enough*, he gathereth that the two swords, the spiritual and the temporal, belong unto the Pope: With such interpretations brought by the Popes and their Councils, one might fill many pages. The last Council of *Lateran*, in the IX Session, alledgeth these words of *Psalm 72*. *All the Kings of the earth shall worship him*; and will have that understood of the Pope. *Bellarmin* in the fifth book de *Pontifice*, chap. 8. and in his book against *Borchlas*, chap. 25. proveth, that the Pope may dispose of the life and crown of Kings; (e) because the Lord said unto *Peter*, *Feed my Lambs*: And in the first book de *Clericis*, chap. 19. he proveth that Priests must abstain from women, because the Priests were commanded to have their loins girt about, and to wear drawers. The same thing is proved by Pope *Innocent* the I. (f) because it is written, *They that are in the flesh, cannot please God*.

VI. Also that reproach cannot be objected unto us, that we bring interpretations which are rather evident contradictions and corruptions of Scripture, as the Roman Church doth. As when *Iesus Christ* said to the thief, *This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise*; the interpretation of the Roman Church, by *Paradise*, understands *Hell*: And when the Law saith, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy strength*; they understand that God contents himself with part of our strength; for if he would have all our strength, it should be impossible to make works of overplus. And when *Christ* saith, *Drink ye all of this*; they expound it, that this Commandment obligeth none but Clergy-men; so that the word *all* must signifie *not all*. And when Saint *Paul* saith, *Let the Bishop be the Husband of one Wife*; by the word *be*, they understand *have been, but be no more*. And when Saint *Paul* 1 Cor. 10. 16. saith, *The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ*? by the bread, they understand not bread but flesh; and by *breaking*, they understand *not breaking*; for the body of the Lord can no more be broken; and by the communion of the body of *Christ*, they understand not the communion with that body, but the very body of *Christ*.

VII. Finally, our interpretations of Scripture are not ridiculous, and done purposely to bring the word of God into contempt, such as many interpretations used by the Roman Church; those especially which the second Council of *Nice* brings for the adoration of images. There these Texts are alledged, *Shew me thy face, and make me hear thy voice*, Cant. 2. *God created man after his image and likeness*, And *None having lighted the candle, layeth it under a bushel*. Whence the Council inferreth, that images must be worshipped. And these goodly proofs are praised and defended by Pope *Adrian*, who hath written a book purposely for the defence of that Council.

That book of
Adrian is
found in the
third Tome
of the Coun-
cils.

I will add one Text more, which alone for all, may shew the horrible profanation, and intolerable licence of the Adversaries, to corrupt Scripture under colour of interpretation. *Christ*, Mat. 16. said to *Peter*, *Whosoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whosoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven*. 1. First, our Adversaries will have these words to be spoken not only to Saint *Peter*, but also to the Popes which bear themselves as Successors of the Primacy and Apostleship of Saint *Peter*; although Scripture give no successor to Saint *Peter* in his Apostleship; nor in the conduct of the Universal Church, no more then to the other Apostles. 2. Secondly, by vertue of these words, *Whosoever thou shalt loose on earth*, the Pope looseth also under the earth, and draws souls out of Purgatory. 3. Thirdly, The power of loosing the pains

of

of sins, being given to the Apostles, the Pope extends that power so far as to dissolve contracts, and separate lawful marriages, contracted and blessed in the Church. Also by vertue of these words, *Whatsoever thou shalt loose, &c.* the Pope looseth oaths and vows, and looseth Subjects from the bonds of Subjection and Fealty to their Sovereign Prince, and gives licence to Christians to break their fasts, and violate their Oath. 4. Fourthly, the Pope hath reserved some cases unto himself, and certain sins in great number, which are called *reserved sins*, of whom, none but he can give the absolution But at the point of death. And yet Christ, *Mat. 18.* said to all the Apostles, and by consequence to all their successors, *Whatsoever you shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever you shall loose, &c.* And *Joh. 20.23.* Whosoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted; without reserving any case to Saint Peter. 5. Fifthly, by that Text, the power of binding, and that of loosing, are equally given to Peter, and one of those two powers reacheth no further than the other: Yet by vertue of this Text, the Pope pretends to loose in Purgatory; but there he never binds, and never made use of that power towards the souls in Purgatory. 6. Finally, the judicial power of binding and loosing, given unto Peter and the Apostles, reaching but to Ecclesiastical pains, the Pope extends that power even to the judicial seat of God, as if those that are absolved by men, were no more accountable before God. Thus upon one only Text, they commit six notable depravations mingled with impiety, under colour of interpretation.

CHAP. XXIII.

Examination of the Reasons which Cardinal du Perron brings in the fifth chapter, for the authority of the Church, to interpret Scripture infallibly.

THE Cardinal in the fifth chapter of his first book, against his Majesty of Great Britain, alledgeth Hierom, saying, that (a) *the Scriptures consist not in the reading, but in the intelligence.* That is true, but is it of any force to attribute that perfection to the Church to interpret Scripture infallibly? Especially, of what force is that to authorize the interpretations of the Roman Church, rather than those of the Greek or the Ethiopian Church? And after all, where shall we find the interpretations of the Roman Church? For they are nowhere extant; for none of the interpretations that go about, are generally approved by publike authority.

He adds that it is necessary to be first certain of the interpretation of Scripture, and that by an infallible way: But it is an error to think, that in matters necessary to salvation, Scripture stands in need of interpretation. Chrysostom upon 2 *Thes. 2.* speaks thus, (b) *All things that are in the divine Scriptures, are clear and right; All that is necessary, is clear in them.* Austin in the second book of Christian Doctrine, chap. 9. (c) *In the things that are openly set down in the Scripture, all things are found that concern faith and manners to live well: And in the sixteenth chapter of the book of the unity of the Church, he brings many Texts of Scripture which he saith have need of no interpretation.*

Another reason of M. du Perron, is, that all the conclusions of Faith, which are not found in expresse terms, and incapable of ambiguity in Scripture, that they may be conclusions of faith; and infallible decisions must be inferred, one of these three ways; by humane reasoning, or by private inspiration, or by the authority of an outward mean interposed by God, between the Scripture and us, &c. Now that mean he saith to be the Church, to which he giveth infallible authority to interpret Scripture. But still he stumbleth at that stone, presupposing against truth, that in points necessary to salvation, Scripture hath need of an interpreter.

It will not be found in expresse terms in Scripture, that God governeth the world

(a) Hier.
contra Luci-
fer.

Page 21.

(b) Πάντα
οὐκ ἔστι
ἀσαφὲς
καὶ ἀσά-
φης, πάντα
κατὰ τὴν
ἀναγκα-
σίαν.

(c) In his
qua aperte in
Scriptura posi-
ta sunt, inve-
nimus illa
omnia que
continent fi-
dem more que
vivendi.

Eph. 1.
Matth. 10.

world by his providence: Yet that we believe, not by humane reasoning, nor by revelation, nor by the authority of any Interpreters, but by Scripture, which saith the same thing in equivalent terms, when it teacheth us, that *God doth all things according to the pleasure of his will*: That a Sparrow falls not without his will, and that the hairs of our head are numbered. Then the Cardinals argument halteth, because his enumeration is imperfect: For besides these three means there is a fourth, sufficient to establish a doctrine, when a proposition which is not found in expresse terms, and in so many syllables in Scripture, is found there in equivalent terms, which comes all to one.

CHAP. 24.

Of the authority of the Church, to alter that which God commandeth in Scripture. Confutation of the Cardinal.

Page 674.

AMong the impious doctrines, whereby the enemies of the heavenly truth spit against Heaven, this is one of the prime and boldest, to say, that it is in the power of the Church, to alter that which God commandeth in Scripture, that is, to make commandments contrary to Gods Commandments. This M. du Peiron teacheth, in the 3. observation of the second book, in the 3. chap. the title whereof is, *Of the authority of the Church, in the alteration as well of the things contained in Scripture, as of those that are delivered to the Church by Apostolical tradition.* This is exalting men above God, and subjecting the Word of God unto the will of man. And in the 675. page he saith, *There are some things written which the Church hath altered and changed in the practice, as the ordinance of abstaining from blood and things strangled, which is set down in expresse terms in Scripture, Acts 15.*

I answer, that the Church should be obliged to keep that Commandment to this day, and could by no means be dispensed from it, but that the alteration of that Commandment is found in Scripture it self. For the Apostle St. Paul hath writ the first Epistle to the *Corinthians* many years after the prohibition of eating blood and strangled things. Now in that Epistle the Apostle teacheth, that all such Commandments, and all distinctions of meats are abolished, when he saith in the 10. chap. v. 27. *If any of them that believe not, bid you to a feast, and you are disposed to go, whatsoever is set before you eat, asking no question for conscience sake.* Observe also, that the Church in the Apostles time, had an authority which the Churches of the following ages had not; For the Apostles which governed the Universal Church, had the Spirit of God in greater measure. If they then moved by Gods Spirit, have altered something in their own constitutions about the discipline of the Church, it followeth not that the Churches of posterior ages have authority to alter the constitutions of the Apostles.

The Cardinal brings another example of altering by the authority of the Church, that which is contained in Scripture; namely, the changing of the *immersion*, or dipping which was usual in Baptism, into aspersion. But it is false that there is any command in Scripture of baptizing with *immersion*: And therefore it cannot be truly said, that herein the Church hath made any alteration in Gods Ordinance. Neither is it found, that the Roman Church hath constituted any thing about that, or made any law to alter the institution of Jesus Christ in that point.

(s) Last ch.
of the Com-
munion un-
der the two
kinds

p. 1109, &
1115.

The Cardinal makes bold to add to these, the removing of the cup from the Eucharist; for he confesseth that (a) *it is Christs institution that we should take the Sacrament under the two kinds*, but he saith, that the Church hath dispensed from that Commandment. For (saith he) *to the Church it belongs to judge what mysteries of Christ are dispensable*, and acknowledgeth that *the Church had the power to use both dispensation and alteration in this*: Words able to make any mans hair to stand,

stand, if he loveth God; For thereby the Cardinal declareth that the Roman Church is not subject to Gods Commandment, since she can dispence from it; yea that the Roman Church is above God, since she can change his laws and correct his command.

Now that none think that herein M. du Perron is singular, and hath followed his own ordinary inclination to despise the holy Scripture, it will be to good purpose, to shew that it is the ordinary language of the most famous Doctors of the Roman Church.

(b) The Jesuit Vasquez, speaking of the Lords Commandment, Drink ye all of this, saith, Though we should grant that it was a Commandment of the Apostles, yet the Church and the sovereign Prelate had the power to abolish it for just causes; For the power of the Apostles in making ordinances, was no greater then that of the Church and the Pope.

Andradus in the 2. Book of the Tridentine faith, (c) Our ancestors, men excellent in religion and piety, would never have disannulled those decrees of the Apostles and many more, but that, &c. Whence he inferreth, that (d) those have not erred, who said that the Popes of Rome may sometimes dispence from obeying the Apostle Paul, and the four first Councils.

The Council of Trent in the V. Session, was so bold, as to pronounce that the concupiscence forbidden by the law is no sin. And that although the Apostle Paul calls it sin, yet to speak truly and properly, it is no sin. The words of the Council are, (e) The holy Council declareth, that the Catholick Church never understood that concupiscence, which in some places the Apostle calls sin, be truly & properly sin in the regenerate, that is, in the baptized. That venerable Council declareth, that if a baptized man cover his neighbours wife, he sinneth not, although God forbid it in his Law, and St. Paul call that concupiscence sin: And that the Apostle hath neither truly nor properly spoken.

(b) Vasquez Tom. 3. Disput. 260. num. 60. Licet conce-deremus hoc fuisse Apo- stolicum præ- ceptum, ni- hilominus Ecclesia & summus Pontifex po- tuerunt illud iustis de cau- sis abrogare. Neque enim maior fuit potestas Apo- stolorum quam Eccle- siæ & Pon- tificis in fe- rendis præ- ceptis.

(c) Minime vero majores nostri religione, & pietate præstantes hæc Apostolorum, & quam plurima alia decreta resigere in animum induxissent, nisi intellexissent, &c. (d) Liqueat minime illos errasse qui dixerunt Romanos Pontifices posse nonnunquam in legibus dispensare à Paulo, & quatuor Conciliis. (e) Hæc concupiscentiam quam aliquando Aposto- lus peccatum appellat, sancta Synodus declarat Ecclesiam Catholicam nunquam intellexisse peccatum appellari, quod ve- re & proprie in renatis peccatum sit.

The Council of Constance in the XIII. Session, acknowledgeth that Jesus Christ hath instituted, that the people in the Eucharist should receive the two kinds, and that the ancient Church hath so practised it, and yet decreeth; that the custom of giving the bread only to the people, be held for a law, which it is not lawfull to reject or to change, declaring them hereticks which hold the contrary, and commanding them to be punished by the Inquisition, that is, to be burnt.

James Almain, a Sorbonist, in the book of the Ecclesiastical power, chap. 12. seems to incline to that opinion, that the Pope cannot dispense from the divine right: Nevertheless he alledgeth Panormitanus and Angelus, which say the contrary; In the end, after some examples of permissions given by Popes, to marry two sisters against the Word of God, he pronounceth (as overcome by experience) this goodly sentence; Ergo Papa potest dispensare in illis qua sumi lege divina prohibita: Then the Pope can give dispensation in those things that are forbidden by Gods Law.

Thomas Aquinas goeth so far, as to say, that (f) the Pope can make a new edition of the Symbole, that is, to make a new Christian Religion. Wherefore in the last Session of the Council of Florence, the power is attributed unto the Pope, to add to the Symbole.

Cardinal Tolet, in the 1. book of the Sacerdotal institution, chap. 68. excuseth the Pope for not receiving the bigames [that is, those that have been twice married] unto the Priesthood, against the commandment of the Apostle; His reason is, that (g) all that the Apostles have instituted, is not of divine right. It belongs then to the Pope to judge and discern what is of divine right among the writings of the Apostles, from that which is not. By which means, all that displeaseth him, will be of humane right.

(c) Thomas 22 2a qu. 1. Art. 13. Ad solam au- thoritatem summi Pon- tificis pertinet nova editio Symboli. (g) Cum cer- tum sit non omnia que Apostoli in- stituerunt, jure divino esse instituta.

(h) Pontifex potest dispensare in votis & juramentis quæ Deus ipse iussit reddi, & quorum solutio est de jure divino.

(i) Si Papa erraret in præcipiendo vitia, & prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, & virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare.

(k) Can. Hac ratione.

Secundum quidem accipere secundum præceptum Apostoli licitum est; secundum autem veritatis rationem vera fornicatio est; sed cum permittente Deo publice & licenter committitur, fit honesta fornicatio.

Bellarmin in the 2. chap. of the book against Barcklay, (h) The Pope can give dispensations from vows and oaths which God hath commanded to be fulfilled; and the keeping whereof is of divine right. And in the 4. book de Pontifice, chap. 5. (i) If the Pope did erre, commanding vices and prohibiting vertues, the Church should be obliged to believe, that vices are good, and vertues evil, unless she would sin against conscience.

A thousand such passages of our Adversaries might be produced. The Canons and Decrees of the Popes are full of those goodly sentences, That the Pope can dispense against the Apostle and against the old Testament; Yea that he dispenseth against the Gospel by giving an interpretation to it. Also that the Pope can of wrong make right, and of evil good; Of which I have given several examples in the Preface of this Book.

To which I will adde this corollary out of the Roman Decree, in the first question of the 31. Cause. It is a Canon ascribed to Chrysostom, against second mariages. It speaks thus (k) To marry a second wife according to the Apostles command, is a lawful thing; but according to the reason of truth, it is true fornication; Which being done publicly and with licence, God permitting it, an honest fornication is committed. In the Roman Decree that Canon is suffered, in which the Apostle St. Paul is accused to have commanded fornication, and authorized it by his permission, and God himself is accused to have permitted it.

CHAP. 25.

Which and of what nature must the marks of the Church be.

WE look not for the marks of the Church of the elect; She hath no marks. God alone knows them that are his, and marks them with the Spirit of adoption: Nor for the marks of the Universal Church, which comprehendeth all them that make profession to be Christians; That profession is her mark, about which there is no dispute. The question is, touching the whole body of the Orthodox Church joyned in communion. It is demanded, by what external marks she may be discerned from idolatrous, heretical, and schismatical Churches.

Those marks must be proper to that true Church, and perpetual. Also they must be sensible, and more known then the Church, since by them the Church is discerned. Wherefore if any marks of the Church be set forth, which be as much or more proper to Pagans or Jews, or societies of impure Christians, as to the true Church, or which be not alwaies proper to the Church, or that be less known then the Church, it is not a good mark; and we must look for other marks. So much the Jesuit Salmeron teacheth, in the XIII. Tome, in the 2. dispute upon St. Pauls Epistles, saying, that (a) to be a mark three things are requisite. 1. That it be true. 2. That it be evident. 3. That it be proper to none else. (b) Gregorius de Valentia saith the same.

(a) Pag 191. Ad idoneum signum tria necessaria esse videntur. Ut sit verum, ut sit manifestum, ut alteri non quadret.

(b) In 2^{am} 2^a Disp. 1. Quest. 5. Punct. 7.

CHAP.

CHAP. 26.

Of the true Mark to discern the true Church.

THE Word of God, without which we should not know that it is Gods will that there be a Church in the world, teacheth us also to know her, and to difference her from other societies which err from the right way. That same word which giveth Laws to the Church, giveth also the evidence to know her.

Our Lord Jesus, *John 8.* hereby knoweth them that are his, if they keep his word. *If you abide in my word, you shall be my Disciples indeed : And John 10. 4, & 7. The sheep hear the voice of the Shepherd, for they know his voice, but a stranger they will not follow.* Hereby then the true Church is known, which is the flock of Jesus Christ, and the assembly of his Disciples, if she conform herself unto the word of Jesus Christ, and follows the voice of the Son of God. Thus the true mark of the true Church shall be conformity unto the Word of God, and purity in the faith and true doctrine : Under which we comprehend also the good and lawfull administration of the Sacraments, and the legitimate order of the Ministry ; for these things are prescribed in the Word of God. That purity in doctrine, and conformity to the Word of God is requisite, at the least in the foundation, and in things necessary to salvation. Upon which foundation, if any builds hay and stubble, that is, light and superfluous doctrines, yet not impious, nor subverting the fundamental truth, the Apostle excludeth not such a one from the hope of salvation, *1 Cor. 3. 15.*

To this purpose serve the words of *Moses, Deut. 4. 6. You shall keep these Commandments and do them, for this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations which shall hear all these statutes, and say, This great nation is a wise and understanding People.* There God declares that the wisdom of the Church is known by her doctrine.

The word *Symbol* is a proof in this question, for it signifieth a mark and livery. Then the Articles of our Creed are called the *Symbol* of the Christian Church, because it is the mark of the true Church ; and because by the profession of that doctrine, and those doctrines that depend upon it, the Church is known.

Wherein reason is evident. For to discern a pure Church from an impure, there is no other way but to look whether it agreeth with the rule of purity : It being impossible to discern that Church which is pure in the faith, but by the rule of the faith, which is the Word of God. The *right* rule is the only mark to discern whether a thing be *right* ; and the *true* Church is not discerned but by the knowledge of the *truth*.

And since the true Church is opposed to hereticks and schismatics, it is certain, that as heretical Churches have no other marks to be known by, but the false doctrine, likewise the true Church is known only by the true doctrine.

That is the true Church, which is joyned together by the profession of the true faith and Communion of the Sacraments. This definition of the Church is received by the Adversaries. Whence it followeth, that the true Church is discerned by that profession of the true faith ; For the definitions of things are purposely made to know and discern them, and must be more easie to know then the thing defined.

Now because the marks to know a thing, must be more known then that thing ; upon that a dispute is moved between us and our Adversaries, which of the two is the easier to discern, the true Church, or the true doctrine. They affirm that the Church is more known, and more easie to know then the true faith and doctrine. We on the contrary maintain, that the true faith and doctrine is more easie to be known then the true Church, yea that it is impossible to have any certain knowledge of the true Church, but by the true faith and doctrine.

One only demonstrative reason decides that difference. It is a rule without exception, that definitions must be more known then the thing defined. As if I said,

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that

(a) Lib. 3. de
Ecclesia mi-
litante. c. 2.
§. Nostra.

that expositions must be clearer then the things expounded, and that the candle must be lighter then the book that is read by it. If then true faith and doctrine enters into the definition of the Church, and makes part of the definition, it follows of necessity, that true doctrine ought to be more known then the Church. Now this is the definition of the Church, according to Cardinal Bellarmine.

(a) *The true Church is a society of men joyned together by the profession of the same Christian faith, &c.* We must then know that Christian faith, before we know the true Church, since that faith is part of the definition of the Church. Mr. du Perron defineth the true Church in this manner, Book 1. chap. 8. *The Church is the society of those whom God hath called to salvation by the profession of the true faith, &c.* And Salmeron, XIII. Tome, in the first dispute upon St. Pauls Epistles, defines the Church *cæcum vocatorum à Deo per fidem, the assembly of those whom God hath called by faith*, pag. 172. Since then the Church is defined by the profession of the true faith, the true faith must be known before we can know the true Church.

If the people ought to know the true Church before they know the true doctrine, it would follow, that they know the Christian Church before they know Jesus Christ; which is a proposition that contradicts it self; for one cannot know the Church of Christ, unless he know Christ, nor joyn with the Church of Christ, but after he hath known Christ; Now knowing Christ is knowing his nature and office, in which things the whole doctrine of the Gospel consisteth.

And whereas God draweth men to the Church by the preaching of the Gospel, as may be seen, Acts 2. 47. where by Peters preaching many persons are added unto the Church, that they may be saved, it is clear that those persons had heard and comprehended the Word of God, before they would joyn with the Church, and that the Word of God was known to them before the Church was, since the knowledge of the Word is the means that God had used to bring them to the Church; for the means alwaies go before the end.

Salmer. in
Epist. Paul.
Disput. 4. §.
Inter. Hoc
signum verbo
Dei ac ratio-
ne fulcien-
dum.

Our Adversaries themselves presuppose, that the Word of God ought to be more known then the Church, every time that they alledge any text of Scripture to defend the authority of their Church; For the proofs must be more known and more clear then the thing proved; else one should prove a clear thing by a dark. Thus we see, that our Adversaries handling this question of the marks of the Church, labour to prove her marks by Scripture, presupposing that Scripture is more known then those marks.

Wherefore the Apostle Paul, Ephes. 2. 10. groundeth the Church upon the Prophets and Apostles, that is, upon their doctrine. Now in matter of knowledge the grounds go before and are better known then the consequences that are built upon them.

For these causes the Apostles never exhorted any persons to aggregate themselves with the Church, before they had instructed them in the faith in Jesus Christ. They preach the doctrine of salvation, which whosoever believed, thereby made himself one of the Church, without any other search of the Church and her marks.

If any meeting with the true Church, joyned himself with her without knowledge of the true faith and doctrine, that is, not knowing Jesus Christ and his grace, such a man should be a Christian in name only and by chance, owing his religion to his birth, or to custom and the course of civil affairs, and would be of another religion, if publick business, or his private interest steered his course another way.

And whereas there are many dissenting Churches, and in all those Churches one holy Scripture received; it must be Scripture that makes us know the true Church, and be the Judge to decide that difference. But the Church is not the Judge of holy Scripture, but only the witness and the keeper of the same, as we proved before.

CHAP. 27.

Testimonies of the Fathers. Confutation of the Cardinals answer.

*A*ustin in the book of the Unity of the Church, chap. 16. speaks thus, (a) *Let them shew us their Church if they can, not by the words and rumors of the Africans, nor by the Councils of their Bishops, nor by the writings of disputers whosoever they be, nor by false signs and miracles, for the Word of the Lord hath warned us, and made us circumspect against that: But by the Law, by the predictions of the Prophets, by the songs of the Psalms, by the sermons of the Gospels, that is, by the Canonical books. And in his Epistle to Bonifacius, In the holy books wherein the Lord is manifested, there also the Church is manifested.* And a little after, *The Church is not counterfeited by contentious opinions, but is proved by divine testimonies.* And in the 166. Epistle, *We have learned Christ in the Scriptures, there we have learned the Church.* And chap. 2. of the Unity of the Church, *Between us and the Donatists, the question is, Where the Church is? What shall we do then? Shall we seek her in our words, or in the words of our head the Lord Jesus Christ? I think that we ought rather to seek her in his words.* And a little after, *I will not have any to shew me the Church by humane documents, but by divine oracles.* And chap. 3. *Let us then seek the Church in Canonical books.* Again, *There are books of the Lord, about whose authority we both consent; we believe them, we serve them. There let us seek the Church, there let us decide our cause.* But above all, these words of the 16. chap. are express: (b) *Let them shew us whether they have the Church, Only by the Canonical books of the divine Scriptures.* He receiveth no other proof of the Church but by the Scriptures. Hierom upon the 133. Psalm saith all in two words, *Ecclesia ibi est, ubi fides vera est. The Church is there where true faith is.*

To these M. du Perron, in the 71. chap. of his first book against his Majesty, answereth, that *Austin* means not that we must judge of the doctrine of the Church by the Scriptures, but only that we must seek the marks of the Church in the Scriptures. This is already a great point granted; for thereby he confesseth, that in the question concerning the marks of the Church, Scripture must be Judge. If then Scripture be Judge in that question, why not in other questions? But whosoever shall converse a little with *Austin's* writings, shall find, that in all points of Religion he taketh Scripture for his Judge, and that there is hardly one leaf in all his works, where he doth not alledge some text of Scripture for that end. For indeed that means of judging of the Doctrine of the Church being removed, what doth remain, but that the Church be judge in her own cause, and that about the doctrine of the Church the only verdict of the Church be credited. Whereupon the Cardinals words are very notable; That in the question about the body of the Church, *Austin will have the matter decided by Scripture, because that in the controversy where the debate was, which of the two societies was the Church, the voice of the true Church could not be discerned.* The like, or rather stronger reason will be found in all the points of controversy, where is question of the duty of the Church, or of her authority; For there the Church cannot be Judge; else she should be Judge in her own cause. If in the contention between two contrary Churches, to know which of them is the true Church, Scripture must be Judge, as the Cardinal doth acknowledge; In the dispute between us and the Church of *Rome* upon that point, why shall not Scripture be Judge of our difference? And what will become of that fine maxime of the Cardinal in the 7. chap. of the 4 part of his first book, where he affirmeth, that *to cleanse the Church from her pretended corruptions, one must not have recourse to the time of the Apostles; that is, Scripture must not be received for Judge, neither must we in our controversies look upon the primitive pure time, or that doctrine of the Apostles, which themselves have set down in writing.*

The same words of the Cardinal, overthrow that thredbare objection of our

(a) *Ecclesiam suam demonstrant, si possunt, non in sermonibus & rumoribus Astroorum, &c. sed in praescripto Legis in Prophetarum predictis, in Psalmorum cantibus, &c. in ipsius Pastoris vocibus, &c. hoc est, in omnibus canonicis sanctorum librorum auctoritatibus.* (b) *Utrum ipsi Ecclesiam teneant non nisi divina-rum Scripturarum canonicis libris ostendamus.*

(c) *Judicet cum Christo Apostolus, quia & in Apostolo ipse loquitur Christus.*
 (d) *Excellentia Canonica auctoritas tanquam in sede quidam sublimiter constituta, cui serviat omnis fidelis & quavis intellectus.*
 (e) *An tea multis modis ostendebant quae esset Ecclesia Christi, & quae Gentilitas; nunc autem nullo modo cognoscitur nisi tantummodo per Scripturam.*

Adversaries, that one cannot know that such a book is Scripture but by the Church. For behold one of the most eminent Cardinals of the Roman Church, who confesseth with *Austin*, that one cannot know the Church but by the Scripture.

Now that not only in the question of the marks of the Church, but in other questions *Austin* will have the Scripture to be judge, it is easie to prove it. In the book of grace and free-will, chap. 18. he chooseth the Apostle Saint *John* for Judge in that matter, *Sedeat inter nos iudex Apostolus Johannes, &c. Let the Apostle John sit Judge betwixt us.* Upon which he alledgeth a Text of that Apostle. And in the second book of marriage and concupiscence, before he alledges the words of the Apostle, he useth this preface, (c) *Let the Apostle judge with Christ, for Christ himself also speaks by the Apostle.* And in the second book against *Faustus* the Manichean, chap. 5. he saith, that (d) *the authority of the Canonical excellency, is set on high, as on a certain throne, to which every faithful person, and every understanding must subjeet himself.* Chrysostom in the thirty third Homily upon the *Acts*, asketh, how a Pagan that seeth Christians quarrelling among themselves about Religion, may know to what Church he must aggregate himself? Then he answereth, *If we say that we believe the Scriptures, they are both simple and true: If any conform himself to these, he is a Christian.*

The same Fathers words are most expresse in his forty ninth Homily of the imperfect work upon Saint *Matthew*, (e) *Heretofore they shewed many ways what the Church of Christ was, and what the society of Pagans: But now this is known no other way, but by the Scriptures only.* And soon after, *He then that will know which is the true Church of Christ, how shall he know it but by the Scriptures?*

CHAP. 28.

Reasons of the Cardinal and others, to prove that the true Doctrine and conformity to the word of God, is no mark of the true Church.

AMong the marks of the true Church, our Adversaries use to put the conformity with the ancient Church, that is, with the doctrine of the Fathers: Whereupon one may with great reason wonder, why they will not do unto holy Scripture the like honour, as to the writings of the Fathers; and why they will not have the conformity with the word of God, to be also a mark whereby the true Church must be known? Who seeth not, that they put conformity with the Fathers for a mark of the Church, because they know that the people cannot perceive that mark, and seeth nothing in the writings of the Fathers, which are Greek and Latin, and of an endless length? And that they will not have conformity with the holy Scripture to be a mark to know the Church by, because that mark is easie to be known, and for fear that the people should be obliged to read Scripture, which they fear as much as Felons do Laws?

Yet let us see what reason they can give for their avoiding of that touch-stone, and denying, that their Church should be known by the Word of God, to be the true Church.

They say (and *M. Du Perron* with the rest) that this mark is both obscure and controverted, because all Churches, how corrupt soever they be, say that they have the true doctrine, and conformity with the Word of God.

By speaking thus, they overthrow all the marks which themselves attribute unto the true Church, as antiquity, holiness of doctrine, multitude, the name of Catholick, &c. for there is none of those marks but is controverted and challenged by other Churches besides the Roman. Besides we maintain, that those marks for the most part are not proper to the Roman Church. If we give to the Church no other marks but such as are not controverted, she shall have none at all. Thus giving Laws, sending Embassadors, judging ultimately of all causes, coining money,

money, &c. are marks of Sovereignty, although an usurper assume them unjustly.

This may serve to answer the Cardinal, who argueth thus ; *If the Doctrine be the mark of the Church, it must be either a controverted or an uncontroverted Doctrine : Not the controverted, for it is the thing in dispute : Not the uncontroverted, for it is a Doctrine common to the two contending parties.* I answer, that the whole and entire Doctrine of salvation, is a mark of the true Church : Of which Doctrine, if some part be controverted, yet the truth is on the one side, and may be discerned by those that will subject themselves unto the Word of God.

M. du Perron saith in the fourth chapter, that the examination of the Church is easie and certain ; but the examination of the faith is perilous and hard ; and that the most learned are often deceived in it : For which he giveth this reason ; that he that hath the Church, is sure to have the true faith, although he knows not distinctly all the Articles thereof, and to be in the way of salvation ; whereas he that hath faith, and is not in the Church cannot hope for any salvation. The Reader may observe an affected ambiguity in these words, *He that hath the Church* : For one knows not whether he understands thereby *he that is in the true Church, or he that hath a true knowledge that such a Church is the true and the good.* For in the first sense it is false, that every man that is in the true Church hath the true faith. There are many hypocrites in the Church, that believe not what they profess : There are many profane persons in the true Church, which know not what belongs to true Doctrine, and in their heart laugh at Christian Religion. Many are in the true Church by their birth, and by custom, or by the publick stream, not caring for Religion : But if by him that hath the Church, he understands him that hath a true knowledge of the true Church, then it is certain, that such an one hath also the knowledge of the true faith, because it is the knowledge of the true faith that makes him to know the true Church. And thus he must know the true faith, before he can know the true Church : The Church is the Assembly of the faithful : Those are faithful that have the true faith : It is then impossible to know that one belongs to the Assembly of the faithful, not knowing what is the true faith.

The same ambiguity he useth in the fifth chapter, saying, that *to know the whole Doctrine in all the points or instances thereof, is a thing harder to know than the society of the Church.* The ambiguity is in these words, *to know the society of the Church* : For either he speaks of that superficial knowledge whereby Pagans and Infidels see the Christian Church, as one seeth a society of men that call themselves Christians, who yet care not for Christian Religion : In that sense I grant, that it is easier to know the Church, then to be instructed in the Christian Doctrine ; But that Doctrine is useless, and is not that which is in question in this place : Or else he speaks of a certain knowledge, that such a Church is the true Church, to which they must joyn that will be saved : Of that knowledge, I say that it cannot be acquired but by the knowledge of the true faith and doctrine, which therefore is more known than the true Church.

He goeth on, and to prove how difficult it is, to know the true Church by the true Doctrine, he saith, that to know the true Church by the Doctrine, it is not enough to know the right of the Church in some particular difference with one Sect or another ; but that it is necessary to know the truth of the Doctrine of the Church in all the particulars controverted by heresies both past and present, before one can judge (by vertue of that examination of the Doctrine) where the true Church is. For (saith he) if that Church be in the wrong but in one controversy, it is enough for her to forfeit the title of true Church.

Upon the whole matter, to fright men away from examining the Doctrine of the Roman Church, the Cardinal makes the way so long, that a thousand years of study would not be enough : For he will have one to know all the Objections and Answers that ever were made upon every point of Divinity ; And yet in the end, if one be deficient in one point, he holds that all is lost ; All that, to the end
that

that no body may busie his mind about Scripture, and that all be afraid of the Doctrine of Salvation, as of a laborious and perilous study, and so take the shorter way, which is to believe the Church; never enquiring what the Church ought to believe; and to be perswaded that the Roman Church is the true Church, without troubling themselves to get instruction in the Faith.

But it is easie to shew that the way which our Adversaries trace to the world by sending men to the Church, without examining the doctrine, is much the way about; yea that it is infinite, and hath no end. For they will have us to know the true Church by the antiquity and the succession of Chairs. A knowledge not to be attained but by getting information upon every point of controversie of that which was believed in every age, and in every Countrey. There, besides the infinite length, many dark intervals will be found, and a labyrinth of inextricable perplexities.

Whereas he that ruleth his faith by the holy Scripture, takes a short and certain way, avoiding curiosities and useles questions, and contenting himself with that which is clear in Scripture, for there he shall find all that is necessary to salvation.

If by Scripture he believeth that God hath created the world, he needs not know all the Objections of Philosophers against Creation. If by Scripture he believeth that Jesus Christ is a true man, the simplicity of that belief will be sufficient for him, although he never heard of the Objections of the Eutychians or Marcionites. What needs a Husbandman or a Tradesman to know how *Austin* confuted the Donatists? seeing that it is not necessary for him to know so much as that *Austin* or *Donatus* ever were in the world. Neither doth a necessity lye upon him to undertake the examination of the whole doctrine either of the Roman Church or ours. Let him but stand firm in that resolution, not to receive any Doctrine as necessary to Salvation, unless he that teacheth it, shew it in the Word of God. By this means the most heavy and slow understandings come out of all difficulty. If any tell him, that to have Gods favour he must call upon Saints, and venerate Images or Relicks, or that Jesus Christ is sacrificed in the Mass, he will go to the Doctors of the Roman Church, and tell them; My Masters, you will have me to believe these things, I beseech you to let me see them in Scripture; If these things be shewed him in expresse or equivalent terms, he will acquiesce: If they be not shewed him in Scripture, he will not believe them, and he needs no other examination of the doctrine.

In one point appeareth the great advantage of our cause over that of our Adversaries; That whereas they object unto us, that by seeking to make the true Church known by the true Doctrine, we take a long and difficult way; We object unto them, that by enjoying the people to know the true Church, without knowing and examining the Scripture, they take an impossible way: For how can one know which is the true Christian Church, without knowing Jesus Christ before, and the Redemption by Jesus Christ? How can one know whether a Church be pure, and no Heretick, but by the rule of purity? And since *the true Church is a Society united together by the profession of the true Faith*, (for so our Adversaries define it) how can one know whether such a Society be the true Church, without knowing the true Faith?

The Cardinal adds, that the marks of the Church must be outward and sensible, and therefore other then the Doctrine. Note, that when we say, that the true Doctrine is the mark of the true Church, we understand, that to know whether a Church be true, pure, and Orthodox, we must know whether she holds a doctrine conformable with the Word of God. Now that conformity as well as the difformity is a thing sensible and discerned by the eye and ear. Do we not see with our eyes, that in the Roman Church the people is denyed the Communion of the cup? Do we not see pictures of the Trinity, and the people bowing the knee before Images? Do we not hear publick Service and Prayers in an unknown tongue? And if these things be formally prohibited in the holy Scripture, are they not unto us sensible marks of a false and erroneous Church?

Some will use this argument, That Society that teacheth the true Doctrine, is more known then the true Doctrine.

I an-

I answer, that by that reason all those marks fall to the ground, which our Adversaries give unto true Doctrine; For doth the people of the Roman Church learn these marks from the Roman Church? It follows then, that the Roman Church which teacheth these marks, is more known then these marks; and by consequent, that they are no marks, since they are less known. In effect, although the Church be easier to be known then the Doctrine by a superficial, and many times unprofitable knowledge, whereby Pagans know the Church without knowing whether it be good and sound in the Faith; yet to know that such a Church is the true, and not an heretical Church, we must first know the true Doctrine: So is a Mathematician known as he is a man, before he that knoweth him in that notion know what belongs to the Mathematicks. But one cannot know whether he be a good Mathematician without some previous knowledge of the Mathematicks. Thus the Keeper of a treasure is known before the treasure; but none can know whether he be keeper of a good treasure, but he that knoweth that it is a good treasure, and wherein the goodness of it consisteth. By that superficial knowledge the Church may be known before the Scripture, when the Church testifieth to a Pagan that such a Book is the holy Scripture: But that Pagan shall never certainly know that such a Church is the true Church, before he hath comprehended and believed the Doctrine contained in the Scripture.

But (say some of them) if true Doctrine were the mark of the true Church, every Church that hath the true Doctrine, should be a true Church, which nevertheless is not; for the Churches that are merely Schismatical have the true Doctrine, and yet are not the true Church. This Objection is frequent with the Cardinal.

I answer, That never any Church was Schismatical that maintained the true Doctrine: For under the true Doctrine, I comprehend that of Manners and Charity, which is violated by the Schismatical Churches: Neither do I find any Schismatical Church, but hath presently added unto the Schism some Error in the Faith, as when the inflammation comes presently after the wound given.

But (say they) if the Church shew which is the Scripture, the Scripture cannot shew which is the Church; for two things cannot shew one another.

I answer, that this is a false assertion: Many times two several things evidence one another mutually. The causes are demonstrated by the effects, and the same effects by the causes. The Church may testify that these Books are Divine and Sacred, and the same Books shew which is the true Church. But Scripture sheweth the Church in a far more excellent manner then the Church sheweth Scripture: For the Church is a witness unto Scripture; but Scripture is a rule unto the Church. The Church makes not these Books to be divine; but the rules of Scripture being practised formally, make a Society of Christians to be the true Church; Herein this difference is evident, that a false Church can yield that true testimony to Scripture, and yet makes it not to be Scripture.

CHAP. 29.

That the word Catholick cannot be a mark of the true Church.

AMong the marks of the Church, the word *Catholick*, that is, *Universal*, is set in the first rank of our Adversaries. In that title the Roman Church doth especially triumph: Being a particular Church, and a corrupt one, she assumes the name of Universal Church; as if a rotten finger were called a man.

That the word *Catholick* cannot be the mark of the true Church, it is evident: For the natural and infallible marks of a thing are not words, but things. The marks of a good Horse are not words, but natural things: For men will often give false titles, and contrary names; and the same title may be usurped by dissenting

dissenting Churches. The names proper to a thing arise from the essential form thereof, but words and titles are given by the will of men.

Also it is necessary that the names and titles attributed unto the Church be given to her, either by her self, or by her enemies. If by her self, that hath no force; for she is not a competent Judge in her own cause, and every one will take titles to his own advantage. But if those titles be given her by her enemies, there is yet less reason to stand upon them, whether the enemies dishonour the Church with odious titles, or extol her in derision. It is not just that the marks of the true Church be left to the discretion of her Adversaries.

Besides, the marks of the right and good Church must shew her goodness; but that word *Catholic* or *Universal* imports no goodness, and designs no virtue, but only signifies her extent.

(a) *Singuli quique ecclesiarum hereticorum se potissimum Christianos & suam esse Catholicam Ecclesiam putat.*
(b) *In tantum se Catholicos esse judicant ut nos ipsos titulo hereticæ appellationis infament.*
(c) *Cyp. Ep. 37. Novatianus sibi vult Ecclesiæ Catholicæ auctoritatem & veritatem vindicare.*
(d) *Christianorum cum sint hæreses plures atque omnes se Catholicos videre velint.*

The same appears, in that the most false and corrupt Churches will put on also the title of *Catholic*, and will be called so. *Lactantius* in the last chapter of the 4. Book, speaks thus; (a) *Each Congregation of Hereticks holds her self above all to be Christian, and her Church Catholic.* *Salvianus* in the 5. Book of *Providence*; (b) *So much they hold themselves Catholics, that they defame us with the title of Hereticks.* *Cyprian* to *Jubaian*; (c) *Novatianus will attribute unto himself the authority and the truth of the Catholic Church.* *Austin* in the Book of the utility of believing, chap. 7. saith, that (d) all the Hereticks affect the name of Catholics. Even the Donatists against whom the name of Catholics hath been especially used, and the Rogatists which were but a branch of the Donatists, would be so called, as *Austin* saith in the 48. Epistle to *Vincentius*. And the Greek Church, which is an enemy to the Roman, retains that name still, and her Patriarch is still called Oecumenical Bishop, as if he governed the whole habitable earth. In one point chiefly it is evident how that mark of *Universal* or *Catholic* is wide of all likelihood of reason; that the dispute between divers particular Churches is, which of them must be called *Universal*, as if *Africk* and *Europe* were contending which of them two must be called the whole earth.

Here truth is so evident, that a distinction between the Catholic Church, and the Roman will slip sometimes from our Adversaries, as acknowledging that they are different things. *Bellarmino* in the 2. Book of the Sacraments in general, chap. 27. goeth about to perswade that Baptism doth not leave to be a true Baptism, although he that baptizeth have no intention to do that which the Roman Church doth. *It is enough* (saith he) *to have intention to do that which the Universal or Catholic Church doth.* It is ordinary with our Adversaries to call the Roman Church the Mother of all the Churches; speaking so, is, saying, that the Roman Church is not the Universal or Catholic Church: For the Mother and the Daughters are not the same thing. Themselves would not say, that the Roman Church is universally everywhere, seeing that there are so many great Churches more antient then the Roman, which are separate in Communion from the Roman. Could the Universal Christian Church be called Roman, when Christianity had not yet reacht to *Rome*?

CHAP. 30.

Of the word Catholic, and in what sense the Church is called Catholic by the Ancients. That Cardinal du Perron hath not at all understood what Catholic signifieth, nor the sense of Vincentius Lirinensis.

THE Church of the Elect is called Catholic or Universal in the Symbole, because she comprehends all the Elect; both them that triumph in Heaven, and them that are or shall be militant here on earth. And if that Church mentioned in the Symbole, comprehends also the visible Church upon earth (which we would not deny)

deny) then that visible Church is called Catholick or Universal, to distinguish it from the Jewish Church, which was affected and restrained to one particular Nation, as his Majesty of Great Britain saith, and Bellarmine acknowledgeth it in his Book of the marks of the Church, chap. 7. (a) *That the Church (saith he) may be Catholick, it is requisite in the first place, that she exclude no time, no place, and no sort of men, whereby she is distinguished from the Synagogue, which was a particular, not a Catholick Church.* The Jesuite Salmeron saith the same. (b) *The Church (saith he) is called Catholick, that is, Universal; wherein she is different from the Synagogue, in that she is not circumscribed with certain limits of people or place.* But Cardinal du Perron being wiser then they all, in his first chapter against the King, is of another opinion; for he saith, that the word Catholick is rather added in the Synbole to discern the true Church, which is pure, and neither heretical nor schismatical; from the heretical and schismatical Churches. But the evident reason is on the Kings side; for since the word Catholick signifies Universal, it is fitter to distinguish the Universal Church from the particular, then to distinguish the Orthodox Church from the Heretical; between Church Universal, and Church Heretical, there is no opposition.

The Fathers take that word Catholick two ways: Sometimes by the Catholick Church they understand merely the Universal, distinguishing her by that word from the particular Churches. Optatus Milevitanus in the 2. Book: *The Church is called Catholick, because she is spread everywhere.* Austin in the 152. Epistle: *The Catholick Church is spread over all the Earth.* And in the 170. Epistle, (c) *The Church is called Catholick, because she is spread over all the world.* He saith the same in the 2. Book against Petilianus, chap. 38.

But sometimes the Fathers abusing the word, by the Catholick Church, understand the Orthodox Church, that is, the Church pure and sound in the Faith, joyned in her parts by Communion: *Quod totum veraciter teneat, saith Austin; Because she holds the whole truth, of which Heresies hold but part.* Sozomenus in his 7. Book, chap. 4. saith, it was constituted, That (d) *that only Church should be called Catholick which serveth the Trinity with equal honour.* In which sense there might be many Catholick Churches. Every particular Orthodox Church is Catholick in that sense. Austin in the 152. Epistle, (e) *Not only (saith he) the Catholick Churches beyond the Sea, but also the African Catholick Churches.* Where the word Catholick cannot signifie Universal. See the Subscriptions of the Bishops set to the will of Gregory Nazianzen. There every Bishop calls himself Catholick Bishop of such or such a Town. Austin in the 166. Epistle calls the Emperours Catholicks, that is, Orthodox and sound in the Faith. The Roman Synod under Hilary Bishop of Rome, begins thus, Hilary Bishop of the Catholick Church of the City of Rome. There it is clear, that Hilary calls not himself Bishop of the Universal Church, since he restrains his Episcopacy over the Catholick Church unto the City of Rome.

The reason why true Faith is called Catholick, or Universal, is not because it is received everywhere, for that never was, and never shall be; but because all without exception must receive it; as Pope Pius II. saith in the Acts of the Council of Basil, (f) *Faith is not called Catholick, that is, Universal, because all receive it, but because all ought to receive it.*

That in these two significations the Church is called Catholick, Austin expressly saith it in the Book *De Genesi ad literam*, chap. 1. (g) *The Church our Mother is called Catholick, both because she is universally perfect, and hath not in any thing, and because she is spread over all the world.*

The like Cyrillus of Jerusalem saith in the 18. Catechesis; (h) *The Church is called Catholick, because she is spread over all the habitable Earth from one end to the other, and because she teacheth universally, and without deficiency all the Doctrines that must come to the knowledge of men.*

ἡ αὐτὴ, ὅτι ἐν ὅλῳ ἐκτείνεται. (h) Καθολικὴ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ ὅτι πανταχοῦ τῆς οὐρανίου ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ὡς πρὸς δύσην, καὶ διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν καθολικῶς καὶ ἀνελλιπὶς ἀπαιτῶν τὰ εἰς γινώσκον ἀνθρώπων ὅλα δόγματα.

(a) S. Sum. omnes. ut Ecclesia sit Catholica, in primis requiritur ut non excludat ulla tempora, loca, vel hominum genera, in quo distinguitur a Synagoga.

(b) Salmer, Tom XIII. Disput. I. in Epist. Pauli. S. Tertio. Dicitur Catholica, id est universalis, in quo primum differt a Synagoga.

(c) Ipsa est Ecclesia Catholica, unde καθολικὴ Grace appellatur, quod per totum terrarum orbem diffunditur.

(d) ἡ ὁμολογία τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καθολικῆς.

(e) Non solum Catholica transmarina, verum etiam Catholica Africana.

(f) Lib. 1. fol. 9. Catholica fides, id est, universalis fides, non universalis dicitur quod universam teneant, sed quod universam habeant.

(g) Ecclesia Catholica dicitur eo quia universaliter perfect.

And *Opiatus Milevitanus* in the 2. book aginst *Parmenianus*, *Ecclesia inde Catholica, quod sit rationalis & ubique diffusa*, The Church is called Catholick, because she is conformable to reason, and because she is spread everywhere.

Which if *M. du Perron* had observed, he would not have spent his labour to devise absurd and unreasonable reasons, why he will have the true Church to be called Catholick. The first, because it is larger and in greater number. The second, because heretical Churches have been pluckt off from her like branches from the stock, which stock in respect of the branches, is an *habitual whole*, and that the Catholick Church towards heretical Churches, is not an actual but an habitual whole. His first reason shall be hereafter confuted, and we hope to shew that multitude is not alwaies on the side of the true Church.

(h) Chap. 19.
& 61. of
M. du Perron's book.

The (h) second reason is but an extravagant conceit, of which he is the first inventor. For there is no such thing as an *habitual whole*, which words are but a *Chimera*. The branches are no part of the stock in any respect, whether they be joyned to it, or cut from; especially when they are cut off. The stock is not a whole that contains, or can contain the branches, or that can be called an habitual or an actual whole. So then a Church from which other Churches were separated, is not a whole, containing in any respect the said separated Churches, especially since she did not contain them before the separation, but only they were joyned with her: much less then doth she contain them, since they were separated from her. How can she have any habit or aptness to contain them again, having never contained them before?

(i) Non considerat ab illa radice Orientalium Ecclesiarum se esse precipiam, unde Evangelium in Africam venit.
(k) Gratia ubi fides orta est.

There is more; For thereby the Cardinal devesteth the Roman Church before he be aware of the title of Catholick or Universal Church. For the Greek Church is the root and the stock from which the Roman is sprung. Christian Religion is past from the Grecians to the Latins. Thus *Anstin* Epist. 170. saith (i) that the Eastern Churches are the root of the Church, and that from them the Gospel past into *Africa*. And in the 178. Epist. which is a Dialogue of *Anstin* with *Pascensinus*, he saith, that (k) faith was born among the Grecians. For as these words *Iesus, Messias, Amen, Allelujah*, which the Greek Churches use, testify that the Gospel past from the Jews to the Grecians; Likewise the words of *Christ, Bible, Evangelium, Ecclesia, Baptism, Bishop, Priest, Deacon, Letany, Christmas, Antiphone*, &c. which are Greek words, yea all the most ordinary terms used in the Roman Church, shew that the Romans have received the Religion from the Grecians, and that they have been their Disciples: And therefore, by the Cardinals reason, the Greek Church shall be the Catholick Church, as the stock and the origine. And (to speak with him) she shall be the whole, though not actual, yet habitual, containing the Roman Church.

Note by the way, that the Fathers called the Orthodox Church Catholick or Universal, because it spread far and wide, over *Europ, Asia, and Africa*. But now that these Churches are dissenting and separate in communion, that reason ceaseth: neither is there any pretence of reason, why any of these parts can alone retain the title of Universal Church.

(l) Perfectus Scripturarum Canon, ubique ad omnia satis superque sufficiens.
(m) Duplici modo fidem suam ostendit: Primo scilicet divina legis autoritate, tum deinde Catholice Ecclesie traditione.

To the same purpose the Cardinal, after others of his party, objecteth to us incessantly, the counsel of *Vincensius Lirinensis*, who writ about the year 450. That Author in his book against profane novelties, to free a mans spirit from all errors, giveth him two directions. The one is, to stick to the holy Scripture, of which he saith, that the (l) Canon is most perfect, and more then sufficient for all things. The other is, than (m) since there is a dissention about the interpretation of Scripture, we must hold the tradition of the Catholick Church, and take the Scripture for our Interpreter, *Secundum Ecclesiastici & Catholici sensus normam*, according to the rule of the Ecclesiastical and Catholick sense. Then he declareth what he understands by that Catholick sense, namely, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditur: est hoc enim verè proprièque Catholicum*. That which hath been believed everywhere, always, and by all; for that is truly and properly Catholick.

(n) Never-

(n) Nevertheless he adds an exception, that he would not advise one to take that course, or to make use of that Catholick tradition, against heresies deep rooted by a long continuance, and such as are spread and received of old among many, but only against new and springing heresies, which he would stifle in their birth, by opposing that tradition unto them. But as for antient and far spread heresies, he would make use of the holy Scripture only; and of the authority of Universal Councils.

(n) Sed neque semper neque omnes hereses hoc modo impugnanda sunt, sed novitiae recentioresque tantummodo, cum primum

scilicet exoriantur. Ceterum dilata & inveteratae hereses nequaquam hac via aggrediende sunt, &c. Illas antiquiores nisi aut sola si opus est scripturarum autoritate convincere, aut certe jam antiquitus universalibus sacerdotum Catholicorum Conciliis convulsas damnatasque vitare.

That Counsel of *Vincentius* being well considered, not only doth not at all annoy us, but even cuts the throat of Popery. For since our Adversaries say, that we are infected with antient heresies, and complain, that our heresie is diffused in many countries, and very deep rooted, they cannot practice against us the counsel of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, who will have such heresies convinced with the only Scripture, and by the antient Universal Councils. For indeed restraining our Adversaries to Scripture, and to the antient Councils, is compelling them to impossibilities: since they maintain, that all the doubts about the faith, cannot be decided by Scripture, and send us to an unwritten word; herein opposing *Vincentius Lirinensis*, who saith, that Scripture is more then sufficient to teach us all things; and averting the people from reading the holy Scripture, for fear (say they) that they should fall into heresies. And as for the antient universal Councils, they find nothing in them contray to us, but many Canons contrary to them. They find in the Council of *Chalcedone* a (o) Canon equalling the Bishop of *Constantinople*, with that of *Rome* in all things. They find in the Council of (p) *Laodicea*, approved by many universal Councils, that the books of *Judith*, *Toby*, and *Maccabees* are not Canonical. They find in the Council of *Gangra*, approved likewise and inserted in the *Codex* of the Universal Church, a condemnation of those that despise married Priests. They find in the Canons of the V. I. Universal Council, a Canon which expounds these words, *This is my body*, and *This is my blood*, with these words, (r) *that is, bread and wine mingled with water*. They find in the same Council two Canons (f) which expressly and by name condemn the Roman Church for prohibiting Priests and Deacons to dwell with their wives, and for fasting upon Saturdays. They find that the Pope did not preside in the Councils of *Nice*, nor in the first Council of *Constantinople*, nor in the first Council of *Sardica*, which *M. du Perron* puts among the Universals, nor in the Council of *Chalcedon*. And that he called none of the antient Universal Councils. But that the first Council of *Constantinople* and that of *Chalcedon*, did sit against his will, and against his Counsels and humble petitions to the Emperours.

(o) Concil. Chalced. Can. 28.
(p) Syand. Laod. Can. 58.
(q) Concil. Gangr. Can. 4.
(r) Concil. Trull. Can. 23.
(f) Concil. Trull. Can. 13. & Can. 55.

And if our Adversaries finding no help in the antient Universal Councils, are reduced (according to the advice of *Vincentius Lirinensis*) to the holy Scripture only, what text can they find there, to prove that the Pope is *St. Peter's* successor in the quality of head of the Universal Church, or to prove that he can put down Kings and dispose of their crowns? Or to prove that we must yield a religious service unto images, and call upon the Saints departed, and worship their relicks? or that God prohibiteth the marriage of Priests? and many the like things, which have no ground but in the unwritten word?

Or if the Counsel of *Vincentius Lirinensis* take place, so that nothing be received for a Catholick tradition, but that which was alwayes believed, and by all, and at all times; what will become of Monks and Monasteries, of whom no mention is found in the first ages, before *Paul* and *Antony* the Hermites, who lived in *Constantines* time? What will become of the images of the Trinity, and the adoration of images, and the Popes power to depose Kings? And how shall the *Maccabees* subsist among the Canonical books, which (t) *M. du Perron* confesseth to have been rejected by the Greek Fathers, and by *Hierom* and *Ruffinus*, and others that have followed their opinion? Yea I maintain, that of all the Articles of

(t) 5. Book. chap. 18. & 1. Book. chap. 40.

Christian doctrine, scarce two or three shall be found, but were opposed by some hereticks, and of whom one may truly say, that they were believed everywhere, and at all times. But how can women and tradesmen know what articles have been believed alwayes and by all, since so much cannot be known but by the reading of Fathers, and Greek and Latine histories, where the people understands nothing, and the learned themselves have litte knowledge?

Truly, I dare say, that if *Vincentius Lirinensis* were believed and followed, there should be no more Popery upon earth. Especially in that he will not have the Church to seek to Catholick tradition for adding of doctrines not received in Scripture, but only for the interpretation of Scripture. Also in that the admitteth of no traditions as Catholick, but such as were believed by all and at all times; for the Roman Church teacheth a thousand things, which the Greek and Syrian and Ethiopian Churches believe not, and which have been unknown in the first ages of the Christian Church. As for us, I make bold to affirm, that we believe and receive all the doctrines necessary to salvation, which have been believed by all and everywhere. And none can justly reproach us, that ever we departed from the universal consent of all ages.

CHAP. 31.

of holiness in doctrine.

THe whole Word of God is true and holy. But between the truth and the holiness of a doctrine, there is that difference, that the same doctrine is true as it declineth errors, and holy as it declineth vices. Truth enlighteneth the understanding, but holiness purifieth the will and affections. Whence it appeareth, that truth goeth before holiness, because the instruction of the understanding goes before the motions of the will: because also the holiness of a doctrine doth presuppose it to be true.

A doctrine then is called true, which turns men away from vices, and formeth them to good works and vertue.

Our Adversaries put that holiness of doctrine among the marks of the true Church, wherein I would not contradict them; for thereby they would have good doctrine to be a mark of the true Church. Now the doctrine can neither be good nor holy, unless it be conformable with the Word of God; we must then be instructed in the Word of God before we can know the true Church.

Two things only, I cannot sufficiently wonder at; The one, that they put the holiness of the doctrine among the marks of the true Church, and will not put the truth of the doctrine among these marks, and yet holiness presupposeth truth. It is impossible to know that a doctrine is holy, while one doubteth whether it be true. The other, that they choose that for a mark of the Church, which less fitteth the Roman Church then any Church in the world. I speak not of the vices which reign in the Roman Church, but of the rules and doctrines that reach vices and corrupt manners. In other Churches vices are sicknesses, but in the Roman Church they are set forth as vertues, and have the force of Law.

No Church but the Roman teacheth perjury, and by the order of a Council declareth, that one is not bound to keep faith unto Hereticks. This is found in the XIX. Session of the Council of *Constance*, where the Fathers of the Council declare to the Emperor *Sigismund*, that he may proceed to the execution of *Hieroni* of *Prague* and *John Hus*, notwithstanding the safe conduct and the oath given them to send them home safe. (a) The Pope dispenseth the Kings Subjects and Officers from the obedience and oath of allegiance given to the King, of which the histories are full, since *Gregory* the VII. and it was seen in *France* of late.

Is it a holy doctrine to set up brothel-houses by publick order, and (b) permit whoredom? Or to set on the people to rebel against their sovereign Prince, promising

(a) The Council of *Lions* hath practised it against *Friederick* the II. and the Council of *Constance* against *Friederick* of *Austria*. Scff. X X. (b) *Emanuel Sa Aphorismus, verbo Episcopus. Toletus. lib. 5. Instr. Sacerdotum. c. 37. Bellar. l. 2. de amiss. gratie. c. 18. S. dicet. Tit. 8. de Concess. Præbend. arum Can. proposuit In Glossa & dist. 34. Can. Lectur. in Gloss. & Can. Sunt quid. Caus. 25. qu. 1. In Glossa.*

missing them the remission of sins for their reward? In the time of the French League, in the year 1588, 1589, and 1590. one might see in the market places, and other places of public resort, Papal indulgences set forth, granting nine years of pardon to all that would joyn with the League against the King. Remission of sins and salvation was propounded to the people as a recompence of rebellion against their King and murder of their fellow-Citizens.

Is it an holy Doctrine that the Pope can dispense against the Apostle, and against the Old Testament? and that he dispenseth in the Gospel by an interpretation? For with such sentences the Glosses of the Roman Decree are stuffed.

Is it a holy Doctrine, that God after he hath pardoned the fault, exacteth satisfactory pains? Doth not that teach men to make fraudulent reconciliations, and to take revenge after they have pardoned? For why should men be more true or more merciful then God?

Are these holy Doctrines, to dissolve marriages under pretence of a Monastical life? and to free children from the fatherly power, when for anger, or other causes, they have taken Sanctuary in a Monastery, as an Azyle of disobedience? and to tread the Laws of God and nature under foot, which oblige children to obey their Parents?

Is it an holy Doctrine, to prohibit the people to read Scripture, which is the treasure of all the Doctrines of holiness? and putting prayers and alms among penances or satisfactory pains? Is not that turning vertues into pains, to make them odious?

Of these accusations and many of the like nature they strive to avenge themselves by recriminating, that we teach that good works are not necessary to salvation, and that God is the Author of sin; and that we are enemies of the Saints and of the Virgin *Mary*: Abominable Doctrines, falsely attributed to us: The Confession of our Churches doth protest against them.

To shut up this question, I acknowledge the holiness of Doctrine to be a mark to know the true Church, so that under holiness truth be comprehended, and conformity with the word of God. But if holiness be taken as a thing distinct from the truth, then we must know the truth of a Doctrine before we be able to know the holiness of the same: And so we shall need another mark to know that mark.

CHAP. 33.

Of the succession of chairs. Whether it be a mark of the true Church? And what that succession is, of which the Fathers speak.

AMong the marks of the true Church, they put the succession of Pastors in the same chair, ever since the Apostles: Certainly that succession is a goodly ornament; if with the succession of persons, there may be a succession of Doctrine and conformity of vertue: But there are many chairs in which they that sit, hold a contrary Doctrine to their Predecessors. Thus the Scribes and Pharisees were sitting in the chair of *Moses*, and had the personal succession; nevertheless Jesus Christ commandeth his Disciples to beware of the leaven of their Doctrine, and reproacheth them that they had transgressed the Law of God by their tradition, *Mat. 15*. Thus the Bishops of the Churches of *Antioch*, and *Rome*, and *Alexandria*, boast themselves to be Successors of Saint *Peter*, and yet are dissenting and separate in Communion. The Bishops of *Constantinople*, fetch their succession from the Apostle Saint *Andrew*; as *Nicephorus* goeth about to prove in the eighth book of his *Chronology*, chap. 6. Yet these Bishops by the judgement of the Roman Church, are Schismatics and Hereticks. Whence it appears, that the succession of chairs cannot be a fit mark for the true Church, since it is found in heretical Churches, as *Tertullian* saith in the thirty second chapter

(a) Ipsa eorum Doctrina cum Apostolica comparata, ex diversitate & contrarietate sua pronuntiabit neque Apostoli aliquis esse neque Apostolici.
 (b) Ad hanc itaque formam provocabuntur ab illis Ecclesiis quæ licet nullum ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis autorem suum proferant, ut multo posteriores, quæ denique quotidie instituantur, tamen in eadem fide conspirantes, non minus Apostolicæ reputantur pro consanguinitate doctrinæ.
 (c) Sic omnes primæ & omnes Apostolicæ, dum unam omnium probant unitatem communicationis pacis & commiserationis hospitalitatis, quæ jura non alia ratio regit quam ejusdem Sacramenti una traditio.

chapter of the book of prescriptions. (a) *Their Doctrine compared with the Apostolical Doctrine, will make it manifest by its diversity and contrariety, that the Author thereof is neither an Apostle nor an apostolical man; because as the Apostles have not taught different things among themselves, so they that followed the Apostles, would not have set forth things contrary to the Apostles, excepting only those that have withdrawn themselves from the Apostles, and have taught otherwise.* And a little after: *Therefore they shall be summoned to answer that form of examination by the Churches, which though they cannot produce any of the Apostles, or any Successor of the Apostles for their Author, as being much later in time, and some of them every day erected; yet agreeing in the same faith, they are not held less Apostolical by reason of the consanguinity of their Doctrine [with the Apostles.]* And soon after, he saith, that the Heretick Churches are not received to the Communion by the Apostolick Churches, because Hereticks cannot be Apostolick, *ob diversitatem Sacramenti, by reason of the diversity of the sacred Doctrine; for so the Fathers take the word Sacrament.* And in the twentieth chapter, after he hath said that the Apostles have spread the Doctrine of faith, and that from thence all the Churches have their origine, he addeth, *So all the Churches are first Churches, and all are Apostolick, as long as the communication of peace, and the name of brethren, and the mutual mark of hospitality, prove that there is one unity among them all; which rights are ruled by no other reason then the tradition of the same Doctrine.* Thus if Tertullian be believed, true succession consisteth in conformity with the Doctrine of the Apostles: which being found in a Church, whether great or small, of old or fresh date, such a Church is truly Apostolical, although for lack of Histories, she cannot shew the line of her succession.

Then to know whether that succession of chairs be good, we must of necessity know before whether the Doctrine agree with that of the Apostles; and to know that, we must be instructed in the true Apostolical Doctrine. Whence it follows, that this succession of chairs cannot be a mark of the Church, since to know her, we have need of another mark which is the truth of the Doctrine, and conformity with the Doctrine of the Apostles; and that the succession of persons in the same chair, is no perpetual mark of a true Church, since there are true Churches which cannot prove that continual succession. Where conformity with the Doctrine of the Apostles is evident, to what end should a Church be required to shew by histories the thread of a continual succession, unless it be to tire mens spirits by an infinite length, and keep them from seeking for the conformity in Doctrine, which is easie to be found? What doth it import from how far the water of a brook comes to us, so that the water be quick and good? And if the brook be spoiled, because it passeth through unwholesome fens, what have I to do to follow the whole course of the stream, when I may drink at the spring?

Where the way is short and easie, why do they labour to make it long and intricate? Such as love error, purposely loose themselves in an endless length and an inextricable maze. How much labour and time must one lose? How many Greek and Latin Books must one read, to know upon every point of Doctrine the belief of all the Bishops of one Church from the Apostles time unto ours? and to shew upon every point the succession of Doctrine from Bishop to Bishop? Certainly we are not saved by chairs, but by rules; nor by titles or succession of persons, but by the precepts of faith and godliness. The Apostle *Rom. 10. 15.* saying after *Isaiah*, *How beautifull are the feet (that is, how is the coming pleasant) of them that bring peace, that bring glad tidings of good things!* sheweth, that in vain one boasteth that he is sent, if he bring tidings of evil things.

Truly if chairs did teach, or if truth was sticking to those chairs, we ought to believe it without any more ado. But in those chairs men are speaking, who many times abuse them to give authority to untruth, as the Scribes and Pharisees made use of the specious title of the chair of *Moses* to resist Jesus Christ.

Besides, that cannot be a mark of the true Church, which is unknown to the people. For how small is the number of those that have read all the Greek and Latin Histories, where that succession is set down? They give to the people a list

of successive Bishops in a picture, but the people know not whether nothing be false and forged in that picture: They know not whether the last entered into the chair by usurpation, or violence, or gifts. They know not whether the last Bishops teach the same as the first, or whether of those that came between, none erred in the faith. Certain it is, that many Popes have been notorious hereticks, as *Liberius* and *Felix* who were *Arians*, *Honorius* a *Monotheite*, and *John* the XXIII. that denied the immortality of the soul. In the Papal See, several Schisms have been, and divers times many Popes together, excommunicating one another; and reciprocally calling one another *Antichrist*; and of those *Antichrists*, the worst commonly overcame. So according to the very Canons of the Roman Church, factions and corruptions in the creation of the Popes, have several times made their election void, and therefore have broken the thread of that succession.

Some places indeed are found in the Fathers, especially in *Tertullian* and *Irenaeus*, where disputing against Hereticks, they oppose unto them the authority of those Churches that were able to shew their succession of persons and Doctrine since the Apostles, and question those Hereticks about their succession. But they speak of succession of chairs in the same Doctrine. Besides, those allegations have not the same force in these last ages, as they had then, when the line of their succession from the Apostles being short, was also easie to shew. It was easie to shew at *Ephesus* since Saint *John*, and at *Jerusalem* since Saint *James*, that seven or eight successive Bishops had still taught the same Doctrine. But now after an interval of above fifteen hundred years, and so many changes and revolutions, the Churches which then agreed, being now at odds, it is impossible to make such a deduction. And our Adversaries would find themselves shrewdly plunged, if they were put to shew of every Bishop of *Rome*, or *Alexandria*, or *Antioch*, that all successively have believed the Purgatory, or the invocation of Saints, or Transubstantiation, or the Popes power over the temporal of Kings, or the Communion under one kind.

Consider also that these Fathers alledging unto Hereticks the succession of Bishops, spake unto Hereticks that rejected the Scriptures, either whole or in part; against which they had need to use probable reasons without the Scripture. But we have to do with men that make a shew of the succession of persons, without speaking of conformity and succession in the Doctrine. Upon that, the words of *Irenaeus* are pregnant, (d) *We must obey those that are Priests in the Church, that have succession from the Apostles, and with the most dear succession of Episcopacy, have received the certain gift of the truth, according to the Fathers will.* And *Tertullian* in the thirty seventh chapter of *Prescriptions*, summoning the Hereticks to produce the succession of their chairs, sheweth, that in the Church where he was, they had a true succession, because since the Apostles time they had always retained the same Doctrine. (e) *I am (saith he) an heir of the Apostles: That which they have ordained by their Testament, that which they have comitted to our faith, that which they have sworn us unto, that I hold: But certainly they have always dis-inherited you, and disallowed you as strangers and enemies. Now how come Hereticks to be strangers and enemies to the Apostles, but by the diversity of Doctrine, which every one of them hath set forth, or received according to their own fancy against the Apostles?* For a succession of chairs without truth, is either a continuation of error, or a corruption of the truth: which succession, the longer it is, the more pernicious, because it hath deeper roots; as *Gregory Nazianzen* saith, in his oration concerning *Athanasius*, (f) *Where there is the same Doctrine, there is the same See; but where there is contrariety of opinions, there is also contrariety of Sees, [or chairs] The one hath the name, the other hath the truth of succession.* He addeth, that he that corrupts the Doctrine is no successor, unless it be as sickness succeedeth health, and darkness light. *Athanasius* speaks the same lan-

(d) *Irenaeus, lib. 4. chap. 43. Eis qui in Ecclesia sunt Presbyteris obedire oportet; his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, qui cum Episcopatus successionem charissimae veritatis certum donum secundum placitum Patris acceperunt.*
(e) *Ego sum haeres Apostolorum; si cut caverunt testamentum.*

scilicet fidei commissum, sicut adjuverunt, ita teneo. Vos certe exheredaverunt semper & abdicaverunt, ut extraneos & inimicos. Unde autem extranei & inimici Apostolis haeretici nisi ex diversitate Doctrinae? (f) *To adu- οὐκ ἐκείνων & ἀδελφῶν, τοῦ ὅτι ἀντιθέτω & ἀντιθέτω.*

guage;

(g) Athanasius in Decret. Synodi Nicæ contra Arianos. ἡδὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ μαρτύρων εἰς μαρτύρας διαβεβαιώσαντες τὸ τοιαῦτον δεύοντες ἀποδείκνυσθαι. (h) Ambr. lib. 1. de penitentia, cap. 6. Non habet Petri hereditatem, qui fidem Petri non habet. (i) Ab omnibus abstinendum qui abstinunt a principali successione.

guage; (g) Behold (saith he) we shew the succession of our Doctrine from Fathers to Fathers. And Ambrose (h), That man hath not the succession of Peter, that hath not the faith of Peter. And Irenæus, in the 4. Book. 43, & 44. chap. calls succession in the true Doctrine, the (i) principal succession; for having said that those must be held for suspect that depart from the principal succession, he addeth, that such are fallen from the Truth.

(k) Quis sanctum dubitet esse quem apex tante dignitatis extolli? In quo si desint bona acquisita per meritum, sufficium quæ a loci prædecessore præstantur.

(l) Bernard. de conversione Pauli, Serm. 1. Domine, Jesu! quia sunt in persecutione tua primi, qui videntur in Ecclesia primum diligere, gerere principatum.

(m) Distinamus nos quoque necesse est & sciamus interim, maxime de Prælati nostris, Magistris Ecclesiæ.

(n) Iniquitas progressa est a senioribus iudicibus, Vicariis tuis.

(o) Ministri Christi sunt & servantur Antichristo; Honorati incedunt de bonis Domini qui Domino honorem non deferunt.

Wherefore we detest the beastly impiety of the Canon *Non nos*, which in the 40. Distinction of the Roman Decree, pins the holiness of the Popes to their Chairs, saying, (k) Who makes a doubt of that mans holiness who is raised to such a high dignity, who if he have no good acquired by his merits, he hath good enough afforded to him by his predecessor in that place? It is not the Chair that sanctifieth the Pastor, but it is the holiness of the Pastor and his preaching that sanctifieth the Chair; which the older it is, one may think that there is the more to mend in it; and the higher it is, and exalted to honour, the more pernicious, when the authority thereof is employed to authorize Error and oppose the Truth. It is the complaint that Bernard made of the Church of his time; (l) Alas, alas, Lord Jesus, Those are the first in perfecting thee, that Love primacy in thy Church, and hold the principality of the same. Then he addeth, *Multi sunt nostris temporibus Antichristi*; There are many Antichrists in our dayes. And soon after; (m) This we must dissemble, and hold our peace, especially about our Prelates and Masters of Churches. And in the same place, (n) Iniquity proceeded from the old Judges, thy Vicars, which seemed to govern thy people. And in the 33. Sermon, speaking of the Papal Court; (o) They are Ministers of Christ, and serve the Antichrist. They that honour not the Lord, march honoured with the Lords goods. Whereupon after he hath bewailed the corruption of the Church, proceeding from them that govern her, he saith, that it remains no more, but that the Antichrist should be revealed, even that Antichrist, saith he, who shall lift up himself above all that is called God. And in the 77. Sermon, speaking of that succession of Chairs, he saith, (p) They will all be Successors, but few will be imitators, &c. (q) It is a small thing to say that our watches do not keep us, but they even destroy us. And in the fourth Book *De Consideratione*, speaking of the Roman Court; (r) If I durst speak it, These are rather pastures of Devils then of Sheep. And speaking directly to Pope Eugenius, who boasted of the succession of Peter; We find not that ever St. Peter marched adorned with Jewels, or clad in Silk, or covered with Gold, or riding on a white Horse, or attended with guards, or with a multitude of servants making a noise about him. He believed that without these things one might fulfil that salutary command, Feed my Sheep. In these things thou hast succeeded not Peter, but the Emperour Constantine. That good man, who felt the Truth in a dark age, would have spoken far more plainly, if he had lived in an age enlightened with the Sun-shine of the Gospel: For in the fervency of his zeal seeing two Popes excommunicating one another, and mutually calling one another Antichrist, he goeth so far as to say, (s) That Beast of the Revelation to whom a mouth was given, speaking blasphemies, and [power] to make war against the Saints, holds St. Peters Chair like a Lion prepared for the prey. And the other Beast is hissing near you, like a wild beasts cub lurking in a close place. He useth the two Anti-Popes alike, leaving to us to judge on which side the right of the succession was.

(p) Successores omnes cupiunt esse, imitatores pauci. (q) Parum est nostris vigilibus quod non servamus nos, nisi & perdant. Superest ut reveletur homo peccati, Filius perditionis. (r) De consider. ad Eugen. l. 4. Si auderem dicere, demonum magis quam ovium pascua hæc, &c. Petrus hic est qui nescitur processisse aliquando vel gemmis ornatus vel serico, &c. In his successisti non Petro, sed Constantino. (s) Epist. 125. Bestia illa de Apocalypsi cui datum est loquens blasphemiam, & bellum gerere cum sanctis, Petri Cathedram occupat tanquam leo paratus ad prædam.

Above

Above 500 years before him, Pope Gregory the I. seemeth to have prophesied after the example of Caiaphas : For so he speaks in the 38. Epistle of the 4. Book ;

(t) *All that is foretold is now a doing. The King of pride is at hand ; and (that which is shameful to say) an Army of Priests is prepared for him : foretelling that the Antichrist will be upheld by a multitude of Priests, and therefore by them that shall hold the chairs, and boast themselves of the ordinary succession.*

We will shut up this discourse with a sentence of Austin in his 46. Treatise upon John. (u) *If sitting in Moses chair, they teach the Law of God, God teacheth by them ; But if they will teach that which is of their own, (that is, their own inventions) hearken not unto them, and do not what they say.*

dram Moyſis legem Dei docet, ergo per illos Deus docet. Sua vero ſi velint docere, nolite audire, nolite facere.

(t) Omnia
qua predicta
sunt sunt.
Rex superbie
prope est, &
(quod dici
nefas est) sa-
cerdotum est
preparatus
exercitus.
(u) Sedendo
super Cathedra

CHAP. 33.

What the Succession was, and what the calling of those who in our Fathers time took in hand the Reformation of Popery.

OF this matter we have treated more at large in. (a) another place : Where we have shewed that the charge of Pope, who calls himself the Head of the Universal Church, and the Cardinals dignity, are not descended from the Apostles by succession, but that they are humane inventions, and that the charges of Bishop and Priest, which of their nature are lawful, and descended by succession from the Apostles, have yet so much good left in the Roman Church, that they that enter into them are obliged by Oath in their Ordination to teach the truth of Gods Word. Also that these charges are corrupted and perverted in the Roman Church, in that Bishops are become Princes of the Papal Hierarchy, and in their reception take an Oath of allegiance and obedience to the Pope : Which form of Oath herein is notable, that there is never a word in it of any duty towards God, or of his Word, or of the obedience due to him. That form of Oath (b) is found in the Roman Pontifical, and is most worthy to be read, as one of the most expreſs marks of the son of perdition : For it is the Oath of a vassal to his Prince or Liege-Lord, not the Oath of a Pastor of Gods Church. Likewise the charge of Priest is corrupted, in that Priests in their ordination are established Sacrificers of the body of Christ, for the living and the dead, of which office the institution is not found in the Word of God.

(a) In this
Authors
Book of the
Vocation of
Pastors.

(b) That
Oath is set
down in the
end of the
foresaid
Book of the
Vocation of
Pastors.

Now it happened in our Fathers time, that some Priests, Doctors, and Bishops of the Roman Church, having acknowledged by the Word of God the abuses of Popery, would fulfil their Oath, and in the same Chair began to change language, and teach the Truth, to bring their Office to the right use again, and to the first institution ; for an Idolatrous and heretical Church can confer a good calling, and admit a Pastor to his charge by such expreſs forms and promises, that thereby he shall be obliged to discharge the office of a Pastor aright : For although a Church be heretical, yet the Office of Pastor in the same is (of its nature and first institution, and by the expectation of the people) destined to preach the true Doctrine of Salvation : and every Oath about a thing good and just, into which a man hath not intruded himself, must be inviolably kept. If in an Arian, or Nestorian Church, a Pastor came to be converted to the true Doctrine, the nature of his charge and his promise in his reception authorize him sufficiently, yea and oblige him to change language in the same Chair, and to teach the Truth. Wherefore also the (c) antient Church allowed the Office of heretical Bishops, when they converted themselves to the true Faith ; neither did they confer a new Ordination,

(c) Codex
Canonum Ec-
clesiæ Afri-
cane, Can.
69. Hieron.
Dialogo ad-
versus Luci-
feranos. Syn.
Niceen, Can.
8. de Catha-
ris & Cleri-
cis conversis

ad fidem. ἐπεὶ τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ ὡς τὸς χειροτονημένους αὐτὸς μὴ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ὅτι τὸ κληρὸν,

N

nation,

(d) Balsamon ad marginem Canonis Niceni 8. ex Tharasio qui Nicene secunde Synodo presedit.

nation upon them. The Imposition of hands which they bestowed upon them, was not a new ordination, but only a blessing, as (d) Balsamon teacheth. I say then, that the first Reformers of Popery had the ordinary calling and succession received in their Countrey, and had besides that an extraordinary Commission to preach against the intention of their Ordinator, for the due accomplishing of their charge, and to keep the Oath taken in their reception.

We must not believe that they held from the Prelates of the Roman Church that good which remained unto them in their ill ordinary calling; for they held it from Jesus Christ and his Apostles, from whom those charges first proceeded, which from them are come to us by succession, although for some ages the Pastors of the Roman Church have abused those charges, and turned them to another use. So we have the water of a Brook from the Spring, not from the infected channel that it hath run through. It is one thing to have our calling by the intervention of the Roman Church, and another thing to have it from the Roman Church, and from her authority.

It came to pass then, that those faithful servants of God beginning to preach the Truth in the very Chairs of the Roman Church, were believed by part of the people, who long before had some sight of the Errors, and were sighing under the yoke. But the other part which would not receive their Doctrine, thrust them out, and excommunicated them, forbidding them the exercise of their charge. But they stood out, and for their Inhibition would not forsake their flocks, holding that they ought not to be deprived of their charge, because they used it well. In vain should they have hoped to be confirmed in their places by the Pope, since they preached against Popery. Besides, the opinion of the Roman Church favours us in this point: For they hold that a Priests Office cannot be taken away, and that it prints an indelible character in a man, although the use thereof be interdicted by those that cannot suffer that their Errors should be brought to light. Thus they remained in their charges, and their Successors remain in them still: God making use of them to gather a people unto himself in the midst of the darkness of this world, and to bring many souls to salvation.

CHAP. 34.

That in the time of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, and in the ages next to the Apostles, many have preached the Word of God in the Church, without succession and without ordinary Calling.

Although in the age that we live in, it is expedient that none be admitted to the holy Ministry, but such as are duly called, and (as much as it is possible) established by the ordinary forms and wayes; yet the Christian Church in her beginnings did not tie her self to that rule. The Christians of that time embraced with so much fervour the truth of the Doctrine, that they enquired not with what forms those that taught them the truth had been received into that Office. Doing the clean contrary to that which is done in the Roman Church, where the people is kept from the examination of the Doctrine by hiding from them the holy Scripture, and celebrating Divine Service in a language which they understand not. They are instructed only to look to Chairs and Succession, and to pick a quarrel with our Vocation; following the example of the Pharisees, who eluded Christs reprehensions of their false Doctrine, asking him, *By what authority dost thou these things, and who gave thee this authority?* and asking the Apostles when they preached Christ, *By what power, and by what Name have ye done this?*

That in old time many preached the Gospel without charge or ordinary calling, it is evident by many examples. Our Lord Jesus, *Luke 4.* teacheth in the Synagogue of Nazareth, and expoundeth the Prophet *Isaiah*, although he was neither

Mat. 23. 23.

Act. 4. 7.

ther Scribe nor Doctor, nor Levite, but of the Tribe of *Judah*; brought up, not under the Discipline of the Pharisees, but in a Carpenters shop.

Act. 13. Paul who was neither Levite nor Scribe, is desired by the chief of the Synagogue of *Antioch*, of *Pisidia*, if he had some word of exhortation to speak it. He had been indeed a Pharisee before his conversion; but the Pharisaism was not a charge, but a profession of austerity, and works of overplus.

Act. 8. 4. The faithful of the Church of *Jerusalem*, scattered by persecution, went everywhere preaching the Word. The same is done by some Cypriots and Cyrenians that were fled to *Antioch*, *Act. 11.*

Act. 18. 25. *Apollos* teacheth in the Synagogue, and speaks freely, although he was yet but meanly instructed in the way of the Lord, knowing only the Baptism of John. A certain proof that he had no ordinary charge; for with so little instruction he should never have been admitted to the charge of Pastor or Evangelist.

It is manifest by the 14. chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, that all such as had some gift of God to prophesie and expound Scripture; or to speak strange tongues, were allowed to speak in the Church. If (saith the Apostle, v. 24.) all prophesie, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all. And a little after, When ye come together, every one of you hath a Psalm, hath a Revelation; hath an Interpretation; Let all things be done to edifying.

Origen Hom. 11. upon the 18. chapter of *Numbers*. (a) If (saith he) in any City where no Christian is yet born, some one come and begin to teach, and labour, and instruct, and bring to the Faith; and after that become Prince and Bishop of those whom he hath instructed, &c.

Ambrose upon Ephes. 4. (b) That then the people might increase and multiply, it was permitted to all in the beginning, to preach the Gospel and baptize, and expound the Scriptures in the Church: But he addeth that this was settled by an order since.

(a) Sicut in aliqua (verbi gratia) civitate ubi nondum Christiani nati sunt, si accedat aliquis & doceat in ipsa, laboret, instruat, adducat ad fidem,

& ipse postmodum iis quos docuit Princeps & Episcopus fiat, &c. (b) ut ergo cresceret plebs & multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est & Evangelizare & baptizare, & Scripturas in Ecclesia explanare.

Theodoret, Ruffinus, and *Sozomenus*, relate that two young men; *Adesius* & *Fruventius*, being come to the *Indies* for another end, planted there the Christian Religion. It is true, that *Fruventius* returning into *Egypt*, was persuaded by *Athanasius* to return into the *Indies*, and by him created Bishop of the *Indies*. But it must be remembered, that he had already begun that work before he received the ordinary calling; and that if he could not have returned into *Egypt*, being kept in the *Indies*, either by the difficulties of the wayes, or by sickness; or if the Indians would not have let him go; no doubt but that he would not have forsaken the work of God for want of a formality, and would not have left teaching, though he had no succession, and no ordinary calling. But I think that the Indians by him converted to Christianity would have met, and calling upon Gods name, would have created him their Pastor.

The same must be said of *Maturianus* and *Saturnianus* slaves, which were the first that brought the Gospel among the Moors, where they were captive; who after they had sown the seeds of Christianity about the Countrey, sent for Priests out of the Roman Territories; as *Victor Uticensis* recites in the first Book of the History of the Vandals.

Yea out of the case of necessity the Antient Christians permitted Lay-men to expound the holy Scriptures, although there were ordinary Pastors in the same place. Of which we have a very express testimony in the 20. chapter of the 6. Book of the History of *Eusebius*, who relates that at the request of the Bishop of *Cesarea*, *Origen* being not a Priest, yet began to expound the holy Scriptures in the Church. At which one *Demetrius* complaining, as of a

for bringing the traffick into the Temple, and purchasing by faction and bribery that holy charge, which teacheth humility and innocence.

But it is not necessary for the people to know the vocation of their Pastors, and to have an exact knowledge by what wayes every one of them is come to the holy Ministry; For I find not any text in the Word of God, that obliges the people to that examination, or saith that the people must give account unto God of the calling of their Pastors. If a man crept into the Ministry by fraud and unlawful wayes, yet preach the Gospel purely, and administer the Sacraments as Jesus Christ did institute them, the people believing his preaching, shall be saved nothing the less; for the sentence of Jesus Christ is without exception, that who so believeth on him shall have everlasting life: The Word of God loseth not its vertue in the mouth of a Pastor admitted against the forms; as good seed doth not change nature, and bears not the less fruit for being sown by a thief. As one may wear a suit of clothes, without knowing whether the workman be admitted of Taylors Hall; So one may profit at a mans preaching, without knowing whether the man got into the Office of Pastor by good forms and lawfull wayes. The people is not accountable unto God for the calling of his Pastors, but for adhering unto false doctrines, and partaking with a Sacrifice which God hath not commanded. Truly if the people that they may be saved, must exactly know, what and how long the succession of their Pastors is, and whether it be defended from the Apostles by a successive line of persons in the same chair; they are excluded from all hope of salvation; since that cannot be known but by the reading of Fathers, and Greek and Latin histories, where the people understand nothing. And if they understood them, yet should they find a discord between historians, and intervals, and interruptions, where the readers are at a loss. Therefore (a) *Lydia* the Purple-seller, and the people of (b) *Berea*, and the (c) three thousand Jews converted at *Peters* preaching, enquired not about *Peters* or *Pauls* calling; Nor the Eunuch of *Queen Candace*, of the vocation and succession of *Philip*: But believed their preaching, because they proved what they said by Scripture, although they had neither succession nor ordinary calling. So much was enough for them to be saved.

(a) Acts 16.
14.
(b) Acts 17.
11.
(c) Acts 2.
41.

Out of that which was said, we gather two things. The one, that in the Roman Church the people are preposterously instructed; for their Pastors hide from them the holy Scripture, by which only they might learn, whether the charge of Pope or Priests be instituted by God; but they are taught to insist upon the succession of chairs, and to question us about our calling. That which is necessary to salvation, is hidden from them, and they are taught to enquire of that which is not necessary for them to know, and about which they shall not be called to account before God. While they amuse men about formalities, they hide the doctrine of salvation from their eyes. These poor people fed with empty husks, content themselves to believe that their leaders have the chairs and the ordinary succession; but the means are removed from them, to know whether the truth be taught in those chairs: For so much cannot be known, but by comparing the doctrine preached to them with the Scriptures, after the example of the people of *Berea*, whom *St. Luke* praiseth for examining the preaching of *St. Paul* by Scripture, although the miracles and the holy eloquence of the Apostle seemed to give him authority enough.

Our second inference is, that our complaints and accusations against the Roman Church, are far stronger, and of higher nature, and better grounded, then those of the Roman Church against us; For the Roman Church doth not reproach us that the charge of our Pastors is of its nature evil; acknowledging that Jesus Christ hath instituted Pastors in his Church, to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments. He that limits his Office within these functions, cannot be accused to have an Office invented by men. Only the Roman Church quarrels with us about formalities, and about the means of entering into that Office, accusing us of intruding without ordinary calling and without any succession.

But we disputing against the Roman Church, bring heavier accusations against them,

Eph. 1.

them, and stand upon far higher terms; For not only we accuse Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Priests, and Abbots, of usurpation, and of getting their Office by sinister wayes, and of want of lawfull succession; but we question them about the prime and principal point, necessary to salvation, which is the validity of their charges; For we find not in the Word of God, that ever he instituted Popes, or any successors of *St. Peter* in the Office of Head of the Universal Church: And we say, that every living head must have a body: Whence it follows, that if the Pope be head of the Church, we must say, that the church is the body of the Pope. Now Scripture calls the Church the body of Christ, not the body of the Pope. But that question shall be agitated hereafter.

(†) See Concilium Meldense, cap. 54.

Neither do we find in Scripture any mention of Cardinals. The first Author that speaks of them, is Pope *Gregory* the I. who writ in the year 596. For the Roman Council where that word is found, is false and supposititious, as we shall shew in the proper place. But in the time of that *Gregory*, to be Cardinal Priest, was nothing else but to be Parson or Rector of a principal Parish. (†) Other Archiepiscopal towns as *Ravenna* and *Millan*, had their Cardinals as well as *Rome*. And Popes were elected, not by a Colledge of Cardinals, but by the suffrages of the people and Clergy. At this time they are Princes of the Universal Papal Church, and have the right of making *Apotheoses* or Canonizations, and to elect a Pope, which a few ages since is taken only out of their body. In a word, there is nothing in that Court but of humane invention.

As for Bishops', their Office indeed is good and holy as for the origene, but it hath degenerated. Bishops being grown Princes of the Papal Empire, to which they swear fealty and allegiance in their reception, without any mention of their duty to God, or of his Word, or of the virtues and functions which the Apostle requireth in a Bishop; they get into their places by the favor of Kings, and get letters of investiture from the Pope; A thing unknown to all Antiquity.

Likewise the Office of Priests, being good of its nature, is fallen from its purity. For whereas the charge of a faithful Priest, is to preach the Gospel, and to administer the Sacraments; now a man may be a Priest and never preach. The charge committed to him by the Bishop, while he anoints him, and puts the pix and the chalice in his hands, is to sacrifice the body of Jesus Christ for the living and the dead: Of which Priesthood the Institution is not found in the Word of God, and never a word of it in the holy Scripture.

Here then we have a great advantage over our Adversaries; for we accuse them to have overthrown the Christian Religion by forging other charges in the Church, then those which Christ hath instituted, and changing the nature of those which he instituted. But they acknowledging the Office of our Pastors to be good of its nature, accuse us only of violating the forms, and of want of succession. We set their crimes before their eyes; And they upon that, question our Commission. Our accusation is of the ground and essence of faith, and is a point necessary to salvation. Their accusation is a point of history, and of Church Discipline, which is of no necessity to salvation. Such then is the quarrel between us, as if a woman should tax another woman of adultery, and that other woman in revenge should reproach her that she hath a high nose.

Yet let us see with what forms the Church of *Rome* admitteth her Pastors, and especially what is the Popes succession; For Bishops and Priests are not held such, but in as much as the Pope approves of them: And upon that chair an infinite multitude of miters and hats are hanging.

CHAP. 36.

That the Popes have a false title, and without any Word of God, to the succession of St. Peter, in the charge of head of the Universal Church, and that such a charge is not grounded in Gods ordinance.

TO begin at the spring, If St. Peter had no successor in his Apostleship or in the charge of Head of the Universal Church, then Popes falsely boast of that succession. Upon that we insist often, but can get no answer: Let our Adversaries say if they can, where, and when God hath appointed successors to St. Peter in his Apostleship, or in his Headship over the Universal Church. For such a succession can have no place, if God hath not instituted it. But about that, there is not one word in Gods Word. Thus Aaron had successors in his charge of High Priest, because God had instituted it in his Law. But Moses being Prince, Lawgiver, and Priest, had no successor in those joynt qualities, because God had instituted none. John the Baptist had no successor. None succeeded in the Apostleship of St. John, St. Paul and the other Apostles, because Christ did not command it, and spake never a word about that. That succession then in Peters primacy is imaginary and an humane invention. We find indeed in Scripture, that the Apostles going from place to place, preaching the Gospel, would create Pastors and Presbyters in every town where they past, and those Pastors were successors of the Apostles, in the government of those particular Churches. Neither must we doubt, but that if Peter ever was at Rome, he settled Pastors there, to succeed him in the conduct of the Church of Rome. But of providing a succession for him in the Apostleship, or in the Primacy over the Universal Church, there is a deep silence in Scripture; For since the other Apostles left no successors in their Apostleship, there is no reason why St. Peter should have left any in his. And whereas St. Peter writing his second Epistle to the Universal Church, was near his death, as himself saith, in the 1. chap. and the 14. vers. one might wonder, if any successor should have been expected in his Office of Apostle, why he did not give notice unto the Church, what successor he was to leave in his room, that he might be acknowledged and obeyed after him without contradiction.

And if there had been need of a successor to St. Peter in that primacy, which they say, he had over the Universal Church, no doubt but that dignity did belong to some of the Apostles that outlived him; to St. John especially, that excellent Apostle, the disciple whom Jesus loved, who remained in the world thirty years after Peter? Is it credible, that Linus or Clement were preferred before him? the first a man, whose name hardly remains, And of the other we have but some supposititious Constitutions, and some Epistles ascribed to him, where there are orders about mice dung, and where he commendeth Plato for banishing the words *menum & tumum* out of his Commonwealth, and (a) for instituting community of goods and of women.

Or if Linus or Clemens were to be preferred before the Apostles, at least, as Matthias was chosen by the common suffrage of the Apostles, they ought to have been called, and so much respect should have been deferred unto them, as to have had their advice for that election.

And whereas in the first age after the Apostles, the Bishop of Rome was elected by the common suffrage of the people of the Church of Rome: is it credible that the people of one City, had the power to give a head to the Church of all the world, without calling the other Provinces, that had the like interest in it, and never yielded their right to the people of the Church of Rome?

Yet suppose that Christ had instituted a successor to St. Peter in that imaginary primacy; doth it follow therefore that this successor must be the Bishop of Rome? and why rather he then James Bishop of Jerusalem, who by Clement himself Bishop of Rome is called *Episcopus Episcoporum*, the Bishop of Bishops, ruling the Churches

(a) Causa
12. qu. 1.
Can. Dile-
ctissimis.
Communis
usus omnium
que sunt in
hoc mundo
esse debuit;
sed per ini-
quitate[m] ali-
us hoc dixit
esse suum &
alius istud, &
sic inter
mortales
facta est divi-
sio. Denique
quidam Grae-
corum sapien-
tissimus hac
ita sciens esse
communis
debere, ait
amicorum
communis
esse omnia.
In omnibus
autem sine
dubio sunt
conjuges.

(b) Clemens
Jacobus fratri
Domini, Epis-
copo Episco-
porum, re-
genti Hebra-
orum sanctam
Ecclesiam que
est Ierusalem,
sed et
omnes Eccle-
sias que ubique
Dei provi-
dentiâ funda-
ta sunt.

Churches of all the world? For this is the inscription of the first Epistle, which he writes unto *James*, (b) *Clement to James Brother of the Lord, Bishop of Bishops, governing the holy Church of the Hebrews, which is in Jerusalem, yea and all the Churches which are founded anywhere by the providence of God.*

If one saith, that *Peter* hath been at *Rome*, I will say also, that *Christ* who is greater then *Peter*, hath been at *Jerusalem*, and that all the Apostles have lived there many years. If one alledgeth that *Peter* is dead at *Rome*, I will say that *Christ* is dead at *Jerusalem*, and *James* the Apostle, and after him, the other *James* Brother of the Lord: And that there is no reason, why that which ought rather to be a reproach unto *Rome*, to have put to death such an excellent Apostle, should turn to that Cities honour, and to an occasion of so great a privilege. Had *Peter* suffered martyrdom in a Village, must that Village therefore be the Seat of the Monarch of the Universal Church?

And since it is believed, that *Peter* resided seven years in *Antioch*, Can any shew by good proofs, that *Peter* removing from thence, and going to *Rome*, removed the Primacy from *Antioch*, seeing that the person of *Peter* could not be in one place, and the Seat of his primacy in another? When *Peter* was in some Town of *Pontus* or *Galatia*, was the Seat of the Universal Church in that Town? *Chrysostom* was not of that opinion; For he speaks of the Church of *Antioch* in this manner, in the third Homily to the people of *Antioch*, according to the version of *Bernard of Bress*, revised and corrected by the Jesuite *Fronto Ducens*, a learned man in the Greek tongue; (c) Consider, (saith he) the greatness of the Town, and that our care at this present, is not of one soul, or two, or three, or ten, but de millibus infinitis, de totius orbis capite, of infinite thousands, of the capital of all the world: It is the City, in which Christians were first so called. And in the seventh Homily upon *Matthew*, he speaks thus to the people of *Antioch*; (d) When it is question of disputing of precedency, you raise your ambition so high, as to presume to have the presidency over all the earth, because this Town hath the first given name to Christians. Whence it appears, that the Church of *Antioch* would at that time prefer her self before the Church of *Rome*. The same Father in his Sermon upon *Ignatius*, having said that *Peter*, to whom the Lord *Jesus* gave the keys, and to whom he permitted the government of the Church, hath long sojourned in *Antioch*, he inferreth thence τις δικαίως ἀπὸς ἡ πόλις ἀντίρροπος ἡ ἡμετέρα. that our City (meaning *Antioch*) may be set in the ballance against all the world; Which expression in Greek, is as much as if he said, Our City is equal in dignity to any City in the world, and not inferior to any, and by consequent, yields not to the City of *Rome*. Which he would not have said, had he believed that *Peter* had taken the Seat of Primacy from *Antioch*, to transport it to *Rome*. *Basil* in the fiftieth Epistle, goes further, saying, that *Meletius* Patriarch of *Antioch*, (e) did preside over the whole body of the Church. For *Basil* Bishop of *Cesarea*, was under the Patriarch of *Antioch*, whom he esteemed not to be inferior to the *Romane* Bishop, as we shall see hereafter.

So we come to this issue, and here hold fast, that since the Word of God saith not that the Bishop of *Rome* must be successor of Saint *Peter*, in the Office of Head of the Universal Church, yea and gives no successor to him in his Apostleship, nor in his primacy over the Universal Church, the Pope hath but a false title to that succession which he brags of, and that it is a meer humane invention without the Word of God.

Here I call upon the consciences of all lovers of truth (for here the spring of the error is laid open) to see with what spirit of stumbling God hath smitten the Adversaries. Cardinal *Bellarmin* in his preface to the Books de Pontifice Romano, speaks thus; What thing is in question when we treat of the Primacy of the Pope? (f) To speak in few words, it is then the question of the summ [or the main substance] of Christianity. For the question is, whether the Church must subsist any

(f) Etenim
de qua re
agitur cum
de primatu Pontificis agitur? Brevissime dicam, de summa rei Christiane. Id enim queritur, Debeatne Ecclesia di-
vinitus consistere, an vero dissolvi & consideri? Quid enim aliud est querere an oporteat ab edificio fundamentum
removere? &c.

longer

longer, or be dissolved and perish? For what is it else but to ask whether the foundation must be taken away from the building? It is no wonder that he speaks so, since the Roman Church holds the Pope to be the foundation of the Church, and the sovereign and infallible judge of matters of faith, whose authority is above the Scriptures, which receive from him (belike) all the authority they have. So that by this account, the Popes authority being overthrown, down falls the Church, and the authority of Scripture, and the whole Doctrine of salvation vanissheth away.

Since then from the Popes succession in the primacy of Saint Peter, the whole Christian Religion doth depend, reason did require, that this succession should be instituted by God and grounded on his Word. But that Cardinal himself acknowledgeth, that God hath taken no order about it in his word, and that this point is not a matter of divine right, as in effect our Adversaries alledge no divine testimony, nor one single word of Scripture to prove that succession. These be the very words of that same Cardinal Jesuite, in his second book *de Pontifice*, in the twelfth chapter, (g) *We must observe* (saith he) *that although perhaps it is not a point of divine right, that the Roman Pope, as Roman Pope, be a successor of Peter; yet that belongs to the Catholick faith: For to be of the faith, and to be of divine right, are not all one. It is not a thing of divine right, that Paul had a cloak; yet it is a point of faith, that Paul had a cloak.* Then he doth ingenuously confels, That it is not found in Scripture, that the Roman Pope is successor of Peter; tacitly acknowledging, that Saint Pauls cloak is far more certain then the Popes succession, since Scripture speaks of that cloak, but of that succession not one word.

Every one that hath some liberty of Judgement, will easily acknowledge, that by this Doctrine, all Christian Religion is blown up, and that the enemy of our salvation brings us this way strait to Atheism, since they will have the authority of Scripture, and by consequent that of Gods Law, and of the Doctrine of salvation contained in the Scripture, to be grounded upon the authority of the Church, and the authority of the Church upon the Popes authority, and the Popes authority upon his succession to Saint Peters primacy; And that this succession is not of divine right, as our Adversaries confels, and is destitute of all testimonies of Gods Word. So that to come to the basis of their building, it is found that they ground the certitude of the divine oracles upon an humane tradition, and such a tradition as we have shewed to be false, and will further shew it hereafter.

(g) *Observandum est, licet forte non sit de jure divino Romanum Pontificem, ut Romanum Pontificem, Petro succedere; tamen id ad fidem Catholicam pertinere. Non enim est idem aliquid esse de fide & de jure divino. Nec enim de jure divino fuit ut Paulus haberet penulam; est tamen hoc ipsum de fide Paulum habuisse penulam. Est autem Romanum Pontificem succedere Petro non habetur expresse in Scripturis, &c.*

CHAP. 37.

Of the succession of Popes and Cardinals. By what ways the Popedom useth to be obtained. Of Schisms: And that the Popes have no lawful succession.

WHo so shall truly know the succession of the Pope and the Cardinals, and by what means both they and other Prelates enter into their charges, will wonder how persons destitute of all lawful succession, who have corrupted the charge of Pastor of the Church, and have turned it to other uses, having intruded themselves by violence and fraud, and made of their charge a merchandize, can be so urgent to ask us a reason of our calling. It seems that they look for companions of their usurpation, and think themselves less guilty if they can involve us in the same guilt.

Since the Pope claims the succession of Saint Peter, it will be to good purpose to compare them together. Peter going to preach from Town to Town, on foot, without money or provision for his journey, paying tribute unto Cesar, teaching chastity, fidelity and innocence, dispensing not unto the other Apostles the free and entire use of the keys; The Pope not preaching the Gospel, riding upon

(a) The Emperour the day that he receiveth the Crown from the Popes hand, layeth a mass of gold at the Popes feet. That ceremony is described in the first Book of the Sacred Ceremonies in the 5. Section, ch. 3. *Cesar Pontificis pedes in reverentiam Salvatoris devotè osculatur.* And a little after, *Cesar iterum genu flectens auri massam ad Pedes Pontificis offert, habetque verba ad Pontificem, gratias agens pro honore suscepto.*

mens shoulders, wearing a triple Crown sparkling with Diamonds, giving his pantable unto Kings to kiss, (a) making *Cesar* to pay tribute to him; suffering himself to be called God, and the Divine Majesty, causing himself to be adored; Canonizing Saints; fetching souls out of Purgatory; deposing Kings; giving and taking away Crowns; bestowing pardons of an hundred thousand years; putting Kingdoms and States in Interdict, and exposing them as a prey to the first Conquerour; dispensing men from keeping their vows, and the Oath made unto God, and the obedience sworn to their Sovereign Prince; dissolving marriages; exempting children from the subjection due to their Parents; setting up Brothel-houses, permitting whoredom, and forbidding marriage; robbing other Bishops of part of the use of the Keyes, reserving certain cases to himself, from which none but he can absolve; prohibiting the reading of the holy Scripture, and giving in stead of the Scripture Images, and a service in an unknown language. Whosoever will make this comparison, will easily acknowledge that the Pope cannot be a successor of *St. Peter*; but as night succeeds the day, and sickness health; and that the name and succession of *St. Peter* is set forth by the Popes slaves, rather to mock the world, then out of any opinion that the Pope is a successor of that Apostle. For is it possible that it should be the same charge, when the Functions are so contrary, seeing that *St. Peter* hath done nothing at all of all that the Pope doth, and the Pope doth nothing at all of all that *St. Peter* hath done? It is not then without cause, (and there is some mysterie in it) that the Popes renouncing the name of their Baptism when they become Popes, and taking another name, never take the name of *Peter*, as not convenient for them. Yea if any before he was Pope was named *Peter*, he leaveth that name as soon as he is Pope to take another. So did *Peter de Luna*, who having obtained the Popedom of *Avignon*, took the name of *Benedict* the XIII. but *Gregory* the XIII. his Anti-Pope called him *Peter*, to reproach him, and anger him. Before him *Peter* Bishop of *Pavia*, being created Pope in the year 984. would be called *John* the XIV.

The like comparison can be made between the ancient Bishops of *Rome*, and the new. For in the first ages of the Christian Church, the Bishops of *Rome* qualified themselves Bishops of the City of *Rome* only, and took no notice of the businesses of any Church never so little remote from *Rome*. They preached the Gospel, and were eminent only in Martyrdom in the eyes of the world, men full of zeal, and in deep poverty, as we will shew hereafter.

The Roman Bishops of the latter ages who have led Armies, given battels, fulminated Emperours, filled Christendom with blood, set up a worldly Monarchy, and heaped up wealth beyond the greatest Kings; can they be successors of those good Bishops? Certainly where the nature of the Office is altogether changed, there may be a succession in the place, but not in the Office of the ancient Bishops of *Rome*.

In that succession of place, the lower we go, the worser things do we find.

(b) Bellar. de notis Ecclesiar. c. 8. §. Addo ultimo, quod Ecclesie ille Patriarchales per longa tempora habuerint Episcopos manifestos hereticos, unde interrupta est successio veterum Pastorum. (c) *Archiep. Isegor* apud *Gregor. ad Leonem* et *colendos* totius *antiquissimos* *Salvator* *Imperat.* (d) *Hieron. in Fortuniano.* (e) *Baron. an. 537. §. 14. Leo 2. Epist. ad Constant. Imp.* (f) *Oper. 55. capitulum, c. 48. pag. 308.*

(b) Our Adversaries hold that Heresie breaketh the succession in Episcopacy: Now the Chair of the Bishop of *Rome* was stained with many Heresies, which the very Roman Church doth condemn. *Athanasius* in his Epistle to the Solitaries, saith, that (c) *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome* subscribed to Arianism; and *Hilary* in his *Fragments*, very often doth anathematize him, because he had subscribed the Confession of the Arians formed at *Syrminum*. (d) *Hierome* saith the same in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers.

Vigilius Bishop of *Rome*, hath approved by Letters the Eutychian Heresie. His whole Letters are set down by *Liberat* Deacon of *Carthage*, in the 22. chap. of his Breviary, where he openly declareth that he doth not acknowledge two Natures in Christ; for which (e) *Baronius* taunts him. (f) *Hinckmarns* saith that *Vi-*

gilians, from an Apostolical Pope is become an Heretick, and that after many horrible Oaths, when he was detained at *Constantinople*. Cardinal *du Perron* calls that *Vigilius* Simoniack, Heretick, false Pope, and a favourer of Hereticks, whilst his Anti-Pope *Sylvester* lived; but that he became a true Pope after the death of *Sylvester*, whom he cruelly put to death in Prison. Thus that *Vigilius* from a false and heretical Pope, and an Usurper, is become a holy, and a lawful one by the murder of the lawful Pope. Being propped with the power of *Belisarius* who had sold him the Popedom for ready money, he could do what he would with the Roman Clergy. But though the Clergy approved him, yet was he a Symoniack man, and a murderer of his Predecessor, and he never revoked his Heretical Epistles. Neither did his instalment hinder *Reparatus* Bishop of *Carthage*, from gathering a Council of African Bishops in the year 549. where Anathema was pronounced against that *Vigilius*, as *Victor Tunensis* relates in his Chronicle.

Honorius the I. Bishop of *Rome*, is condemned as an Heretick Monothelite by three Universal Councils, the sixth, the seventh, and the eighth. And *Leo II.* Bishop of *Rome*, successor to that *Honorius*, doth detest him as one that had defiled the Roman See by his heresie. (g) *Innocent* the I. hath taught that the participation of the Eucharist was necessary to little children to be saved. This Doctrine is condemned with Anathema by the Council of *Trent*, sess. XXI.

(g) Ep. 93.
inter Episto-
las Augusti-
ni, & Au-
gust. lib. 1.
in Julianum.

John XXIII. was condemned and deposed by the Council of *Constance*, Session XI. for divers crimes, one of the least being that he publicly and notoriously taught and maintained that the soul is mortal, and that there is neither Paradise nor Hell. There was at that time three Popes Excommunicating one another, and a Schism which lasted well nigh 50. years. And by consequent, the Popes that now reign, are Successors to Heretical and Schismatical Popes.

The Ancient Canons declare him that hath bought the Episcopacy with money, to be no lawful Bishop. The 29. Canon of the Apostles is such. (h) If any Bishop or Priest, or Deacon is entred into possession of that dignity with money, let him be deposed, both himself, and he that ordained him. And that Canon is repeated in the second Council of *Nice* in the 5. Canon. The second Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon* saith, If any Bishop giveth ordination for money, and puts to sale such a grace which is not saleable, let him be endangered to lose his own degree; and let not him that is so ordained receive any benefit by his ordination or promotion, but let him be expelled from that dignity and charge which he hath obtained with money. See (i) in the Roman Decree in the first question of the first cause many the like Canons, and many places of the Fathers. Against that rule *Vigilius* obtained the Popedom, having bought it of *Belisarius* Lieutenant to the Emperour *Justinian* in *Italy*, for two hundred marks of Gold, the which nevertheless he refused since to pay, and cosened *Belisarius*. The time in which the Harlots *Marozia* and *Theodora* reigned at *Rome*, is full of such examples. And yet at this time Kings and Princes give Pensions to Cardinals residing at *Rome*, and buy their suffrages very dear to have a Pope of their party. The factions made for that are shameful. This reproach *Bernard* makes to Pope *Eugenius* in the 4. Book *De Consideratione*; (k) Canst thou give me any in this great City that hath received thee Pope without reward, and without some hope of gain intervening? See then what their succession is; It is a meer traffick: So that a Simoniack Pope succeeds another bought Pope. But yet they will have us to presume that such a Pope who sets up the bank in Gods Temple, is presently filled with the Holy Ghost, and cannot err in the Faith.

(h) Ei r'is
omax non G-
dia xepua-
tau tas d'ias
ta utis i-
negatis i're-
tas, & d'at-
et d'at x' au-
tos x' o x' e-
estovnot.
(i) Libera-
Breviarium,
t. 22.

In the year 882. *Marin*, or *Martin*, attained to the Papal dignity, of whom *Platina* saith, that he (l) came to the Popedom by ill wayes. There was then one *Formosus* Bishop of *Porto*, who by the will of Pope *John* the IX. had been obliged by Oath never to receive Episcopacy, though it were presented unto him. But that *Marin* delivered him from that Oath by a dispensation, giving him leave to be forsworn with a good conscience. At that time the Counts of *Tusculum* had such a power at *Rome*, that they made Popes such as they listed. *Marin* being

(k) Quem
dabis mihi de
tota maxima
urbe qui te in
Papam recepe-
rit, pretio seu
spe pretii non
intervienien-
te?

(l) Malis
artibus Pon-
tificatum ac-
ceperat.

(m) *Platina, Siella, Sigonius de regno Italiae, lib. 6. Baron. An. 897. §. 2.*

dead, they promoted *Adrian* the III. to the Popedom, and after him *Stephen* the VII. (m) to whom *Formosus* succeeded, who made no difficulty to receive the Popedom against his Oath. This *Formosus* had but a short reign; he had *Bonifacius* the VII. for his successor, whom *Steven* the VIII. succeeded, who unburied the body of *Formosus*, and having arrayed him with his Priestly Robes, put him in full Synod upon the Popes Seat; then having cut his fingers where-with he gave the blessing, caused him to be dragged and cast into the *Tiber*, declaring him a perjured man, and an unlawful Pope. That *Steven* for his tyrannies was taken by the Roman people, and strangled in prison.

To that *Steven Romanus* succeeded, and to him *John* the X. both which restored *Formosus* again to his good name: For this *John* assembled a Council at *Ravenna*, where all the Acts of *Formosus*, were made valid, and his perjury approved. But *Sergius* that came after, abrogated all that, and again unburied the body of *Formosus* with a thousand reproaches. From this *Formosus* Usurper of the Popedom against his Oath, the following Popes are descended.

It is a particular stain to that age, that in it the Pope began to authorize perjury, and to dispense from Oaths. A power which the Popes have often used since: See the 6. question of the 15. Cause of the Decree, which is full of such examples. Now the Word of God forbids nothing more expressly then perjury; (n) and calls it a profanation of Gods Name, praising the man that sweareth to his own hurt, and disappointeth not. *Joshua* deceived by the *Gibeonites*, yet preserved their lives rather then violate his faith. (o) King *Saul* resolveth rather to kill his son, then to go against his Oath; For (p) an oath is that which decideth all differences among men: And whosoever brings in the licence of for-swearing, breaks all bonds of Society among men. Wherefore the Mahumetans, who are very religious in keeping their Oath, fear to contract with a Christian, because they know that the Pope dispenseth from oaths. This truly is exalting ones self above God: for who so dispenseth a servant from obeying his Master, is greater then that Master. *Bellarmino* daubeth this with a lie, yet a slight excuse, in the 21. chapter of his Book against *Barklay*; saying, that the Pope by that dispensation hinders not a man to be faithful to God, but only declareth that God will not have him in this or that matter to keep his Oath: For he will have us to believe, that the Pope knoweth Gods intent about it, and that God hath revealed it unto him. A thing which none will believe but such as will be deceived.

But to return to Pope *Formosus*, *Baronius* is angry with Pope *Steven* for condemning the memory of *Formosus*, and for determining by a Council ruled by his authority, that a Pope come to the Popedom against his Oath, was an unlawful Pope, not regarding that Pope *Marinus* had dispensed him from his Oath. *Baronius* then holding that a Pope can dispense from Oaths, and discharge a man from the promise made unto God, holds also that this *Steven* was in an error, and that he was no lawful Pope. If we granted (saith he) that *Steven* the VII. hath erred in the Faith, the authority of the holy See should not be hurt by it, because he attained to the Papal dignity by tyrannie, not by lawful Election. And yet from that Pope, and from others of that age, who had likewise got up by intrusion, the following Popes are descended; and upon that depends the succession of the Popes of this age.

(q) *Hos Romanæ Ecclesiæ possessores Tyrannos Tusciæ Principes Dominantes sine pecuniis sine armis populo cleroque Romano;*

The same *Baronius* on the year 897. saith, (q) that the Princes of *Tuscany* domineering over the people and Clergy of *Rome*, have intruded by arms and money into *St. Peters* Chair, which is the Throne of Christ, monstrous men of a most impure life, whom he acknowledgeth not for lawful Popes. Which disorder having continued at *Rome* above one hundred and fifty years; I do not see where that succession from *St. Peter* can be found; or how the thread of that succession so many times broken could ever be knit again: For in that ninth and tenth age, well nigh fifty Popes will be found who came to the See either

per quos intrusi in Cathedram Petri solium Christi sunt homines monstrosi, vitæ turpissime.

by

by the power of the Counts of *Tuscany*, or by the faction and credit of *Theodora* an infamous harlot, and of her two daughters *Marosia* and *Theodora*, who reigned at *Rome* many years, and made and unmade Popes. Of which disorder Cardinal *Bellarmin* speaks thus (r) *What was then the face of the Roman Church and how ugly, when most powerfull and most filthy whores bore the rule at Rome? at whose pleasure Popes were changed, and Bishopricks were given: and that which is the most horrible to hear, and not fit to speak, their ruffians false Popes were thrust into Peters See.* Wherefore the same Cardinal acknowledging such Popes to have been unlawfull, saith that the history mentioneth these Popes only to mark the years of so long a time: Thereby acknowledging, that for a long time the Roman Church hath been without Popes. And that one may know how great that interval is, and how long that disorder continued in the Church of *Rome*, hear *Genebrard* speaking, who was a flatterer of the Popes in the highest degree. So he speaks in the year 901. of his Chronicle. (f) *In this thing only this age was unfortunate, that for the space of well nigh a hundred and fifty years, above fifty Popes did altogether degenerate from the vertue of their ancestors, being rather Apostatick or Apostatick then Apostolick.* Sigonius makes that space of two hundred years.

In the year 912. *John* the X. before Archbishop of *Ravenna*, was chosen Pope. He bestowed the Archbishoprick of *Rhemes* upon a Child of five years old, as *Frodoard* relates in the 19. chap. of the 4. Book of his history. Whereby it is evident, that it is not of late years that the calling is corrupted in the Roman Church, and the Office shamefully prostituted. Of this *Baronius* himself is ashamed, and (r) saith, that is a prodigious thing, unheard of before in the Christian world, and never entered into mans mind, that a child who scarce was learning his letters under the rod, should be elected Archbishop of *Rhemes*. Of this Pope *John* the X. *Baronius* saith, that his entry into the Popedom was most infamous, and his end most wicked. And on the year 908. §. 7. he saith, that then God had forgotten his Church.

In the year of the Lord 931. *John* the XI. came to the Popedom. He was a bastard, son to Pope *Sergius*, by the whore *Morozia*. Upon which *Baronius* (u) saith, *The holy Church of God, that is the Roman, suffered her self to be shamefully trodden under by such a monster.*

After him came many Popes creatures of the forenamed harlots, until *John* the XII. son to a Roman Consul, who was created Pope by his fathers faction, being but eighteen years old, as *Baronius* relateth, (x) who detesteth that *John* as an execrable monster. The Emperor *Orto* called a Council where he was deposed, and *Leo* the VIII. set in his room An. 963. That Pope renewed the constitution of *Adrian* I. whereby it is ordained, that the Pope be thenceforth elected by the Emperor. But as soon as the Emperor was gone out of *Italy*, Pope *John* returned to *Rome*, expelled *Leo* and degraded him, having called a Council against him. Soon after being taken in adultery, he was so beaten that he dyed of it. *Luitprandus* in the 6. Book, chap. 11. and *Fasciculus temporum*, say, that this (y) *John* lying with some bodys wife, was so beaten by the Devil in the temples of his head, that he died of it a sevennight after. This Pope for money created children Bishops, drunk the Devils health, playing at dice he called upon *Jupiter* and *Venus*, and conferred holy Orders in a stable.

At that time there was two Popes, for the Romans would have none of those which the Emperor had elected, and created others; and those Popes killed one another. One of which called *Bonifacius*, put two Antipopes to death, keeping the Popedom by violence; for then the strongest and the craftiest carried it, and there was no other succession. And one *Crescentius* usurping a tyranny within *Rome*, would make and unmake Popes, in spite of the Emperor, who in the end took him and put him to death.

ingressus in cathedram Petri insauissimus, ita & exitus nefandissimus. (u) *Baron. an. 931. §. 1.* (x) *Baronius. an. 935. §. 4.* (y) *Fasciculus Temp. Tandem cum uxore cuiusdam se oblectans à Diabolo in tempore percussus & sine penitentia moritur. Eadem habet Luitprandus.*

(r) *Qua tunc factes Ecclesie Romanae? quam fedissima, cum Romana dominarentur potentissima & ac sordidissime inueterates, quarum arbitrio mutarentur sedes, darentur Episcopi, & quod auditu horrendum & infandum est, intruderentur in sedem Petri earum amassi pseudopontifices qui non sunt nisi ad consignanda tanta tempora in Catalogo Romanorum Pontificum scripti!*
(f) *Hoc uno hoc seculum infelix, quod per annos fere 150. Pontifices circiter 50. à virtute majorum prorsus defece-runt; Apostatice Apostaticeque potius quam Apostolice.*
(t) *An. 925. §. 9. 10. & 11. Vidisti Lector, cuius auctoritate Pontificis (si tamen ille Pontifex dicendus) id primum fuerat introductum in Ecclesiam Dei. Johann. X. Quo turpior nullus, cuius sicut*

(z) O lugenda Roma que nostris majoribus clara patrum lumina protulisti, nostris temporibus monstrosas tenebras futuris seculis famosas effudisti!

(a) Num talibus bonis num monstrosis ignominia plenius scientia divinarum rerum vacuis, innumeros sacerdotes Dei per orbem terrarum scientia & vite merito conspicuos

subiici decretum est? Doleo Ecclesiam tam sœde deturpatam esse ab iis qui eam regunt. (b) Quid hunc Reverendi Patres, in sublimi folio residentem veste purpureâ & aurea radiantem, quid hunc esse censetis? Nimirum si charitate destituitur, solaque scientia instatur, Antichristus est in folio Dei residens.

At the same time, a Council was held at *Rhemes*, *Hugh Capet* then reigning; In which Council *Arnulphus* Bishop of *Orleans* bewaileth thus the state of the Roman Church. (z) O deplorable *Rome*, which in our ancestors time hast produced Fathers that were bright lights, now thou hast spread monstrous darkness, which shall be infamous in future ages! And after he had represented the enormity of the Popes of his time, he addeth, (a) Is it a thing decreed, that so many of Gods Priests over all the world, men eminent in learning and in holy life, must be subject to such monsters of men, full of infamy, and empty of knowledge of divine things? And a little after, (b) What think ye then Reverend Fathers, this Pope to be, who sits in a high throne, glittering with scarlet and gold? If he have no charity, and is puffed up with learning only, He is the Antichrist, sitting in the throne of God. Again, in the same vein; But for the animosity of Kings dissenting, it seems that we ought rather to be judged by them then by that city [of *Rome*] which being herself venal, weighs judgements by the weight of money. He saith more, that Antichrist is neer, and that the myserie of iniquity advanceth it self. To which purpose he alledgeth the Epistle of the VI. Council of *Carthage* to *Celestinus*, where the Bishops of *Africa* warn him not to medle any more with their busineses, to receive no appeals from *Africa*, not to send his Legates thither, and not to bring the pride of the world into the Church. Of which Epistle we shall speak afterwards in the right place. It is very observable, that this *Arnulphus*, for thus dealing with the Pope, fared never the worse, neither did any censure pass upon him, but he kept in his place and in the Kings favour; For at that time *France* was but half subject unto the Papal See, and the *French* Kings feared not to be deposed by the Pope.

In the year 984. according to *Sigonius*, in the beginning of the 7. Book of the Kingdom of *Italy*, or according to *Baronius*, in the year 985. *Bonifacius*, who would be called *John* the X V. having killed two Popes, invaded the Popedom by violence and bribery. *Baronius* calleth him a robber and a thief, who had not so much as a hair of a true Pope.

In the year 998. *John* the X V I I I. (as *Platina* relates it) having won *Crescentius* a Roman Consul with money, possessed himself of the Popedom which he had bought.

In the year 999. *Gerbert* Archbishop of *Rhemes*, and since Archbishop of *Ravenna*, was promoted to the Popedom by the Emperor *Orto* the III. who had been his scholar, and was surnamed *Sylvester* the II. (c) Historians with a great consent say, that to obtain the Popedom, he made a paction with the Devil, and made him an absolute gift of his soul, to be carried away by him after his death. *Baronius* in the year 999. saith this to be a fable, but brings no proof to confute it. *Genebrard* in his Chronicle in the year 1007. speaks thus of the Popes of that time, The Popes of that time being intruded by the Emperors rather then elected, were monsters: Whereby the lawfull succession was interrupted, as sometimes under the Synagogue in the time of the *Antiochi*.

In the year of our Lord 1033. *Benedictus* the I X. son to *Albertus* Count of *Tusculum*, being but ten years old, was created Pope by the authority and faction of his father, as it is acknowledged by *Cœffeteau* (d) Bishop of *Dardanie*. Cardinal *Benno* saith, that he was addicted to Magical arts. Such was the succession of *St. Peter*: Children and Magicians were admitted to it. Cardinal *Peter Damianus* saith, (e) that after his death he appeared to a man in the shape of an asse, and said, that he was so transformed because he had lived like a beast. *Platina* saith the same, & *Fasciculus temporum*. And *Cœffeteau* in the fore-alleged place saith, that *Benedictus* the I X. was infamous for all sorts of crimes, which give probability to that vision that *Damianus* and others relate of him.

That *Benedictus* being expelled by the Romans (f) *Sylvester* the III. was put in his place, being but ten or twelve years old, and that by faction and bribery,

(c) *Martinus* in *Chronico*.

Galfridus in *Supplemento*.
Sigertus,
Platina,
Stella,
Onuphrius,
Fasciculus
temporum &
alii plures.

(d) p. 625. of his Book against the Mystery of iniquity.

(e) *Damianus*.
Epist. ad Nicol. 2. Pontificem.

(f) *Glaber* saith, that *Sylvester* was 12. years old when he was elected; but *Baronius* saith that he was but ten.

as *Platina* saith. Such was the succession in those dayes; but after nine and forty dayes *Benedictus* was restored by his faction. Whereupon *Platina* addeth, (g) *Pope* dom was then come to this, that he that prevailed, not in holiness of life and learning, but in gifts and ambition, attained to that great dignity; good men being oppressed and rejected; and would to God that our time had not retained that custom. Likewise (h) *Baronius*, An. 1024. of his Annals, speaking of *John* the XX. brother to *Benedictus* the IX. saith, that he invaded the See unworthily and tyrannically, and climbed to it by wicked wayes. And yet this is the same Pope who put *Romualdus* in the list of the Saints, and *St. Martial* in the number of the Apostles, as if a devil should carry a soul into Paradise. Where the great absurdity is, that this *St. Martial* is an imaginary Saint, who was put in heaven, and never was in earth; For he of whom *Gregorius Turonensis* speaks in his first Book, chap. 30. is above an hundred years posterior to that false *Martial*, whom they say to have been cosen to *St. Peter*, and to have been sent by him to preach in *Gauls*. Of such Popes then the Popes of our time are successors.

Never was the like confusion. That (i) *Benedictus* the IX. being made Pope, not long after sold the See to *John* Arch-priest of *Rome*; And after he had received the money, expelled the same *John*: So there were three Popes together, the one of which put the two others out by devilish wayes. And all three in the end yielded the See to *Gregory* the VI. for a great sum of money. But the Emperor *Henry* the II. turned them all out in the year 1044. and made *Synderger* Bishop of *Bamberg* Pope, who called himself *Clement* the II. Of these Popes (k) *Platina* speaks thus: *Henry* the II. coming into Italy with a great army, called a Synod, and constrained *Benedict* the IX. *Sylvester* the III. and *Gregory* the VI. three horrible monsters, to leave the Magistracy. In that time it was hard to find any in the Monasteries that could read. And (l) *Cuffeteau* upon this place saith, that in that time the chair of *St. Peter* was a shop of *Simon Magus*. From those merchants the Popes of these times are descended. At the same time in the year 1045. the Kingdom of *Poland* was made subject to the Roman See, and obliged to pay to the Pope an obol by the pole. *England* also about that time, was brought under the same yoke; and that tribute by the pole was called *Peter's* penny.

cum magno exercitu veniens, habita Synodo, cum Benedictum nonum, Sylvestrum tertium, Gregorium sextum tanquam tria terribissima monstra abdicare se magistratu coegisset. (l) Pag 628. of his Book against the Myserie of Iniquity, of *M. du Pleffis*.

Sigonius in the 8. Book of the Kingdom of *Italy* saith, that *Henry* the II. created a *German* Pope, to heal the Church of *Rome*, that had been sick 200. years. And the sickness which he means, is that which we have represented before, that the Papal See was exposed as a prey, and a price for violence, covetousness and ambition. That the Popedom was for a long time conferred by harlots that reigned at *Rome*, or by secular men, whose faction was prevalent at *Rome*, who made their children Popes by strong hand at nine or ten years of age. That the Popedom was put to sale and possessed by Necromancers, adulterers, and murderers. That ordinarily there was many Popes together that expelled one another. And that the most wicked and strongest in faction, or he that gave most would carry it. So that among all those wild doings a lawfull succession is no more to be found then fire in ice.

The Emperor thinking to have mended all disorders, came short of his hope; for *Clement* the II. whom he had made Pope, was presently after poisoned. *Platina* saith, the Historians affirm that he was poisoned by his successor *Damasus* the II. (m) For (saith the same *Platina*) that custom had got strength, that to every ambitious man it was permitted to invade *St. Peters* See. But that *Damasus* was used as he had used his predecessor, and he died three and twenty dayes after his creation.

Leo the IX. succeeded him, who playing the Captain, led an army against the *Normans*, who routed him in battel, and took him prisoner.

In the year 1057. *Viktor* the II. successor to *Leo*, died with poison, which was given

(g) *Et tunc Pontificatus devenerat, ut qui plus largitione & ambitione, non dico sanctitate vite & doctrina valeret, is tantum dignitatis gradum, bonis oppressis & rejectis, obtineret, &c.* S. 3. & 4.

(h) *Johannes Romanam occupat sedem, qui non legitime vocatus à Deo sedet, sed malis artibus ascendit ad ipsam.* Baron. An. 1027. S. 13. & S. 7.

(i) *Baronius, Platina, Fasciculus, Cuffeteau, p 625.*

(k) *Platina in Gregor. VI.*

Henricus II. in Italiam

(m) *Platina in Damaso II. Damasus II. Pontificatum per vim obtinet nullo cleri populi-que consensu. Adco enim inoleverat hic mos ut jam cuique ambitioso liceret Petri sedem invadere.*

(n) Vide
Dist. 82.
Can. Pref-
byter, &
ibid. Glof-
sam.

(o) Non
ignoras quin
cum à peni-
tentibus
terras, pos-
sessiones agro-
rum videlicet
accipimus,
juxta men-
suram mune-
ris eis de
quantitate
penitentiae
relaxamus.
Baron. an.
1055. §. 9.
& seq.

(p) Otho
Frisingenfis
Chron. lib.
6. cap. 34.
Leo Oſtien-
fis lib. 3.
Chron.
Caſſin. c. 20.
(q) Cauſa
15. q. 6.

Canone Ju-
ratos, Juratos milites Hugoni Comiti ne ipſi quandiu excommunicatus eſt ſerviant prohibeto. Coeſteteau p. 716.
& 732. & 3. & 6. Vide Helmondi Hiftoriam Sclavonicam, & Albertum Krantzius & Sigisbertum.

given him in the chalice of the Maſs. His Subdeacon did him that good Office, who thereby gave work to the Doctors that maintaine tranſubſtantiation. For they ask whether the blood of Chriſt can be poiſoned? (n) Whether accidents, that is, lines, ſhape, whiteness, redness, can be poiſoned? For if that be, accidents muſt become the ſubject of a ſubſtance. In that *Vittor's* time began the cuſtom of changing bodily penances, as faſting and pilgrimage, into pecuniary pains. *Peter Damianus* Biſhop of *Oſtia* and Cardinal, ſpeaks thus of it, (o) *Thou knoweſt, that when we receive from the penitent grounds and fields, we bate of the penance according to the proportion of that they give.* And *Baronius* freely acknowledgeth with *Damianus*, that thereby the ſtock of the Church was raiſed.

In the year 1061. two Popes were elected, the one by the Romans, who was called *Alexander* the II. the other by the Emperor *Henry* the IV. who called himſelf *Honorius* the II. Between whom there was hard ſcuſſing and much blood-ſhed; *Honorius* had the worſt of it, and was in the end conſtrained to quit the place.

(p) In the year 1084. the Emperor *Henry* the IV. having cauſed *Gregory* the VII. to be depoſed by a Synod, made *Clement* the III. Pope. *Gregory* expelled from *Rome*, dyed ſoon after out of grief at *Salernum*. But after his death, the Counteſs *Mathild* or *Maud*, who called herſelf *St. Peters* daughter, helped by the *Normans*, ſet on *Deſiderius* Abbot of Mount *Caffin* to take the Popedom; And he born up by the *Normans*, ſet upon *Clement*, and after great ſlaughter drove him out of *Rome*, and making himſelf Pope, called himſelf *Vittor* the III. *Platina* following *Martinus Polonus*, ſaith, that he was poiſoned in the chalice of the Maſs. *Urban* the II. ſucceeded; who preſently fulminated *Clement* the Anti-Pope with excommunications; but he was maintained by the Emperors power, and kept his See at *Placentia*, thundering likewise againſt *Urban*, who for his ſafety left *Rome*, and retiring into *France*, aſſembled a Council at *Clermont* in *An-vergne* againſt *Clement*, and *Clement* another at *Rome* againſt *Urban*. This is that *Urban* (q) who by an expreſs Decree forbade keeping faith to an excommunicate perſon.

Urban being dead, *Paschal* the II. ſucceeded, *Clement* the III. the Antipope ſtill living, and the Roman Church having two heads. This *Paschal* put *Clement* out of *Rome* by force of arms, and cauſed the Emperors ſon to rebel againſt his father. That great Emperor loaden with ſo many victories, was in his old age put down from the Empire by his ſon *Henry*, at the Popes inſtigation, who would not ſo much as give the ſon leave to bury his father. This was the ruine of *Clement* the III. ſo that *Paschal* remained victorious. But by the juſt Judgement of God it came to paſs, that this ſame *Henry* whom *Paschal* had ſet on againſt his father, was angry with *Paschal*, and took him priſoner.

Paschal being dead, the Romans created a Pope who called himſelf *Gelaſius* the II. But the Emperor cauſed another to be choſen, who was called *Gregory* the VIII. *Gelaſius* being dead ſhortly after, at *Vienna* in *Daulphine*; *Calixtus* the II. ſucceeded, who having found the way to lay hold on *Gregory* the VIII. clad him with raw and bloody goat-skins with the fleſh-side outwards, made him ride about upon a Camel with his face towards the tayl, and giving him the title (r) of Antichriſt, condemned him to perpetual priſon. Thus ſtrength prevailed; for one muſt always preſume (if we believe our Adverſaries) that the ſtrongest Pope was the lawfull. This is that *Calixtus* that ſent (ſ) *John de Crema* Legat into *England*, to take the Priests wives from them. But that Legat was found in a bawdy-houſe at *London*, lying with a harlot, whereby his legation was made odious.

In the year 1130. which was the time of *Bernard*, part of the Cardinals elected *Innocent* II. But a contrary faction elected *Anacletus* the II. Theſe two Popes were excommunicating one another, and continually calling one another Antichriſts, and aſſembling contrary Councils. Of theſe two Popes *Bernard* gives
this

(r) Abb. 15.
Fuggerius,
Platina,
Uſpergenſis.
(ſ) Matth.
Paris in Hen-
rico I. Ra-
nulph. in
Polyb. 02.
l. 7. c. 7.
Wſſimonaſſer.

this verdict in the hundred twenty fifth Epistle. *This Apocalyptical Beast to whom a mouth was given speaking blasphemy, and that makes war with the Saints, holds St. Peters chair like a Lion prepared for the prey; and the other Beast silently blaweth neer you, like the cub of a wild beast lurking in a close place; These Popes were fulminating one against the other; and fighting cruelly.*

Anaclet having held the See eight years, and put *Innocent* out of *Rome*, died: His death put life into the courage of *Innocent*, who soon after installed himself at *Rome*. That *Innocent* was the true Pope, there is no proof; but that he overcame, and had the better success.

The like happened in the year 1160. For Pope *Adrian* the fourth being dead, the Cardinals were divided into two factions: The one chose *Octavian*, who would be called *Victor* the IV. The other chose *Rolland*, who took the name of *Alexander* the III. *Victor* having made himself Master of *Rome*, put *Alexander* out: Whence followed many reciprocal excommunications, whereby they sent one another, and all their adherents into hell; so that there was not one in the whole Roman Church, but was excommunicated. *Victor* was confirmed by a Council held at *Pavia*: But *Alexander* fled into *France*, where he assembled a Council against *Victor*, and against the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*. Shortly after *Victor* died, whom *Paschal* the III. succeeded, and *Calixtus* succeeded *Paschal*: But *Alexander* held out, and by his practices got himself called by the people of *Rome*: Being in *Italy*, he created many enemies unto *Frederick*, and made the Towns of *Lombardy* to revolt from him: Whereby the Emperor was constrained to be a Sutor to *Alexander* for peace, whom he came to meet at *Venice*.

This Pope received the Emperor upon the stairs of the Church of *Saint Mark* at *Venice*. Whereas the Emperor was stooping to kiss the pantable of *Alexander*, the Pope trod upon his neck with his foot, saying, *Thou shalt tread upon the asp and adder, the Lion and the Dragon shalt thou trample under feet*: (t) That History is related by *Naucleus*, *Sabellicus*, *Papirius*, *Masso*, *Petrus Justinianus*, and many more. And the Jesuite *Azorius* puts this heroical act among the triumphs of the Church. The ill success of the businesses of *Frederick*, made this *Alexander* to be held a successor of *Saint Peter*. If the Emperor had prospered, *Calixtus* would have been the lawful Pope, and *Alexander* an usurper. For our Adversaries to maintain the succession of the Popes, presuppose always that the stronger of the Antipopes was the lawful Pope, although he was the most vicious, and although he had crept into the Popedom by fraud and corruption, and kept it by violence.

Observe that the Antipopes had created many Bishops, and those Bishops many Priests, and that he that remained victorious would degrade all those Bishops and Priests, as unlawfully created by an usurper. Whence it hapned, that the Sacraments and absolutions conferred by those Bishops and Priests were void, by which means many died without Baptism, and without Sacraments, and without Remission of sins.

(u) In the year 1191. *Celestin* the III. came to the Popedom, being fourscore years old. The Emperor *Henry* the VI. came to him to receive the Imperial crown from his hands. And as he bowed to kiss the Popes feet, *Celestin* with his foot smote *Henries* crown, and made it fall, to shew that he had the power to take it from him, when he lifted: *Baronius* approveth that action.

In the year 1269. died Pope *Clement* the IV. after whom, the Roman Church was two years and nine moneths without a Pope. So that the thred of that imaginary succession was long interrupted. The like vacancy of the Papal See, was after the Death of *Nicolas* the IV. which lasted two years and three moneths, because the Cardinals could not agree about the election of any. In the end, as by contempt they elected a poor silly Hermite, who would be called *Celestin* the V. that Pope would ride upon an Ass, after the example of *Jesus Christ*, and would bring all the Cardinals to do the like. One (x) Cardinal *Benedict* plaid upon his simplicity to make himself Pope; for he would make admonitions to him, saying, that he must leave the Popedom, if he would be saved; and that it was too great a burden for him, to have so many souls to answer for unto God. Then he sub-

(t) Naucleus 2 vol. Gen. 40.

Bergomensis in Supplem. Chron. ad ann. 1160.

Petrus Justinianus l. 2.

rerum Vene- tarum. Sa- bellicus, l. 7.

Decad. 5. Azor, insti- tut. moral.

part. 2. l. 5. c. 43.

Bard. in victoria na- vali, p. 140.

& 141.

(u) Ranul- phus Poly- chronico Ro- ger. Annal. Baron. an. 1191.

(x) Platina in Bonifacio VI l. 11. Paul. Emilius.

Krantzius, Du Tillier, Nicol. Gil. in the life of Philip.

Fasciculus Temp. Ranulphus Poly- chronicos l. 7. c. 39.

orned

orned a groom of *Celestins* chamber, who in the night spake in his ear out of an hole, *Celestine*, *Leave the Popedom, if thou wilt be saved*, saying, that he was an Angel of God sent to him: The good man frighted with this, resigned the Papal Dignity, which was transferred to that Cardinal *Benedict*, in the year 1294. This was that famous *Bonifacius* the VIII. Wherefore when some years after this *Boniface* was apprehended by *Sarra Colona* and *Nogaret*, sent by *Philip* the Fair King of *France*, and carried prisoner to *Rome*, for excommunicating the said King, and bestowing *France* upon the Emperor *Albert*, if he could get it, upon which disgrace *Boniface* dyed with anger and grief, the world said of him, that he entred into the Papal dignity like a Fox, reigned like a Lion, and died like a Dog. I leave it to the Readers Judgement, whether the succession of this *Boniface* into *Celestins* place, was lawful and valid.

Anno 1315.

The succession of *John XXII*. was not lawfuller: For *Clement* the V. who had transported the Papal See to *Avignon*, being dead, the Cardinals were two years, three moneths and an half about the election of a Pope; and found no other way to end their difference, then to defer unto *James d' Ossa* Bishop of *Porto*, the power of naming a Pope: But he deceived them all, and named himself. This is that Pope that taught, that the souls shall not enjoy the vision of God before the resurrection, as *Ockam* witnesseth in his work of ninety three days, *Gerson* in his Sermon of the Paslover, *Erasmus* in his Preface upon the fifth book of *Irenaeus*, *Genebrardus* in his Chronicle upon the year of the world. 5422. Wherefore also that Pope was censured by the *Sorbon*. Thus the following Popes are successors of an heretical Pope: Now our Adversaries hold, that heresie breaks the thred of succession, as we have shewed in this chapter.

The most horrible Schism that ever was in the Papacy, was that which begun in the year 1377. between *Clement* the VI. a French man, and *Urban* the V. an Italian. For that Schism continued almost fifty years with unheard of cruelties and violences, which tore *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany* in a strange manner. *Urban* was residing at *Rome*, after whom came successively *Boniface* the IX. *Innocent* VII. *Gregory* XII. But to *Clement* residing at *Avignon*, succeeded *Peter de la Luna*, called *Benedict* the XIII.

Gregory was elected Pope at *Rome* upon the oath which he took, that he would resign the Popedom whensoever he should be required, for the peace of the Church. The same his Antipope, *Benedict* the XIII. did promise: But both broke their oath; for whereas they dispensed others from keeping their oaths and vows, they could easily give dispensation to themselves. Who so will know the confusions, rapines, perjuries, treacheries, and devilish tricks of these two Antipopes, let him read *Theodoricus a Niem*, Secretary to the four Italian Popes abovenamed; who hath writ a book purposely of that matter.

To make up that rent, the Cardinals being assembled, held a Council at *Pisa*, in the year 1411. in which, *Benedict* XIII. and *Gregory* XII. were declared Hereticks, Schismaticks, and false Popes; Whence it follows, that the Popes come since, are successors of hereticks. And since these Antipopes, as well the one, as the other, were false and unlawful Popes; it follows, that the Roman Church hath been many years without a Pope, like a body without a head; and that the Popes come since, are successors of false and imaginary Popes.

Here is worse: For the same Council elected a Pope named *Alexander* the V. But *Gregory* the XII. and *Benedict* XIII. kept themselves in the Popedom by force and arms, so that instead of two Popes, there was three, each of which called himself successor of Saint *Peter*. *France*, and *Spain*, and *Scotland* acknowledged *Benedict*, and obeyed him. But now, even in *France*, the Doctors hold that both he and his Predecessor *Clement* the VI. were usurpers and unlawful, and the same they say of *Gregory* the XII. sitting at *Rome*.

That *Alexander* the V. created by the Council, lasted but little. *Balthasar Cossa* who is *John XXIII*. succeeded him, (y) having bought with money the suffrages of the Cardinals. Three Popes then were reigning together, *John XXIII*. *Gregory* XII. and *Benedict* XIII. who were exchanging excommunications among

(y) Platina
in Joh.
XXIII.
Largitione
usque Pontifex
creatur.

among themselves, breaking and disannulling all sentences, bulls, judgements and ordinations, each of the two others; So that over all the Roman Church, there was neither Priest, nor Bishop unquestionably such, and of whom it was not doubted, whether they had a lawful power to make the consecration in the Mass; Which being not made, they hold that the people worship bread, and fall into idolatry.

That *John*, the most abominable of all, as teaching openly that there was neither Paradise nor Hell, assembled a Council. *Nicolas de Clemangis*, Archdeacon of *Bayeux*, who lived among all that confusion, saith, that over that Pope in the midst of the Council, a great Owl sat shrieking hideously, and that for many Sessions. The common saying was, that the Holy Ghost descended upon his Holiness in the shape of that Dove.

In the end, the Emperor *Sigismund* with much ado prevailed so far, that a Council was called at *Constance* in the year 1416. where Pope *Gregory* the XII. being fourscore years old, resigned the Popedom, sending to that purpose his Papal Cloak or *Pall* to the Council, to shew that he desisted himself. *Benedict* would not appear, nor resign, but fled into the Ile of *Paniscola*, near the coasts of *Spain*, where he kept many years the title of Pope until death. *John* the XXIII. came to the Council; But seeing that they went about to proceed against him, he ran away: But he was overtaken, and brought back, and committed prisoner. Against him fifty four accusations were brought; Of which this was one notoriously known, That he had publicly taught, and maintained, that the souls of men died like those of beasts, and that there was neither Paradise nor Hell. For which crimes, and for getting the Popedom by bribery, he was deposed; As also *Gregory* the XII. and *Benedict* the XIII.

The Popes which came since, are not well resolved from which of these Popes they must fetch their succession; For they were all declared Hereticks and false Popes by the Councils of *Pisa* and *Constance*; And it is not yet known in our dayes, which of them was Pope in the Roman Church. Yet the succession of the following Popes sheweth, that *John* XXIII. that honest man, successor to *Alexander* the V. was held to be the lawful Pope in after ages, when the next that took the name of *Alexander* since *Alexander* the V. called himself *Alexander* the VI. Behold then the line of the chair. Behold that continued thred of Apostolical succession, which is so much boasted of. Here is that chair in which Devils are playing at in and out. With what face now can these Gentlemen question us about our succession?

In that Council of *Constance*, the three abovenamed Popes being deposed, *Martin* the V. was elected; whom the Emperor *Sigismund* worshipped, and kissed his feet in full Council. That *Martin* sent Embassadors to *Constantinople*, to whom he gave instructions, which begin thus; (2) *The most holy and most beate, who hath the heavenly Empire, who is Lord on earth, the successor of Peter, the Christ of the Lord, the Master of the Universe, the Father of Kings, the light of the World, the Sovereign Pope Martin by the divine providence, commandeth Mr. Antony Mason, &c.* Such doubtless were the titles which Saint *Peter* assumed in his instructions to his Embassadors whom he sent to the King of the *Parthians*, or to the Emperor *Nero*!

The example that followeth, is no better proof of a goodly succession. This *Martin* died in the year 1431. whom *Eugenius* the IV. succeeded, who was deposed by the Council of *Basil*, assembled by himself to reform the Church. In the place of *Eugenius*, the Council chose *Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy*, who called himself *Felix*. But *Eugenius* brought against *Basil* the Dauphin of *France*, who was since *Lewis* the eleventh, who in all things opposed his Father *Charles* the VII. and his confederates. He brought four thousand horse against *Basil*, to break the Council; which yet he could not have effected, had not the pestilence within *Basil*, forced the Fathers of the Council to separate themselves after they had condemned *Eugenius* as an Heretick, and unworthy to govern the Church.

But *Eugenius* took arms, and being held up by Princes, maintained himself

(2) These instructions were prepared at the Council of Senes, printed at Paris, an. 1612. Sanctissimus & beatissimus, qui habet celestie arbitrium, qui est Dominus in terris, Successor Petri, Christus Dominus Universi, Regum Pater, orbis lumen, &c.

himself against the Antipope *Felix*, who after he had been five years Pope, retired to *Ripaille*, a pleasant house in *Savoy*, there to lead a private life. So the Popedom remained in the hands of a man deposed by a Council, assembled by the Pope himself, where Bishops met out of all parts of the Roman Church. Note that after his deposition, he created many Cardinals and Bishops, whose office was null and illegitimate, since they were created by an usurper, who had by force maintained himself in the office of Pope after his deposition. And yet those very Cardinals created by *Eugenius* an usurper of the Popedom, are those very men that elected the successors of *Eugenius*, *Nicolas*, and *Pius* the second, from whom is descended the succession of the Popes of our time.

Peruse all histories ever since there was any Empire in the world, and see if ever there was any Monarchy that bore more marks of the wrath of God on the forehead, or any throne stained with more vices, or troubled with more confusions. It is not then without reason, that two of the less evil Popes, *Adrian* the IV. and *Marcel* the II. would say with grief, that they thought that a Pope could not be saved, as (a) *Onuphrius* an *Augustinian* Monk relateth. Which is a notable confession, and extorted by the sense of the truth.

(a) *Onuphrius*, *Panunius*, *Supplemento Platine* in *Marcello*. II. (b) See the first book of the Sacred Ceremonies, *Seff. 1.*

(b) I pass by the busie mysteries of the Conclave, when they are about the election of a Pope; How the windows of the Conclave are walled up, and all doors but one, so that no day-light gets in. How meat is thrust in for the Cardinals by an hole, their bread cut into small bits, for fear of some letter hidden; their drink in clear glass bottles: How they eat every one by himself, and are forbidden to present any thing of their meat to one another. How there are commonly three factions, the one of *France*, another of *Spain*, and the third of the Princes of *Italy*. There is no Cardinal but sells his suffrage very dear, and gets pensions out of *France* or *Spain*, whose factions are always contrary: That of *Italy* joyning with this or that, carrieth it by the plurality. There are employed all the arts possible to cross and traverse the suffrages one of another. In a word, all things there are done, as the question being not to choose a Pastor for the Church, but a Prince whose inclinations further or hinder the affairs of other Princes, and are a casting weight in the balance. He that hath the two thirds of the suffrages, is chosen Pope, who is presently divested of his clothes, and invested with Pontifical robes, and crowned with the tripple crown; he is carried up, and laid upon the Altar, which is Gods place, and then every one of the Cardinals doth him the homage of adoration. In that election none enquires, whether he that is in election, be fit to teach, nor whether his Doctrine be pure, or his life holy? So much is presupposed without difficulty.

To all these, add the eleventh Canon of the VII. Session of the Council of *Trent*. If any say, that in the Ministers, when they do, and confer the Sacraments, the intention is not requisite to do at least that which the Church doth, Let him be Anathema. By that rule, if a Bishop who is come to confer the sacred Orders, hath no intention to confer them, or to confer any true Priesthood, or to consecrate a true Bishop (for it is that which the Church that the Council speaks of, pretends to do) the order conferred is null, and the Sacrament of the Orders is null. The like of the Sacrament of Baptism, which is null, if he that baptizeth, hath no intention to confer a true Baptism. That intention is presumed by conjecture; for none can have a certain knowledge of the thought and intention of a man but God alone. Now who knows not that there are many Atheists, and many profane persons that laugh in their heart at that they do? It may then happen, that a Pope was baptized by one that had no intention to baptize him really; and it is impossible for a Pope to be certain of the intention of him that baptized him. And if for want of intention, the Baptism which he received, is null, it followeth, that he is incapable to receive the sacred Orders, through which he must of necessity pass, before he can exercise the Office of Pope.

No more can the Pope be assured of the intention of him that conferred Orders upon him. Whence it follows, that the Pope knows not whether the Orders which he hath received, be valid or invalid: He is a conjectural Pope, who knows

knows not whether he be Pope; or whether he be so much as baptized.

Yea it is possible; that he that conferred orders unto the Pope, received them from another that had no intention to confer them. And that other from another again that had not that intention, or was baptized by another, that had no intention to baptize him. So that by remounting upwards, the uncertainty is still doubled, and multiplied; even to infinity.

CHAP. 38.

Of the wayes whereby Cardinals and other Prelates come to their Charges.

AS defluxions will flow from the head upon the body, so the corruption and Simony which hath infected the Papal See is fallen from the Popes to the whole body of the Clergy. Every one knoweth what traffick is made of Benefices; how Bishopricks and Abbeyes are swapt, giving money to boot, to make even bargains; and what solicitations are made in the Courts of Kings, and in that of Rome, to come by them. We have seen already in the precedent chapter; how John the X. gave the Archbishoprick of Rhemes to a child of five years of age, which Baroni^{us} condemneth, although he knew that it is an ordinary thing in these days. Younger Brothers of great houses have Benefices and Bishopricks bestowed upon them in their Cradle. Hardly are they come out of the womb when they enter into the Episcopal Dignity.

I have known Bishops that could not read their Mass. An unlettered Prince is possessor of an Archbishoprick, in which he placeth a Coadjutor, who contents himself with the third or fourth part of the revenue; the rest is for the Prince that hath obtained the gift of the same.

The famous Thuanus, in the sixth Book of his history, in the year 1550. relates an action of Jules the III. when he was newly made Pope, which is worthy of memory. (a) *The custom (saith he) being that the new Pope giveth his Cardinals Hat to whom he pleaseth, he bestowed his upon a youth called Innocent; who because his Office in the house was to keep an Ape, retained the name of Ape after he had attained his Cardinals dignity; and to him the Pope gave also his own surname and coat of arms. Whereupon when the Cardinals expostulated with him for raising an unworthy person to such a high Dignity, he answered them pleasantly enough, And you, what perfection did ye find in me to make me Head of the Christian Common-wealth? With that answer he stopt their mouth.*

(a) Cum antiqua consuetudinis sit ut novus Pontifex galerum cui velit suum largiatur, eum juveni cuidam cui Innocentio nomen, donavit, quique quod in familia simie curam gereret, Simie etiam post adeptam dignitatem nomen retinuit, &c.

Every one knoweth that the Embassie of M. du Perron to Clement the VIII. to desire him to receive King Henry the IV. into the bosom of the Church, served in part to promote him to the Cardinalship. That recompense he had for prostituting the dignity of the King his Master, having cast himself at the Popes feet, and received by the Penitencer, blows with a wand both upon the back and the belly, as representing the Kings person, upon whom the Pope inflicted penance, admitting his Majesty to receive it by proxy. But the chief, yea the only cause that moved the Pope to receive the King, was that the party of the League was going to wrack in France, and that the Towns returned to the Kings obedience. Nevertheless all past as if Clement had been moved by divine Inspiration to receive the King. But unto M. du Perron, to recompense him for blemishing the dignity of the King his Master with such a base submission, the Pope gave some bags full of Medals, little Crosses, and blessed Beads, to scatter them among the people, to which Beads and Crosses he gave that virtue, that whosoever should kiss them, and say certain Prayers, should get an hundred years of pardon. Which liberality brought to the King and to the Kingdom of France a great measure of Consolation. I remember that my self at Fontainebleau did

(b) That Lady was Catherine de Bourbon, Dutchess of Bar, sister to Henry the IV. of France. Of that Princess this Author was Chaplain,

and God made use of him to keep her to the last breath in the Protestant profession, opposing continually this *du Perron*, who in her life, and in her death, was her perpetual tempter to make her turn Papist. (c) Here the Author doth tax *du Perron*, who was known to be pandar to Henry the IV. Whereupon a Pasquil went about when *du Perron* was made Cardinal, that if *du Perron* was made Cardinal for his good services, there was hope that *La Varenne* (the Kings chief Pandar) should once be made Pope.

(d) *Liber. 1. Sac. Cere- mon. sect. 10. cap. 8.*

See the first Book of Sacred Ceremonies, *sect. 8.*

did upbraid *M. du Perron* with this, in the presence of the late Kings (b) sister, he being then Bishop of *Eureux*. His answer was, that the Pope did like Jesus Christ, who sent those he healed to the Pool of *Sileam*, although he could have healed them without that.

If I would stir this sink further, I could bring forth persons who have got the Cardinals Hat for a recompense (c) of unchast and dishonest services done to great men. The very form used to get that dignity, which is to imploy the favour of Kings to obtain it for persons incapable, is an accusation. That Hat the Pope sends packt up. Such Hats doubtless were sent by Saint *Peter* to those that he would advance to honor!

(d) At *Rome* in the Church of Saint *Agnes*, some white Lambs are kept, with whose wooll white cloth is made, and with that cloth little white cloaks, which are laid over St. *Peters* Tomb. None can exercise an Archbishops function, but he must first buy one of these cloaks, and there is such a cloak for which forty or fifty thousand Ducats must be payed. By that gate they enter into the Archiepiscopal Dignity: Behold the Vocation, behold the Succession that is so much cryed up. Note, that if an Archbishop die one day after he hath paid for that Cloak, his Successor must buy another; so that mortality among Prelates is exceedingly lucrative to his Holiness.

This also is to be observed of the charge of Cardinals, that as soon as a Bishop is made Cardinal, he is presently discharged of the care of that Church which was committed to him: For he ceaseth to be Pastor of a flock, and becomes a Prince of the Papal Hierarchy, and capable to receive Benefices of all sorts. After that, with what conscience can these Gentlemen open their mouthes to speak of their Vocation?

What shall I say of the titular and imaginary Bishops? to whom a Church is assigned, which is not in being, and a Flock forged in the air. The Pope will create a Bishop of *Dardania*, or *Damascus*, or *Alepo*, where there are no Christians. As if the Ministers of *Amsterdam*, or *Sedan*, would create a Minister of *Fez*, or *Cairo*, or *Maroco*. But these Bishops take a long term, to think whether they ought to visit their Churches; and they have need of time to learn to speak Arabick or Turk; then it is not good to venture overmuch. Wherefore they make no haste to go. In the interim that title gets them a place, and the priviledge to enjoy some Benefices, while they look for a better Bishoprick. Thus a Cardinal living in *France*, is Priest of a Parish in *Rome*, which Parish he hath never seen, and makes no account ever to see it.

CHAP. 39.

Of the perpetual Duration, which M. du Perron calleth Indefeetibility.

Perpetual duration is also put among the marks of the true Church. Which mark being admitted, serveth for a proof that the Roman Church is not the true Church, since her Doctrine is new, and was not in the Apostles time.

Between Duration and Antiquity there is this difference, that antiquity regards only the time past, but duration regards also the time to come. Which is enough to prove, that although the true Church must alwayes endure, yet that duration is not a mark to know her by: For the marks of a thing are things actual and

and present. But perpetual duration is not yet, but is expected and hoped for: For that which is not yet, cannot be an evidence of a thing that is. Our hopes and desires cannot be marks of the true Church: For to that hope one may oppose a contrary hope, and say that the Roman Church is not the true Church, because we hope that she shall not last alwayes, but shall be cut off, of which she is threatened by St. Paul, *Rom. 11. 22.*

Since then one cannot certainly pronounce of any particular Church, and by consequent not of the Roman, that she shall endure unto the end, because no particular Church hath any promise of God of a perpetual duration, and that one shall never be able to affirm with certainty, that the Roman or the Greek Church are of perpetual duration, but when the world is at an end; therefore that dispute about the perpetual duration must be put off till the day of judgement.

As for that duration which is already past, it cannot be a proper mark of the true Church, since it is common also unto Paganism and Judaism, which have been in the world before Christianity. The Greek and Syrian Churches continue still, and have begun before the Roman. And the Roman Church which is now questioning the Churches which she hath endeavoured to extermine about their duration, could not yet give an account of hers, nor shew that she hath been in the Apostles time, nor in five hundred years after Christ produce one man that profess a Religion in any wise neer that which she now professeth.

That I may not stand long upon an unnecessary thing, we are agreed that the Church must last alwayes, and that there will be alwayes some faithful Christians in the world. But that which is properly attributed to the Church, is not alwayes a mark to know the Church by. And it followeth not that a thing, which lasteth alwayes, must alwayes be visible to every one. But the marks of the Church must be sensible and perceived by every one.

CHAP. 40.

Of the multitude and great number; and that the multitude is not a mark of the true Church.

AMong the marks of the true Church, our Adversaries, who boast of their number, put *multitude*. As good as saying, that to find the Church where we may be saved, we must get a Cord to measure the Countrey, or have Counters to number the persons. This is very strange, that the true Church should be discerned by that mark wherein Pagans go beyond Christians; and that this should be given for a mark of the true Church, which by the judgement of Scripture is rather a mark of Error. Before the flood, the family of Noah was very small in comparison of all mankind. What was the family of Abraham compared to the rest of the world? or the people of Israel in comparison of the Empires of Babylon and Persia? And of that very people of Israel ten Tribes revolted. And in the two that remained, many times the Idolaters and profane were the greatest number. Against one Prophet of God, Micaiah, four hundred false Prophets rise, *1 King. 22. 6.* And after the death of the Lord, the Church consisted in very few Disciples. *Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil,* saith our God, *Exod. 23. 2.* In the 10. of *Luke*, the Lord Jesus calls his Church a *little flock*. And *Matth. 7.* he commands us to *take the narrow way which leadeth unto life*, and saith, *that few there be that find it*; and that the *broad way leads unto perdition*. And *Rev. 13.* the Spirit of God foretells a time, when *all the earth shall run after the Beast*. Likewise *Luk. 18. 8.* the Son of God speaking of the time next before his coming, saith, *When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the Earth?* Where shall at that time

alledged them upon all occasions. But *Austin* must not be believed against himself, and against the other Fathers, much less against the Word of God, and against experience. Himself, chap. 19. of his Book *de catechizandis rudibus*, speaks thus, (k) *We ought not to be moved that many consent with the devil, and few follow the Lord; for wheat also is very smal in comparison of the straw.* And in the 6. Sermon upon the words of the Lord in St. *Matthew*, (l) *The Church of Jesus Christ suffereth that which himself suffered in the crowd of the people; She is oppressed by the crowd; but few persons touch her.* Where by those that touch the Church, he understands the faithfull. See *Austin* upon the 128. *Psal.* where he saith, that the Church in old time was in *Abel* only, another time in *Enoch* only, and after *Enoch* in the only family of *Noah*; for in all these texts he disputeth not against the Donatists. Note also that those Churches, the multitude whereof *Austin* opposeth unto the Donatists, are at this time contrary to the Roman Church.

(k) *Neque hoc nos move-
re debet quia
multi diabolo
consentunt,
& pauci Do-
minum se-
quuntur;
quia & fru-
mentum in
comparati-
one palearum
valde pauci-
orem habet
numerus.*

(l) *Quod tunc corpus ejus in turba prebatur, hoc patitur Ecclesia ejus; à turbis premitur, à paucis tangitur.*

CHAP. 41.

Examination of the proofs which M. du Perron brings to prove that the true Church had alwayes the greatest number.

THE Cardinal in the 88. chap. of his first Book against the King, brings many texts of Scripture which promise unto the Church a great confluence of nations. As that which is said to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 22. *In thy seed shall all nations be blessed; and thy seed shall be like the stars of Heaven, and like the sand of the Sea.* And in the 2. chap. of *Haggai*, v. 9. *The glory of this latter house shall be greater then of the former.* And *Cant.* 8. 8. *We have a little sister, and she hath no breasts;* And *Isa.* 54. 1. *Sing O barren, for more are the children of the desolate then the children of the married wife.*

These texts are Prophecies of the vocation of the Gentiles, by the preaching of the Gospel, and were fulfilled in the time of the Apostles and of their Disciples, and in the ages in which the Gospel was much propagated, and the Church much increased; whose multitude hath much exceeded that of the Church of *Israel*, which was inclosed in one only nation; but the Christian Church receiveth all nations; and must, not all at one time, but successively, be carried over all the world. So is understood the text of *Psal.* 2. *I shall give thee the nations for thine inheritance, and for thy possession the uttermost parts of the earth.* And this of *Psal.* 72. *He shall have Dominion from Sea to Sea.* And that of *Acts* 1. *And you shall be witnesses unto me unto the utmost parts of the earth.* Which texts are abused, if one will prove by them that the Church must alwayes extend over all the world, or fill the whole earth all at one time. That never was and never shall be, but she must go successively over all the world, and pass from one people to another. Which succession may as well be done, the Church being small as great; as one may carry through the house as well a little candle as a great one. St. *Paul* doth plainly intimate this, *Rom.* 10. 18. where he applieth to the preaching of the Apostles, that which is said of the Sun and Stars, *Psal.* 19. *Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world;* for the Sun and Stars give not their light to the earth all at once, but successively, to one part after the other.

With the like abuse these texts are employed to prove that at all times the true Church must be the most populous; for there is not one of all these texts that speak of a perpetual multitude and eminence. They are Prophecies that peculiarly regard the calling of the Gentiles in the time of the Apostles and their Disciples, in which there was a very great confluence of people converted to the faith.

faith. This clearly appeareth in the text of *Iſa.* 2. where God promiſeth, that many people ſhall go and ſay, Come ye and let us go to the mountain of the Lord; for preſently after that promiſe *Iſaiah* addeth, For out of Zion ſhall go forth the Law, and the Word of the Lord from Jeruſalem; where it is evident, that he ſpeaks of a time when the Word of God was to be carried among the nations from Jeruſalem and Judea; which hapned not but in the Apoſtles time.

CHAP. 42.

Of Miracles.

Miracles are no fitter marks for the true Church, and that for four reaſons. 1. Becauſe falſe Churches make miracles alſo, and miracles are found among Pagans and Infidels. 2. Becauſe miracles are neither neceſſary nor perpetual in the Church. 3. Becauſe they may be falſe, and give fair play for Satans impoſtures. 4. And laſtly, becauſe miracles are often hurtful, and it is ſometimes expedient that there be none.

I. That miracles are not proper to the true Church, and that falſe Doctors will make ſome, Jeſus Chriſt teacheth it, *Matth.* 24. *Falſe Chriſts and falſe Prophets ſhall riſe, making ſigns and miracles.* And chap. 7. v. 22. *In that day many ſhall ſay unto me Lord, Lord, have we not prophecyed in thy name? have we not caſt out Devils in thy name?* And the Apoſtle, *2 Theſſ.* 2. foretels that the ſon of perdition will come, with all power and ſigns, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs, and that God will give them *εἰς τὴν ἀπάτην*, the power of deſuſion. The Jews exorcists did miracles, and expelled the unclean ſpirits; of which we have an example in a Jew named *Eleazar*, that healed a man poſſeſt of a Devil in the preſence of *Vepſatian*, as *Joſephus* relates it in the 8. Book of the Antiquities, chap. 2. *Philoſtratus* relates the miracles of *Apollonius Thyaneus*; and at this time yet miracles are done at *Mahomet's* ſepulchre. See *Suetonius* in the life of *Vepſatian*, chap. 7. *Porphyrius* a ſworn enemy of Jeſus Chriſt, oppoſed to the Chriſtians the miracles which the Pagans did, as may be ſeen in *Eufebius*, in the fourth Book of Evangelical preparation: (a) *They make a great noiſe of their predictions, and oracles, and cures and healing of all kinds of diſeaſes.* (b) The example of *Aëtius Navinus Augur* is famous, who in the preſence of King *Tarquinius Priſcus*, cut a whet-ſtone in two with a razor.

(a) Διὰ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτοῖς μαντικὰν καὶ χηρῶν, &c. ἐκπελαί τιν' αἰκισίαν παρτοῖον κακῶν.

(b) Florus. Cicero de Divinatione.

(c) Adjacent prætereā multa de auctoritate cujusque doctrinæ heretici, illos maxime doctrinæ suæ fidem confirmasse, mortuos suscitasse, debiles refirmasse, &c.

(d) Christus temerariam signorum & virtutum fidem ostendit ut etiam inter pseudos-Christos facillimam. (e) Observandum est quod virtutes dicuntur operantes hi qui non habent Evangelii veritatem. (f) Nunc autem signorum operatio omnino levata est, magis autem apud eos invenitur qui falsi sunt Christiani, fieri. (g) Quaedam miracula etiam sceleratos homines facere, qualia sancti facere non possunt, nec tamen potiore loco apud Deum esse arbitrandi sunt.

wicked

wicked men do miracles, which the Saints cannot do. Himself against the letters of Petilianus, lib. 2. cap. 55. (h) For as for expelling Devils, and the power of miracles, because many do not these things, and yet belong to the kingdom of God, and that many do them which belong not unto that kingdom, neither your side, nor ours ought to boast of them. That especially is remarkable, which we learn of the nine and thirty four Canons of the Council of Laodicea, and of Balsamon upon the thirty fourth Canon of that Council, that the Orthodox would come to the Sepulchres of the Hereticks, and there be healed. Whence it appeareth, that Hereticks did true miracles, since healing followed. And Scripture witnesseth that the Magicians by their enchantments, did the same miracles as Moses.

(h) Nam de
exclusionem
demonum &
de potentia
miraculorum,
quoniam ple-
rique talia
non faciunt,
& tamen ad
regnum Dei
pertinent,
plerique au-
tem faciunt
& non perti-
nent, nec nostri
nec vestri de-
bent gloriari.

II. Secondly, I say that miracles are neither necessary nor perpetual in the Church. We find not that before God appeared to Moses, any miracle was done in the Church of Israel, during their abode in Egypt. And the Church of the Jews hath been many years without miracles, since their return from their captivity of Babylon. And when in the time of King Josiah, the Book of the Law was found and publisht, God made no miracle to authorize that Law, because the miracles done in the first publication of the Law in the wilderness, were sufficient to give it authority with posterity. Likewise the miracles of Jesus Christ and his Apostles done in the beginning of the publishing of the Gospel, serve yet this day to confirm the same Doctrine, and no need of new miracles to confirm it. Many Prophets extraordinarily sent; as Hosea, Amos, Zechariah, did no miracles. It cannot be said, that their very prophecy was a miracle; for here by miracles, we understand sensible events, contrary to nature, which serve to authorize a Doctrine. Besides, Prophecies are not acknowledged to be divine and miraculous, but after the fulfilling, either wholly or in part; and by consequent, the inspiration of Prophecy cannot, before the fulfilling, be taken for a miracle. To this purpose, Gregory the I. in the twenty ninth Homily upon the Gospel saith very well, *My brethren, do you forbear believing, because you do no miracles? But these things were necessary in the beginnings of the Church, that the multitude might grow in faith.* It then any bring in a new Doctrine, it becometh him to do miracles. But we of whom miracles are demanded, bring no new Doctrine.

III. Thirdly, miracles are dubious things, and imposture about them is frequent. Especially about the miracles of the Roman Church, which in our time are reduced to ejecting of Devils, where Satan hath fair play to deceive. But to raise a man from the dead, or to give sight to a man born blind, they are things which are not done in the Roman Church. The Legends of Saints are stuffed with miraculous tales, grossly coined: The Courts of Parliament have given many sentences against false miracles, and have often punisht such impostures. Let these Gentlemen that cry up their miracles, send some miraculous punishment upon those that laugh at their miracles. But of that no example was yet seen; So gently they are pleased to deal with us. But indeed the Devil hath no power over Gods children.

IV. Lastly, miracles are many times hurtful: For he that believeth not unless he see miracles, doth thereby, though against his mind, invite Satan to play some juggling trick, and exposeth himself to the wiles and craft of the Devil.

For these causes, *Deut. 13.* God commandeth his people to judge, not of the doctrine by the miracles, but of the miracles by the Doctrine. And that if one bring forth a dream or a miracle, and say together, *Let us go and serve strange Gods;* let such a Prophet be stoned to death notwithstanding his miracles.

As for the miracles which in the first ages were done in the Christian Church, God made use of them to make Pagans turn Christians. But we read not that ever any miracle was done to confirm the adoration of images, or Purgatory, or Transubstantiation; for the miracles which are alledged to that purpose, are later then the invention of these Doctrines, or are related by Authors manifestly fabulous, and so prone to be false and forged. I will shut up this discourse with a

Prosper libro Sententiarum ex Augustino, Sent. XII. *Imitatores Magistri debent esse Discipuli, non in faciendis miraculis quæ nemo exigit, sed in custodienda humilitate & patientia ad quæ Dominus nos suo invitat exemplo.*

sentence of *Prosper*, drawn from *Saint Austin*. *The Disciples ought to be imitators of Christ, not by doing miracles, which no body requires of them; but by keeping humility and patience, to which the Lord hath invited us by his example.*

CHAP. 43.

of Union in the visible Church.

UNion and concord are desirable things, so it be an union in things good and holy; for otherwise union is but a conspiracy. Thus the Apostle *Eph. 4. 15.* commands us to follow truth with charity, rejecting that charity which maintaineth untruth. The Devils themselves have an union among them. And without a strict union, a company of thieves cannot subsist. When then our Adversaries give us union for a mark of the true Church, we ask Whether they understand union in the true Doctrine, or in the false? If they mean (as it is to be supposed) union in the true Faith and Doctrine, it follows, that before we can know whether union in a Church be good and holy, that Church must be instructed before in the true Faith and Religion. It appears then, that union cannot be a mark of the true Church, since to judge of that union, there is need of another mark.

Neither can that be an infallible mark of the true Church, which is not perpetual with the true Church, and may not less or more consist with the societies of Hereticks and Infidels. For the ancient Christian Church hath been often troubled with dissensions; and before the Schism and separation between the Greek and the Roman Church, there was always something to mend, and some quarrel to appease: And the Roman Church which bears her self for the only true Church, hath many times been troubled with Schisms: And at this day, yet they are not agreed in the Roman Church, whether the Pope be above the Council, or the Council above the Pope. Now there can hardly be a greater and more important quarrel in a State, then to dispute to whom the Sovereignty doth belong.

Besides, union in the same religion is found also among Hereticks, and therefore cannot be an infallible mark of the true Church. In the whole Empire of the Turk, which is the greatest of the world, there is a very great agreement about Religion. The Jews also keep among them an admirable union. Neither is there any, though never so small heretical Church, but is united in her error. For it is not the great number that makes the union to be good or evil, but the agreement to do well or ill, or to believe well or ill.

That union is inculcated by our Adversaries to upbraid us, that we agree not with the Lutherans and Anabaptists. But herein the Roman Church upbraids us with nothing, but what she may be upbraided with: For she also disagreeeth with the Lutherans and Anabaptists. The reproaches of the Roman Church to us upon that Subject, are of no force, since the Pagans and Jews make the same reproach to the Roman Church with the like force, and to all Christians in general. For thence they gather, that Christian Religion is false, since Christians are at odds about their Religion, and the Greek Church hath a Religion, the Roman Church another, the Ethiopian Church another, &c.

Let our union then be with our Lord Jesus Christ, and through Jesus Christ with God, and with them that serve him, according to his Word. For in vain do we seek union with men, while we are in discord with God. Now the way to be united with God, is to follow his Word, and to conform our selves unto his Will; By consequent that we may enter into that union, we must be instructed in his Word: For it is an open contradiction to reason, and a wilful blindness, to think

think to agree upon an union, and not know about what we must be united, and to press concord upon the people, and at the same time to hide the truth from them, without which, all agreement is a conspiracy against God.

CHAP. 44.

Whether the Universal Church must be called Roman.

Although the Roman Church be a particular Church, yet she will be called Universal. Nowadayes to be a true Christian, and to be Roman, are taken for one and the same thing; and the same man is called a Catholick Roman, that is, an Universal Particular. But the Word of God doth not oblige us to be Romans, or to be of the Roman Church or Religion to be saved: Nay the Apostle *Rom. 11. 22.* threatens the *Romans*, that *they shall be cut off*, that is, that they shall fall off from Gods Covenant. For although that threatening be spoken generally to the Gentiles; grafted in the place of the Jews, yet it is not without cause, that it is particularly addrest by the Spirit of God to the Roman Church. Saint *Paul* indeed commendeth the faith of the *Romans*, that is, of the Christians of the City of *Rome*; but he giveth the like praise to the faith of the *Thessalonians*, saying, that *from them sounded out the Word of the Lord*, and that in every place, their faith to Godward was spread abroad. And yet he obligeth not thereby all Christians to call themselves *Thessalonians*, or belonging to the Church of *Thessalonica*. It is very considerable, that Saint *Paul* having written such a long Letter to the Roman Church, did not think of exhorting them to their duty, by the consideration of the dignity of their Church, and of the superiority of the Church of *Rome*. It is certain, that Christian Religion was planted and spread over *Judea*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Natolia*, *Grecia*, &c. many years before there were Christians at *Rome*. It would be a great error to think, that at that time the Universal Church ought to have been called Roman. Neither do we find, that in the first ages, the Christians of *Syria*, or *Persia*, or *Armenia*, or *Egypt*, did stile themselves Romans, or of the Roman Religion. That Title is grown with the Papal domination, and is now one of the marks of his Empire. It is very probable, that this word *Roman*, is that mark of which it is spoken, *Rev. 13. 16, 17.*

Cardinal *Baronius* in his Annals, on the year 456. 10. brings some Texts of the Antients, to prove that in old time to be a Roman, and to be a Catholick, was all one. He alledgeth *Theodosius* the II. speaking thus in an Epistle to *Acacius*, (a) *Shew us by an evident proof, that you are approved Priests of the Roman Religion.* That passage is mistaken by that Cardinal; for *Theodosius* by the Roman Religion, understands not that of the Church or the Pope of *Rome*, but the Religion kept in the Roman Empire; as if one now called the Turkish Religion that which is established in the Turkish Empire.

Baronius brings another authority of *Victor Uticensis*, in the first book of the persecution of the *Vandals*, where an *Arian* dissuadeth King *Theodoricus* from putting an Orthodox man to death. For (saith he) *if thou killest him with the sword, the Romans will begin to make a Martyr of him.* But whosoever hath read *Victor*, knoweth that under the reign of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, there was three sorts of persons; The *Vandals* which were *Arians*; The *Moors* which were Pagans; And the Romans which were Orthodox, who having been subject to the Roman Empire, were oppressed by the victorious *Vandals*, and were called Romans, because they had been conquered by the *Vandals* from the Roman Empire. The like to this may be seen in (b) *Gregorius Turonensis*, that the *Gauls* subdued by the *Franks* and *Burgundians*, and conquered from the Roman Empire, were called Romans, not with any regard to the Roman Religion, but in relation to the Roman Empire.

1 Thes. 1. 8.

(a) Actis Concilii Ephesini, Vos probatos Romanæ religionis Sacerdotes manifesto argumento declarate.

(b) Gregor. Hist. l. 2. c. 27. Syagrius Romanorum Rex Ægidii filius, ad civitatem Suesionis sedem habuit, &c. l. 2. c. 33.

Gundobaldus Burgundionibus legem mitiores instituit ne Romanos opprimerent.

Ec appendice c. 78. Harcardus ex genere Francorum, Raulinus ex genere Romano, Trilbalus Patricius ex genere Burgundionum.

CHAP. 45.

Of Antiquity, whether it be a mark of the true Church.

VHen we speak of the Antiquity of the Church, we mean not the antiquity of the Temples; for in an old building one may teach a new Doctrine. Nor the antiquity of the Chairs; for they that sit in them may change the Doctrine of their Predecessors; but the antiquity of the Doctrine. Which antiquity is good, and of great authority if it be the first, before which nothing is more antient: For all that which is instituted since Christ and his Apostles, is new; and the multitude of years cannot authorize a false Doctrine. We judge not of the true Church by the years, but by the rules. Jesus Christ is not the Custom, but the Truth. Yea, as unchast women grow worfe by age; the more an Error is old, the more it is pernicious, because it is deeper rooted. If time and multitude of years could make an evil Doctrine to become good, we would have the abettors of that opinion to set us down precisely, how many years are requisite to make that alteration, and to give authority to a false Doctrine. As then in the question of divorce, without cause of adultery, granted by *Moses* to the Israelites because of the hardness of their heart, Jesus Christ brings them back to the source, and to the first antiquity, saying, *In the beginning it was not so*, Matth. 19. We also, in all Controversies about the Faith, let us endeavour to bring mens minds back to the first institution, and to the doctrine of the antient of days, and of our Lord Jesus, who correcteth the Errors of the Antient by his authority, saying, Matth. 5. *It hath been said by them of old time, &c. But I say unto you, &c.* For the Truth of God is Eternal, and there is no prescription against his authority. If in things civil and mutable one cannot prescribe against the right of Kings, much less against the Law of the King of Kings; and in things spiritual and eternal. A time was when these Doctors which are called antient were new. And before that those that are called Fathers did write, Scripture had already a full authority.

The Roman Church in this point is intolerable: For she boasteth of Antiquity, but will not suffer the truth of her Doctrine to be examined, though it be the only way to discern true Antiquity. She will have us to judge of the Truth by antiquity, whereas we ought to judge of antiquity by the Truth, and by the conformity to the Word of God, which is the first antiquity. She boasteth to be antient, and yet every age brings additions or alterations to her Doctrine; so that the form of the old building is no more seen, and yet that building keeps the same Name. She boasteth of antiquity, and yet brings new things every day. She makes a shew of some old patched clothes, to make the world believe that she comes from far, as the Gibeonites did: But when one comes to examine her Doctrine by pieces, one finds that she comes not from very far, and that almost all is new. And indeed there was need of great alteration to make a Bishop of the City of *Rome* to become the Monarch of the Universal Church, and to make the Doctrine of the Gospel to serve for building an earthly Kingdom. We are ready to undergo any punishment, if it be found that the antient Church many ages after the Apostles excluded the people from the Cup, or kept them from reading the holy Scripture; or made pictures of the Trinity; or yielded Veneration to the Images of the Saints; or called the Virgin *Mary* the Queen of Heaven; or made mention of the Roman Indulgences; or of the power of the Pope to depose Kings, and fetch souls out of Purgatory, &c. In a word, as it is now another Doctrine, so it is another Church, because it is another Religion. And we have proved before by a multitude of very expresse passages, that the Roman Church boasteth that she hath power to add to the Symbole, and dispense against the Apostle, and to alter that which God hath commanded in his Word. *M. du Perron* hath bestowed a Chapter purposely upon that subject in the 674. page.

Yet

Yet after that, these men speak of nothing but Antiquity and Fathers, hoping thereby to confound mens understandings, and avoid the Examination of their Doctrine by the Word of God. But of that we shall speak hereafter.

Now if it be demanded, whether Antiquity must be placed among the marks of the true Church; I answer, that although the first and true antiquity belong to the true Church, yet antiquity cannot be a mark of the true Church.

For to know that mark, there is need of another mark, even of the truth of the Doctrine, it being impossible to judge, whether the Church that professeth that Doctrine be antient, but by examining it upon the Rule of Truth, which is the Word of God.

Besides, the marks of the Church must be proper to her at all times: Now a time hath been, when the Christian Church was new. The Church of Israel had her beginning, and the Church could not be antient when the world was new.

Also the essential marks of a thing must proceed from the form and essence of that thing: But time and years are not of the essence, and proceed not from the form of things that are measured by the time. Old age is not the mark of a true man, or of a good Common-wealth.

If Antiquity were the mark of a good Church, the Church should always grow better with the time; and with the antiquity the goodness and the truth of a Church should also grow: And the Church should be better in our dayes then in the dayes of the Apostles, because it is more antient.

By that means also the Roman Church should lose her cause, for the Greek Church is her Mother; and Christian Religion hath past from the East to Rome, and to the West, as the History of the *Acts* of the Apostles shews it evidently, and there is no Church so corrupt but boasteth of Antiquity: The Jews boasted themselves to be children of *Abraham*, even when they reviled Christ, and said that he had a Devil. And the Samaritans called *Jacob* their Father, and by the authority of their Fathers who had worshipped God in their Mountain, they defended their Religion. Joh. 8.
Joh. 4.

As the antiquity of a building is the cause that there is alwayes to mend in it; so it is so far from truth, that the antiquity of a particular Church should be a mark of her purity, that on the contrary it gives just reason to presume that the multitude of ages had made it worse.

Wherefore *St. Austin* made no difficulty to depart from his predecessors in the points of Nature and Grace, and Predestination; the Pelagians having sharpened his wit upon those points, which were not debated before, and obliged him to search the Scriptures with more diligence; whereby he hath got much praise, and was followed by them that came after, as *Fulgentius*, *Prosper*, *Hilarius Arelatensis*, &c.

Upon that it is good to see *Symmachus*, a Pagan, Epist. 54. of the 10. Book, where writing to the Christian Emperors, *Valens*, *Theodosius*, and *Arcadius*, he desireth them to have a reverence for the Pagan Religion, by reason of her antiquity. (a) If (saith he) the length of time gives authority to Religion, we must keep faith to so many ages, and follow our Fathers who have so happily followed theirs. Then he personates the old Pagan Rome, thus speaking to the Emperors; Good Princes, Fathers of your Countrey, respect my years, unto which the pious Ceremonies have brought me; permit me to use the Ceremonies of my Ancestors. This Religion hath subjected the world unto my laws: These holy services have beaten back Hannibal from the walls, and the Senones from the Capital. Have I been preserved till this time that I should be rebuked in my old age? The correction of old age comes too late and is injurious. What could *Ambrose* and *Prudentius*

(a) Jam si longa etas auctoritatem religionis faciat, servanda est tot seculis fides, & sequendi nobis parentes qui feliciter secuti sunt suos, &c. Optimi Principes, Patres patrie, reveremini annos meos in quos me pious

ritus adduxit ut utar Ceremoniis avitis, &c. Hic cultus in leges meas orbem redegit, hec sacra Annibalem & manibus, à Capitolio Senones repulerunt. Ad hoc ergo servata sum ut longæva reprehendat? sera & contumeliosa est emendatio senectutis.

answer,

(b) *A quibus
se persuasionis
ejus rationem
requiras, nul-
lum possunt
reddere; sed
ad majorum
judicia con-
fugiunt, quod
illi sapientes
fuerint.*

answer, who confuted that Epistle, but that the Law of God is more antient then *Numa Pompilius*, the Author of these Ceremonies? And that all is new which is not from the beginning? and that Error cannot be authorized by the number of years?

See *Lactantius* in the 5. Book of Justice, c. 10. where he saith, that the Pagans disputing against the Christians, (b) *when one asketh them a reason of their belief, they cannot give any, but have a recourse to the judgement of their ancestors who were wise.*

CHAP. 46.

Of the Fathers and Antient Doctors, and of their Authority.

THE writings of the Antient Doctors neer unto the Apostles times cannot be despised, but by persons wedded to their opinion, that blame all that they understand not: For although every one of them be subject to err; yet when they agree all in that they say, their consent is of great authority. But we must take good heed, how, and for what end it is used. For our Adversaries make a great noise about that, and make a flourish of Fathers, not out of any belief that these Fathers are favourable to them, nor out of hope to gain their cause before these Judges; but to make the people look off from Scripture, whose tryal they labour by all means to avoid.

When the question is to resolve a conscience by testimonies of Fathers, we meet with many hinderances; For their writings are Greek and Latin, of an infinite length and multitude. They are Books which the people never see, and where they understand nothing. If to attain to Salvation it is necessary to be versed in the Doctrine of Fathers, hardly of a thousand Christians can one be saved. And among the Fathers writings many supposititious Books are mingled, and new corruptions are every day discovered: Then there is as much or more dispute about the sense of the Text of the Fathers, as about that of Scripture: So that if the Fathers be taken for Judges, there will be need of other Judges that judge infallibly of the sense of the Fathers. It were worth knowing whether the Roman Church, which boasteth to be an infallible Interpreter of the sense of Scripture, hath the same perfection in the interpretation of Fathers.

Again, when the Fathers dissent among themselves about the Exposition of Scripture, who shall be Judge of their differences? or who will undertake to define which Fathers have most authority? Or how many Fathers are requisite to make an Article of Faith? For it is not reasonable, since our Adversaries take the Fathers for their Judges, that themselves be Judges of the Fathers.

Besides, when a passage of a Father is alledged, who knows whether other Fathers agree with him? Who knows whether the same Father speak otherwise in other places, as it is usual with the Antient?

Another hinderance troubleth mens minds very much, That the words which the Antient used have lost their signification, and are now taken in a quite different sense: as the words of Mass, Sacrifice, Indulgence, Oblation, Pope, Purgatory, Satisfaction, Prayer for the dead, &c. have lost their antient signification, and are taken in our time in another sense then in old time. Whereby the ignorant are deceived, not knowing that such words in those dayes signified quite another thing then in ours, and that the Roman Church puts old words upon new inventions. He that will lead the spirits of a people that way, in stead of bringing them to the Word of God, doth involve them in a dark labyrinth, puts them in a way that hath no end, and makes men Judges in Gods cause.

As then on the one side, we reverence Fathers as lights that have been shining in their time, and recommend the reading of them to such as have leisure and capacity; so on the other side, when it is question of giving laws to the Church, we

we acknowledge no other Lawgiver but God, and no other rule of faith but his Word; which, in matters necessary to salvation, is so clear, that it needs no interpreter; which also is as strong alone as attended, and suffers wrong in its authority, when it is defended with the testimony of men.

The Fathers themselves acknowledging their infirmity, and their subjection to Scripture, will not be believed but so far as they speak conformably to Scripture, and acknowledging themselves subject to err, return alwayes to that rule.

Cyrillus of Jerusalem, in his fourth Catechesis, speaks thus, (a) *One must not teach the least thing concerning the divine and sacred mysteries of faith without the holy Scriptures.* And a little after, (b) *Believe me not simply when I say these things unto thee, unless thou hast proofs of what I say by the holy Scriptures.*

Hierom upon the 86. Psal. (c) *Although some man since the Apostles be holy, although he be well spoken, yet he hath no authority.*

And Austin against Faustus the Manichean, Book, 11. chap. 3. speaking of his own writings and of other Fathers, (d) *These Books (saith he) are written by us, not by authority of commanding, but to profit by exercise.* And soon after, having established the holy Scripture for Judge, he saith, *that in other works of them that have written since, the Reader hath his judgement free, either to receive that which he approveth, or to reject that which displeaseth him.* The same in the 1. chap. of the second Book of Baptism, (e) *rejecteth the authority of Cyprian which was objected to him.*

That by alledging the Fathers, our Adversaries intend only to avoid Scripture, and puzzle the spirits of the simple, it appeareth in that they assign for a mark of the true Church, conformity with the Ancient Fathers, but will not assign for a mark of the same Church, conformity with the Word of God contained in the holy Scriptures. Also in that there be many questions upon which they alledge not the Fathers, silently confessing, that there the help of antiquity fails them, as is the point of denying the communion of the cup to the people. Such are also the images of the Trinity, and forbidding the people to read the Scripture, and the title of Queen of heaven given to the Virgin Mary, and the Roman Indulgences, and the Popes power to depose Kings, and fetch souls out of Purgatory, and private Masses, and the custom of praying in a language not understood by him that prays; and many other points. In this especially it appears, how little in effect they trust the Fathers, although they take them for Judges, that when these Fathers speak against the Roman Church, they make no difficulty to rebuke and taunt them, making themselves Judges and censors of the Fathers; yea and opposing them when they consent together: As we shall see in the following Chapter.

Lector auditoris judicium quo vel approbet quod placuerit, vel improbet quod offenderit. Non me movet autoritas Cypriani. The authority of Cyprian moves me not. And he gives for reason, that he is not greater then the Apostle Peter. See the 9. Dist. Can. *Ego solus Alphons. de Castro Franciscan. cap. 7. lib. 1. de hæresib.* hath gathered many the like passages.

(a) Δὲ γὰρ
οὐκ ἔστι δε-
ῶν ἡ ἀγίαν
τὴν πίστεως
μυστηρίων ὑπὸ
δὲ τοῦ πνεύ-
ματος τοῦ
ἀγίου τοῦ
δοξοῦντος.
(b) οὐδὲ
ἐμὸς, τὸ
ταῦτα οἱ
ἀκούοντες
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ π-
στεύουσιν, ἐὰν
τίς ἐκεί-
νου τοῦ
κατὰ γὰρ λέ-
γειν ἂν πο-
τεῖται.
(c) Quam-
vis ergo san-
ctus sit ali-
quis post
Apostolos,
quomvis di-
scipulus sit, non
habet autho-
ritatem.
(d) Non pra-
cipiendi au-
thoritate, sed
proficiendi
exercitatione
scribuntur à
nobis. Libe-
rum ibi habet

CHAP. 47.

That our Adversaries condemn the Fathers, and by consequent cannot have them for Judges.

(a) *Hodie jubentur teneri usque ad ultimum tota, ut infra. dist. 15. cap. ult.*

(b) *Sanctissimos Patres in interpretatione Scripturae non semper in omnibus Catholicis sequitur Ecclesia. (c) Ex his videas Theodoretum haud feliciter (ejus pace dictum sit) affectum esse Pauli verborum sensum.*

(d) *Sunt tamen; & S. S. Antonius. Justini, Irenaei, Epiphani, Oecumenii sententiam non video quo pacto ab errore possumus defendere.*

(e) *Lib. 6. de Conciliis c. 13. Scripta Parum non sunt regula, nec habent au-*

thoritatem obligandi.

THE Glossary of the Decree upon the 9. distinction, endeavouring to elude some testimonies of St *Austin*, who saith, that the holy Scriptures have alone the perfection of infallibility, but that all other writings of persons never so holy are subject to err, and ought to be read with circumspection, hath put this Gloſs in the margent, (a) *These words must be understood according to that time when the writings of Austin and other holy Fathers were not authentical, but now it is commanded to keep them to the last tittle.* Against that Glossarie *Alphonsus de Castro* takes a quarrel in the 1. Book of heresies, chap. 7. and calls him a fool and liar, seeing that the writings of the Fathers are often dissenting among themselves: And *Melchior Canus* in the 7. Book of the Theological places, in the 3. chap. to the same purpose alledgeth many errors of the Fathers; of *Cyprian* among others, who believed that those that were baptized by hereticks must be rebaptized; and of *Hilary*, who denieth that the body of Jesus Christ hath felt any pain, ascribing to him an impassible body; of *Irenaeus*, who was a Chiliaist; and he goes so far as to say, that the Fathers sometimes bring forth monsters against the order of nature. Cardinal *Baronius*, whose writings are so highly esteemed by our Adversaries, censureth the Fathers with great liberty. On the year 34. §. 113. he acknowledgeth freely, that (b) *the Catholick Church doth not alwayes follow the most holy Fathers in the interpretation of Scripture.* Himself on the year 31. §. 24. rebuketh St. *Austin*, because he did not well understand these words of our Lord, *Thou art Peter, &c.* for want of understanding the Syrian tongue. And on the year 34. §. 185. *Hierom* hath erred for want of memory. And on the year 60. §. 20. he quarrelleth with *Theodoret* for rejecting the invocation of Angels grounded upon a text of St. *Paul*; (c) *Herby* (saith he) *one may see that Theodoret, by his leave, hath not well comprehended the sense of the words of Paul.* And on the year 369. §. 24. *Hilary* had also his errors.

Bellarmino every where beareth himself as judge and censor of the Fathers. In the first Book of the felicity of the Saints; (d) *I see not how we may defend from error the opinion of Justinus, Irenaeus, Epiphanius, and Oecumenius.* In the same place he heaps up the errors of many Fathers. Of whom also he saith in the second book of the Councils, chap. 13. (e) *The writings of Fathers are not the rule, and have no authority to oblige us.*

Himself in the 1. Book de *Pontifice Romano*, chap. 8. speaking of the opinion of *Hierom*, that Priests are inferior to Bishops by Ecclesiastical right only, not of divineright: *That opinion* (saith he) *is false, and must be confuted in the proper place.* And chap. 10. §. *Addo. Austin* (saith he) *hath been deceived by the only ignorance of the Hebrew tongue.* And in the Book de *monachis*, chap. 13. he goeth about to prove, that the opinion of *Austin*, of *Thomas*, and of *Bernard*, seems not to be conformable unto the holy Scripture.

Sixtus Senensis, in his Preface upon the 5. Book of his *Bibliotheca*, saith, that (f) *in the holy Doctors which are read in the Church with authority, sometimes things evil and heretical are found.*

Andradinus in the 2. Book of the defence of the Tridentine faith, (g) *I will say nothing* (saith he) *of Austin, Basil, Athanasius, and the other Cyrillus, Chrysostomus, and Epiphanius, to whose opinions we are not alwayes tyed.* And in the same place he saith, that the Fathers are contradicting one another, and then addeth, *So many things there be wherein it is lawful for us to depart from the opinion of the Fathers.*

(f) *In libris sanctorum Doctorum quos authentice legit Ecclesia, nonnunquam inveniuntur quaedam prava vel haeretica.* (g) *Ut Augustinum, Basilium, &c. faciam, quorum non sumus semper opinionibus addicti.*

Cardinal

Cardinal *Cajetan* in the beginning of his Comments on *Genesis*, (h) If (saith he) sometimes a new interpretation occurs agreeing with the text, and not contrary to Scripture or to the doctrine of the Church, let the Reader shew himself an equitable censor, although that interpretation be divers from the stream of the holy Doctors. And in the same place, Let none detest a new sense of Scripture, because it is dissident from the antient Doctors, &c. For God hath not tyed the exposition of Scripture to the sense of the antient Doctors, but to the whole Scripture it self, under the censure of the Catholick Church, subjecting Scripture unto the censures of the Roman Church.

The Jesuit *Pezerius* in the 8. Book upon *Genesis*, in the first disputation, (i) I am assumed (saith he) to say the things which I must say against very good writers, which say things not only false, but also shamefull and absurd. Now the Fathers which he hath a quarrel with, are *Iustin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Cyprian*, *Ambrose*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Sulpitius Severus*.

Salmeron in the second prolegomen acknowledgeth that the Fathers have often dissented among themselves, (k) *Cyprian* (saith he) had many disputes with *Pope Cornelius* (he would say *Steven*) *Origen* with *African*, *Chrysostom* with *Theophilus Alexandrinus*, *Epiphanius* with *John of Jerusalem*, *Rufinus* with *Hierom*, *Hierom* with *Austin*, *Austin* with *Simplician*, *Prosper* with *Hilary*, *Gregory* with (l) *Eutyches* of *Constantinople*, and each of them made good his party.

And not only he saith, that the Fathers dissent among themselves about the exposition of Scripture, but also every one with himself. (*) Every one of them (saith he) expounds a text otherwise then another doth, yea the same Doctor expoundeth a text diversly.

In the 51. dispute upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, treating of the conception of the Virgin without sin, he alledgeth against himself a multitude of Fathers, that hold that she was conceived in sin. To which he answereth, that (m) the proof by authority is weak, and that reason must go before authority. And in the same place, Against that multitude [of Fathers] which is objected to us, we answer by the Word of God, *Exod. 23. Thou shalt not speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest judgement*.

The Jesuit *Maldonat* in his Comment upon the Gospel, disputeth everywhere against the exposition of Fathers. As upon *Matth. 6.* treating of the substantial bread, he confutes the opinion of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Ambrose*, *Victorinus*, *Athanasius*, *Iuvencus*, *Hierom*. And upon the 6. of *John*. (m) I leave the opinion of *Austin* and *Innocent the I.* which reigned for 600. years, that the *Lords Supper* is necessary to children.

The famous Bishop of *Bironio* speaks very ingenuously to that purpose, upon *Rom. 14. p. 606.* where setting the Pope in the place of God, and comparing his authority with that of the Fathers, he speaks thus, *Whatsoever is spoken by him whom we account for God in the things of God, we must bearken to it as to God himself.* As for me (that I may confess it ingenuously in the things that concern the mysteries of God) (n) I would give more faith to the only sovereign Bishop, then to a thousand *Austins*, *Hieroms*, *Gregories*, that I speak not of the *Richards*, *Scotuses*, and *Gulielmuses*; for I believe and know that the Sovereign Bishop only cannot err in the things that are of the faith, because the authority of determining matters of faith resides in the Pope.

Petavius in his Notes upon *Epiphanius*, freely acknowledgeth the errors of the Fathers, saying, pag. 205, & 244. We do not so much seek the errors of these divine men, as set them forth when they present themselves. Yea he saith, that if one would examine many things in the Homilies of *Chrysostom* upon the rule of truth, he should find neither sense nor reason in it.

rimorum non acquiesces sententiae ut à vero declines. Missam facio Augustini & Innocentii I. sententiam quae sexcentos circiter annos viget in Ecclesia, Eucharistiam etiam infantibus necessariam. (n) *Cornelius Mus*, Episc. *Bironinus* in Epist. ad *Rom. c. 14. Quem pro Deo habemus in his quae Dei sunt quicquid ipse dixerit tanquam Deum audire debemus: Ego (ut ingenuè fatear) plus uni summo Pontifici crederem in his quae mysteria fidei tangunt quam mille Augustinis, Hieronimis, Gregoriis, ne dicam Richards, Scotis, Gulielmis. Credo enim & scio quod summus Pontifex in his quae fidei sunt errare non potest quoniam auctoritas determinandi quae ad fidem spectant in Pontifice resides.*

(h) Nullus detestetur novum Scripturae sensum ex hoc quod dissonat à praevis doctoribus, &c. Non enim alligavit Deus expositionem Scripturarum praevis doctorum sensibus, &c.

(i) Pudet dicere quae de optimis scriptoribus hoc loco dicturus sum, adeo sunt non modo falsa sed pudenda & absurda. — Me tamē cogit dicere veritas.

(k) Multa disputavit *Cyprianus* cum *Cornelio Papa*, *Origenes* cum *Africano*, &c.

(l) He would say *John*.

(*) *Salmeron*. Prolog. 2. S. Quinta. Nam dum quisque eorum diversimodum ab alio unum locum exponit imo etiam unus & idem vario modo.

(m) Respondemus locum ab auctoritate esse infirmum, &c.

Ibid. Denique contra hanc quam obiciunt multitudinem respondemus in verbo Dei, *Exod. 23. In iudicio plu-*

(o) De pre-
sentia Christi
in Eucharis-
tia, Disp. 6.
q. 3. Puncto
11. S. quod
fi.

(p) Minime
mirum est si
unus aut al-
ter aut etiam
aliqui ex ve-
teribus minus
considerate
& rectè hac
de re sense-
runt & scrip-
serunt.

(q) S. Pre-
terea & seq.

(r) Chryso-
stomi inter-
pretationem
multo magis
probo quam
illum Au-
gustini.

The Jesuite (o) *Gregorius de Valentia*, in the Book of Transubstantiation, ch. 8. to rid himself of *Theodoret*, who in his Dialogues confutes Transubstantiation, *Theodoret* (saith he) hath been noted of other Errors in the Council of Ephesus. The like will be found in the Preface upon the Dialogues of *Theodoret* printed in Greek at Rome. And the same *Gregorius de Valentia*, saith in the same place, that (p) We must not wonder, if some of the Antients have believed and written inconsiderately of this matter.

Wherefore our Adversaries in their Comments, and in their Books of Controversies use to alledge divers opinions of the Fathers, and to chose that which pleaseth them best, and sometimes they reject them all. *Bellarmino* in the Book *De Monachis*, chap. 9. (q) Five Expositions present themselves, which we must confute. The first is of *Hierome* and *Beda*, &c. and soon after, *Hieroms* memory failed him.

The Jesuite *Maldonat* upon *Matth.* 20. alter a long enumeration of the opinions of Fathers, freely declareth that he doth not acquiesce to any of them. And upon *Joh.* 6. rebuking *Austin*, as one that had not apprehended in what sense Jesus Christ saith himself to be the Bread, saith, I am perswaded that if *Austin* had lived in our time, he would have been of another opinion. And upon the same chapter upon these words, *They shall be all taught of God*; (r) I do approve (saith he) the interpretation of *Chrysostom* much more then that of *Austin*. And upon *Matth.* 11. after he hath alledged divers opinions of the Fathers, he addeth, *To speak freely, none of these contents me.*

Pope *Gelasius* by Papal authority in the Canon, *Sancta Romana*, Dist. 15. beareth himself as Judge of the writings of the Fathers, and makes an enumeration of those that must be suspected, and names them Apocryphal. Among others he rejecteth *Cassianus*, the History of *Eusebius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Cyprians Opuscles*, who are nevertheless authors of good note, and have their ranck among the Fathers.

Alphonsus de Castro, c. 9. of the 1. Book against Heresies, shews that the Fathers will often contradict one another. That *Hierom* saith, that *Paul* rebuked *Peter* fainely only, not in truth: *Austin* on the contrary maintains, that he was truly and justly reproved. — That *Hierom* holds, that he that had two wives before Baptism, may be promoted to the Priesthood after he is baptized; which affirmation *Ambrose*, and *Austin*, and all the other Fathers do resist. That *Austin* holds that the whole World was built in a moment of time; and interprets that circuit of days to be alternations of Angelical knowledge, but that all the others contradict that interpretation.

But *Salmeron* alone may serve for all. That Jesuitie in his thirteenth Tome in the sixth Dispute about *St. Pauls* Epistles, makes himself Judge of the Fathers with great authority, and makes a Collection of the Errors of the Fathers in these words. Such is that which *Irenæus* saith concerning the age of Christ, that he attained unto forty years; and that the Name of Jesus is compounded of two letters and a half. And the Monogamy of *Tertullian*; and what he saith, that the death of Christ hapned about the thirtieth year of his age. The opinion of *Papias*, of the Resurrection at the end of a thousand years, which *Nepos*, *Cantor*, and *Lactantius* have followed. *Austin* and *Origene*, and the *Platonicians* have said, that the Angels are made of airy and subtil bodies. And our *Gregory* in the Homily of the Epiphany of the Lord, calls an Angel a reasonable animal. The Doctrine of *Cyprian*, of the rebaptization of those that have been baptized by Hereticks; which hath been determined by three Councils of Carthage, and confuted by the Church. The opinion of *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, that the Son of God, who is the Word of the Father, is inferiour to the Father, hath been rejected as most false. The opinion of *Basil*, that the roof of the Firmament is flat, that it may hold water, as he saith upon *Genesis*. Himself upon the 14. Psalm, maintains that under the New Testament, it is not at all permitted to swear, no more then it is permitted to circumcise. Which nevertheless *Euthymius* and *Theophylactus* upon *Matth.* 5. have followed. Yet this hath not been followed by them that are come since. Also it is a hard opinion of *Nazianzenus*,
that

that he holds second marriages to be unlawful, and the third to be a prevarication, as he testifieth in the thirtieth Oration. This also is hard in *Gregorius Nyssenus*, to hold that in the state of Innocency, there should have been no generation by copulation of sexes, no more then in the Resurrection, as he testifieth upon Gen. 17. *Euthymius* teacheth the same upon Psal. 50. And *Damascenus* in the Book of Orthodox Faith, although the command of increasing and multiplying, and filling the earth had preceded. And so this in the same Book of *Nyssenius*, c. 30. that the reasonable soul is made by tradition, is absurdly said; although he contradicts himself in the second Book of the soul, c. 4. This also is hard in *Athanasius*; that our soul is drawn from the power of the matter; and that the souls of the Saints do not see God till the day of Judgement, in the 16. and 20. questions to *Antiochus*, if yet those questions be not falsely ascribed to him. It is a hard and unworthy saying of *Chrysostomus* upon these words of Joh. 2. They have no Wine; and upon these words of Matth. 12. Behold thy Mother and thy Brothers are without: and upon this sentence of the Psalm, There is none that doth good, no not one: That he saith, that the Blessed Virgin was ambitious and desirous of vain-glory. Which *Theophylactus* hath followed, and *Euthymius* upon Matth. 12. & Mark. 3. & Luk. 2. *Tertullian* saith worse things yet of the Virgin Mary, in the Book of the flesh of Christ, which have not been believed by posterity, but have been reprov'd. It is likewise a hard saying of *Arnobius*, that the souls are descended into the bodies by necessity of nature, and that pains come not by the Providence of God, but by the necessity of the matter, as he teacheth in the 2. Book against the Gentiles; and that the souls differ not in reason: and that the souls of the damned are reduced to nothing by their suffering. *Lactantius* teacheth, that the sin of the Devil is the envy of the first Angel that was made, or rather of the Holy Ghost, whom he seems to make a Creature, Book 1. chap. 9. It is a hard opinion in *Hilary*, that Christ did not fear death, and felt no pain in his passion, as he teacheth in the 10. Book of the Trinity. The opinion of *Ambrose* is singular, whereby he prayeth that the Emperours, *Gratian*, and *Valentinian*, may rise from the dead more early. And in another place he saith, that whensoever we celebrate the Feast of the Resurrection of the Lord, alwayes some rise again, &c. *Hierom* in a certain Epistle, saith, That Christ is come out bloody out of the Virgins womb. *Austin* did retract himself in many things. And in the Book of the City of God he denyeth *Antipodes*. In *Bernard* we could desire more perspicuity in that Doctrine, That the souls do not receive the glory of blessedness until the day of Judgement. In *Damascenus* we observe a Doctrine, which the Church admitteth not, That the Holy Ghost proceeds not alike from the Son, and from the Father; wherein he is followed by *Theophylactus* upon Joh. 3. and by *Michal Syngelus* in the Book of the praises of *Denis*. It would be indeed a very long thing, if I would run over all the Doctors, and all the particular opinions of every one, whose belief the Church hath not approved. So speaks that Jesuite.

Villavincensius an Augustinian Monk, in the fourth Book of of the manner of well ordering the study of Divinity, cap. 5. makes the like enumeration of the Errors of the Fathers, and adds to those that *Salmeron* hath observed, that *Epiphanius* in *Anchoryty* hath interpreted these words, My Father is greater than I, as true even of the Divine Nature. That *Jesus Christ* praying that this Cup should pass from him, spake not in good earnest, but to abuse the Devil. That *Ambrose* is excessive in Allegories, going far from the sense of Scripture. That he excuseth *Peters* denial of his Master, saying, that he denyed only *Jesus Christ* Man, not *Jesus Christ* God. That *Hierome* contending for Virginity, useth Marriage unworthily, and puts the second and third marriages almost in the same rank as fornication. That the Learned agree not with this Doctrine of *Austin*, that children dying without Baptism are eternally damned. And that the Church hath abolished the custom approved by *St. Austin*, to give the Lords Supper to little children. Above all he is angry with *Hilary*, for attributing an impassible body unto Christ, which hath suffered no pain in his Death.

Thus our Adversaries are become Judges of the Fathers, and confute them with

with much liberty: and by consequent receive not the Fathers for Judges, since they make themselves Judges of the Fathers, and hold them to be erroneous and impure in the Faith.

CHAP. 48.

That the Roman Church opposeth her self to the consent of ancient Doctors.

VWhen we put our Adversaries in mind of the liberty which they give to themselves to reprove the Fathers, they will answer, that indeed every Father hath his Errors, but that their consent is an infallible rule; and that the Roman Church followeth the Fathers when they agree among themselves. This deserveth to be examined.

First, If to come out of a difficulty in Religion, and to attain to Salvation, we must have the consent of all the Fathers, I know not who can be saved, since of twenty thousand Christians, hardly shall one be found that hath read one half of the Fathers; and of those that read them, few understand them. Besides, Many Fathers of exquisite learning and goodness have written no Books, whose opinion therefore is not known unto us upon every point of Religion. And of those that have written, not one shall be found that saith his opinion upon the fourth part of the points which are now adays controverted: For they are questions which for the most part are sprung since their death. Yet let us see whether the Roman Church keep to that rule, and whether they contradict not many times a multitude of Fathers consenting in one point?

I. Is there any thing in all Antiquity upon which the Ancients consent more then upon the Communion of the People to the Sacrament under the two kinds? Can one example be found in all Antiquity of the Sacrament administered in the Church to a multitude of people, without administering the cup to any one of them? Shall it be found that ever they refused the Cup to any of the people that required it? Of that it were superfluous to bring proofs; since the Council of *Constance*, which made that abominable Law, acknowledgeth in the XIII. Session, that in the ancient Church that Sacrament was received by the people under the two kinds, and that Jesus Christ hath instituted it so.

II. How great is the consent of the Fathers to put the Book of *Maccabees* among the *Apocrypha*, and to deny them a place among the Canonical Books? So did the Council of *Laodicea* determine it, and *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Iconium*, and *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, and *Ruffinus* in the Exposition of the Symbole, and *Athanasius* in his *Synopsis*, and *Eusebius* in his Chronicle upon the 117. *Olympiad*, and in the 3. Book of his History, chap. 10. And *Hierom* in his Preface upon the Books of *Solomon*, and in his *Prælogus Galeatus*, and *Hilary* in his Preface upon the *Psalter*; and *Gregory Nazianzen* in his Verses; and *Epiphanius* in the Book of measures, and Pope *Gregory the I.* in the 19. of the *Morals* upon *Job*; and many more, as we shall shew it * hereafter more exactly.

That consent so general hath not hindred the Roman Church of our dayes to receive the *Maccabees* among the Canonical Scriptures.

III. The words of the Jesuite *Muldonar* upon *Job*. 6. 53. are notable. (a) I leave (saith he) the opinion of *Austin* and *Innocent the III.* an opinion which had reigned in the Church for 600. years, or thereabouts, that the Eucharist is necessary to Infants. Then an opinion received in the Church of *Rome* for the space of six hundred years, is now rejected by the same Church.

To the works of *Hinckmarus*, an Epistle of *Jesse* Bishop of *Amiens* is added, (b) whereby it appears that at that time, that is, in the ninth age, that custom was yet practised in *Gauls*, to give the Lords Supper to little children, presently

* *Infrac.* 55.

(a) *Missam facio Augustini & Innocentii I. sententiam quæ sexcentos circiter annos viguit in Ecclesia Eucharistiam etiam infantibus necessariam.*

(b) *Novissimè corpore & sanguine Christi confirmatur infans ut ejus possit esse membrum qui pro eo passus est.*

sently after Baptism. In the same place there is a Constitution of *Riculfus* Bishop of *Soissons* of the same time, that such as are baptized, should receive the Lords Supper presently after Baptism, because the Lord saith, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man, &c. The Council of *Trent*, in the XX. Session, made no difficulty to pronounce *anathema* to them that hold that opinion, without respecting Pope *Innocent* the I. and Saint *Austin*, who have been of that opinion. *Cassander* in his consultation to *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*, p. 936. saith, that he hath often observed that practise in Antiquity; and *M. du Perron* acknowledgeth, that this practice continued yet in the time of *Charlemagne* and *Lewis* the Meek. (c) The Greek Churches to this day observe that custom; and (d) so do the *Abyssine* Churches.

I V. Six hundred and thirty Bishops assembled in the Council of *Chalcedon*, who have judged by an express (e) Canon, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* must be equal in all things to the Bishop of *Rome*, are I hope a sufficient number to authorize such an order; yet that order was opposed by the ambition of the Popes.

V. How famous and received by the common consent of ages, were the Letters (f) of the sixth Council of *Carthage*? wherein the Bishops assembled out of all *Africa*, write to *Celestin* Bishop of *Rome*, that from thenceforth he would abstain from sending Legats into *Africa*, and meddle no more to judge the causes already judged in *Africa*, or to receive appeals coming from *Africa*, because causes ought to be judged in the places where they begun; warning him not to bring the famous pride of the world into the Church; and telling him that the pretended Canons of the Council of *Nice*, upon which he grounded his authority, are supposititious, and are not found in the Original. Nevertheless the Roman Church did oppose that. *Baronius* in the year 419. §. 78. saith, that the things contained in that Epistle, (g) are somewhat hard, especially that which the Bishops say of sending no more Legats into *Africa*. *Bellarmino* in the twenty fifth chapter of the second book de *Pontifice*, speaking of those *African* Bishops, saith, that (h) those *African* Fathers were deceived through ignorance. And *Cardinal du Perron* chap. 57. of the first book against his Majesty of Great Britain, saith, that the wrath of contention hath fetcht so much out of their mouth.

VI. All the Fathers with common consent exhort the people to read the holy Scripture carefully. *Hierom* in his Epistle to *Lea*, will have her Daughter *Paula* to read diligently the Old and the New Testament. *Chrysostom* in the third Homily concerning *Lazarus*, exhorteth to that Lecture the Tradesmen, the Women, and the least of the people. *Athanasius* is very express for that in the second Tome, p. 248. and *Austin* Epist. 146. to the Virgin *Demetrius*, and in the six book of his Confessions, chap. 5. The Roman Church by an example without example opposing that consent hath forbidden the people to read the holy Scripture. We will hereafter set down the very terms of the prohibition.

VII. Generally the Fathers before *Austin*, and *Austin* himself in the beginning, believed, that God had predestined men to salvation according to his foreknowledge, that such and such should do good works, and have faith. To that consent, the Jesuite *Peterius* upon *Rom.* 8. opposeth himself boldly, speaking thus in his twenty second Dispute; The Greek Fathers and many Latin Doctors have believed and written, that the cause of the predestination of men to eternal life, is Gods fore-knowledge from eternity of the good works which they should do, cooperating with his grace, and of the faith whereby they should believe, &c. Nevertheless it is easie to shew by many and evident Texts of Scripture, that Gods fore-knowledge of faith is not the cause of the predestination of men. *Bellarmino* and the Jesuites are of the same opinion.

VIII. It was a common opinion among the Ancients, that the Angels are fallen from their purity, by cohabiting with Women. It was the opinion of (i) *Iustin Martyr* in his second Apology, and of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, (k) 3.5 &

λοι παρ βαρτες τω δ τω τειν γυναικων μελουν ηηδιστου. (k) Clem. Alex. Strom. 3. Ηδη δ αγγελοι πλεσ αμαρτιας γινόμενοι οπ.δουμει αλδωτες εχθροδαν δαδσο καταπνιδωσιν.

(c) Nicol. de Lyra in Joh. 6. &c.

Jeremias Patriarch. Const. lib. ad Germanos.

(d) Francis. Alvarez. hist. Aethiop. c. 20.

(e) Can. 22. Concil. Chalcedon.

(f) Those Letters are inserted in the Codex of the Canons of the African Church,

and in the first Tome of the Councils, in the end of the sixth Council of Carthage, and in

Balsamon, and Zonaras.

(g) Sunt subduriuscula, praeipue vero quae dicunt Patres de non mittendis Legatis in Africanam.

(h) Respondemus Africanos Patres ex ignorantia deceptor, p. 476.

(i) Justin. Apol. 1. c. 5 & 7.

(k) Clem. Alex. Strom. 3. Ηδη δ αγγελοι πλεσ αμαρτιας γινόμενοι οπ.δουμει αλδωτες εχθροδαν δαδσο καταπνιδωσιν.

(1) *Angeli
qui ad filios
hominum de
cælo ruerunt ;
item l. 5. Am-
bros. de bono
mortis.*

(m) Ambros.
l. i. de Virgi-
nibus; Castitas
Angelū facit;
qui eam ser-
uavit, sanctus
Angelus est;
qui perdidit,
Diabolus.

(n) Tertul.
lib. de Idolo-
lat. c. 11.
*Taceo de per-
jurio, quando
ne jurare qui-
dem licet.*

Euseb. Hist.
l. 6 c. 4.

Hieron in
Mat 5. Chry.
Iosostom. Hom.

8. & 9. in
Acta Victor.

Uticensis, l. 3.
Nazianz. ππ.

ΛΙΤΕΥΤΙΚῶ
πρώτου sub

finem Athan.
lib. vii f

ॐ नमो भगवते
 ॐ नमो भगवते.

Justin. Dial
cum Try-

phone, p 239
& 307. Vid

Sixtum Se-
nens lib. 6.

Annot. 26.
(o) Neg. pat

quicquam po
test anima so

sexto Stromaton, and of (1) *Tertullian* in the book of the behaviour of women, chap. 2. And of *Aufin*, in the third book of the City of God, chap. 3. And of *Cyprian*, in the book of the behaviour of Virgins, chap. 11. and of (m) *Ambrose*, in the first book of *Noah* and the Ark; And of *Irenæus* in the first book, chap. 70. and of *Lactantius*, chap. 15. of the second book.

IX. *Sixtus Senensis* in the sixth book, in the annotation, 345. saith, that *Iustin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, *Prudentius*, *Aretas*, the Pope *John XXII.* have held, that the souls of the righteous shall not before the day of Judgement enjoy the sight of God. He might have added *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Prudentius*, *Ambrose*, *Austin*, *Chrysostom*, and almost all the Grecians. He addeth, that it is the error of the *Armenians*, condemned by the Decretals of *Innocent the II.* and *Benedictus the XI.* and by the Council of *Florence*. See the Questions to the Orthodox, ascribed to *Iustin Martyr* in the answer to the sixty and seventy fourth Questions.

X. In nothing the Fathers agree better, then in the opinion that all (n) oaths are unlawful, and that no Christian ought to swear for any cause whatsoever. The Roman Church swears not only by the name of God, but by the Saints and their relics.

XL. Almost all the Fathers of the first ages, were Chiliaſts, that is, defining the duration of the reign of Christ to the space of a thousand years, with feasting and earthly dainties; *Pamelius* in his notes upon the book of *Cyprian*, of the exhortation to Martyrdom, saith, that *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, *Severus*, *Papias*, *Iustin*, *Irenaeus*, *Apollinaris*, were of that opinion. *Iustin* Martyr goes so far, as to say, that they that are truly Christians, were of that belief. See *Hierom* in the book of Ecclesiastical Writers, where he speaks of *Papias*. *Sixtus Senensis* saith of *Hierom*, in the fifth book in the annotation 133. that he hath been doubtful about that point, and that *Anſtin* hath sometimes inclined to that opinion, as it appears by the twentieth book of the City of God, chap. 7. The Church of *Rome* hath departed from that consent.

XII. The Ancients believed, that the souls while they are separate from the bodies, cannot be tormented. A certain proof that they believed not Purgatory, which the Roman Church now believeth. *Terullian*, in the 48. chapter of the Apologetick, (o) *The soul alone cannot suffer anything without solid matter, that is, without flesh.* He saith the same, in the book of the testimony of the soul, chap. 4. *Gregory Nyssen* in the third Oration of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, (p) *The fire can never touch the soul separate, and darkness cannot be troublesome to it, seeing it hath no eyes.* By these convenient reasons, we are induced to believe the resurrection of the dead. *Ambrose* in the book of Penance, c. 17. (q) *The soul without the body, and the body without the soul, cannot be partakers of punishment and reward, (seeing they are fellows in their actions.*

der in separaram ignis nuxiam attigerit, nec temere quidem ei moleste fuerint, utpote quae oculis caret.

nam sine carne, nec, carnem sine anima, cum sint sibi gestorum operum consortio copulata, sine consortio vel
præmi.

Chrysostom saith the same, hom. 39. upon the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*,

(r) *The soul (saith he) shall not be punished without the body.* Against that consent, the Roman Church hath forged her Purgatory.

XIII. It was a generally received belief in the ancient Church, that the consecration is done in the Eucharist by Prayer, not by speaking to the bread, but by speaking to God. *Iustin Martyr in his second Apology, calls that which is received in the holy Communion, a food consecrated by prayer. Origen in the eighth Book against Celsus, We eat bread which by prayer is made a body, which is some holy thing. Basil in the book of the holy Ghost, chap. 17. The words of invocation, when one sheweth the bread. Theodoret in the second Dialogue, introduceth the Heretick speaking thus; The signs of the body and the blood, are others before the invocation of the Priest, but after the invocation they are changed. The Roman Church in our days, makes consecration by speaking unto the bread, not unto God.*

(r) Τῆς παρ-
κός χάρις ἡ
κοινωνία τε).

God; contradicting her own Canons; Especially the Canon (f) *Corpus* Dist. 2. of the Consecration. *We call the body and blood of Christ, that which being taken from the fruits of the earth, and consecrated by mystical prayer, is duly taken by us for the spiritual salvation in memory of the passion of the Lord.*

(f) *Corpus & sanguis Christi dicitur illud quod de fructibus terre acceptum, & prece mystica consecratur.*

XIV. It is the general opinion of the Ancients, that as soon as the dead are raised, they shall pass through the flame, and shall be purged by the fire of the last Judgement, which they call a Baptism of fire, and the flaming sword set at the gate of Paradise. Hilary upon Psalm 118. upon the Letter Gimel, makes the Virgin Mary to pass through that fire. And Ambrose in the twentieth Sermon upon the same Psalm, and in the third Sermon upon the thirty sixth Psalm, makes the Prophets and Apostles to go through it. Origen, Lactantius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Austin, Cyril of Jerusalem, say the same: Of whom, we have (t) in another place set forth the words; and we shall speak of this matter again (u) in the last book of this work. But the Roman Church hath put out that fire, and kindled another more lucrative to the Pope and his Clergy.

(t) In the Buckler of the Faith, Sect 86.

(u) In the third controversy of the seventh book.

XV. It was a received opinion by most of the Ancients, that children dead without Baptism, are eternally tormented in hell. Austin in the first book, *de bono perseverantia*, cap. 13. saith, that (x) little children unbaptized, are led unto eternal death. And in the first book of the merits of sins and of remission, chap. 28. disputing against the Pelagians, who put the unbaptized children in a middle condition between hell and heavenly glory, he saith, (y) *There is no place between both, where he that is not with Christ, may be in another place from the Devil. Wherefore also the Lord willing to take off from the hearts of the half believers, I know not what middlemost condition, which some endeavour to attribute to unbaptized children, said, He that is not with me, is against me.* For at that time they did not believe the Limbus of children dead without Baptism. His Disciple Fulgentius speaks the same language, in his book of faith to Peter the Deacon, c. 27. (z) *Believe steadfastly (saith he) and doubt not at all, that not only men that have not the use of reason, but also the little children, which either have some beginning of life in their Mothers womb, and there die, or being born from their Mothers, go out of this world without the holy Sacrament of Baptism, shall be punished with the pain of everlasting fire.* That opinion hath long prevailed, and was also followed by Pope Gregory the I. who (if our Adversaries may be believed) could not err in the faith. In the ninth book of his Morals upon Job, chap. 16. he speaks thus of little children dead without Baptism, (a) *Some are gone out of this present life, before they can attain to the time of doing the good or evil merits of an active life, who because they are not delivered from the original offence by the salutary Sacrament, and have not done here any good of their own, go yonder to be tormented.* And a little after, *By an occult and just judgement of God their plagues are multiplied without cause.* That opinion is displeasing to the Roman Church of this time, which makes these children to suffer an eternal punishment which they feel not, and in the day of Judgement puts them neither among the goats, nor among the Lambs. These Doctors have not considered, that since Jesus Christ hath satisfied for original sin by suffering torments, it followeth, that original sin deserveth to be punished with pains which be really felt.

(x) *Parvulos non regeneratos, ad eternam mortem; alios autem regeneratos ad eternam vitam duci de hac vita.*

(y) *Nec est ullus ulli medius locus, ut possit esse nisi cum Diabolo qui non est cum Christo. Hinc & ipse Dominus volens auferre de cordibus malæ credentium istam nescio quam medicinam quam conantur quidam parvulis non baptizatis tribuere, &c. ait, Qui mecum non est, adversum me est.*

(z) *Firmissime tene, & nullatenus dubites, non solum homines ratione utentes, verum etiam parvulos qui sive*

in utero matrum vivere incipiunt & ibi moriuntur, sive cum de matribus nati sine Sacramento sancti Baptismatis de hoc seculo transeunt, ignis eterni sempiterno supplicio puniendos. (a) Nonnulli prius presenti vitæ subtrahuntur, quam ad proficienda bona malæ vitæ active perveniant. Quos quia à culpa originis, Sacramenta salutis non liberant, & hic ex proprio nihil egerant, & illuc ad tormenta perveniunt. (b) Solus Christus homo factus, manens Deus, peccatum nullum habuit unquam, neque sumpsit carnem peccati, quamvis de natura carnis peccati.

(c) Maria ex Adam mortua propter peccatum; Adam mortuus propter peccatum.

(d) Christus sicut nullum a reatu liberum reperit, ita pro liberandis omnibus venit.

(d) Solus per omnia ex natis de femina D. Jesus terrena contagia corruptela, immaculatus partus novitate, non sensit.

(e) Ab originali nemo nexu liber extitit, neque ipsa genitrix Redemptoris.

(f) Virgo tamen ipsa unde assumptus est Christus, in iniquitatibus concepta est, & in peccatis concepit eam mater ejus, & cum originali peccato nata est, quia & ipsa in Adam peccavit. (g) Quisquis esse vel fuisse in hac vita aliquem hominem vel aliquos putat, excepto uno Mediatore Dei & hominum, quibus necessaria non fuerit remissio peccatorum, contrarius est divina Scriptura.

(h) Sixtus I V. in Bulla cum Præcelsa.

(i) Salmeron in c. 5. Ep. ad Rom. Disp. 51. Valques in 3^{am} Thomæ, Tom. 2. Disp. 117. c. 1. Bellarm. De amiss. gratiæ, & statui peccati. lib. 4. c. 15.

speaking of the flesh of his mother. And upon the 34. *Psal. Sermon*, 2. (c) Mary come from Adam, is dead by reason of sin. Adam is dead by reason of sin, and the flesh of the Lord come from Mary is dead to take away sins. Leo the 1. in the first Sermon of the Nativity of Christ; (d) As Christ found no man free from guilt, so he is come to deliver them all. Ambrose upon Luke 2. Jesus Christ is every way the only among them that are born of women, that hath not felt the contagion of earthly corruption, by the newness of an immaculate birth. We shall see hereafter how Chrysostom accuseth the Virgin Mary of rashness and ambition. And Eusebius Emis-senus in the 2. Sermon of the Lords Nativity, chap. 4. as Cajetan alledgeth him, saith, (e) None hath been free from the original bond, no not the mother of the Redeemer. Bernard bestoweth a whole Epistle upon that, which is the 174. to the Canons of Lyons, where he proveth that the Virgin Mary was conceived in sin, and that the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin was ill-instituted. And which is more, Hilary upon *Psal.* 118. on the Letter Gimel, saith, she must pass through the fire of the day of Judgement, by which sins shall be purged. Anselmus in the 2. Book, that sheweth why God is man, chap. 16. (f) The Virgin herself from which Christ is sprung, was conceived in iniquity, and her mother conceived her in sin, because she also hath sinned in Adam. Their reason is, because Scripture hath concluded all under sin, saying, that there is no man that sinneth not. And because Christ is dead for her; and she had need of the remission of sins, and that she is dead; now she is not dead for the sins of others; then for her own. Wherefore Austin in the Book of the perfection of righteousness giveth this rule; (g) Whosoever thinks that there is or ever was in this life any man or men, excepting the only Mediator between God and men, to whom the remission of sins was not necessary, contradicteth the holy Scripture. And Fulgentius in the Book of the Faith to Peter the Deacon, Believe firmly and doubt not at all, that every man conceived by the copulation of man and woman, is born in original sin.

That consent of Antient Doctors hath not hindred the Roman Church of our time to hold the contrary, and to celebrate the Feast of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, though Bernard condemned that celebration. The Council of Basil in the year 1439. in the 36. Session, determineth and declareth, that the Virgin Mary was conceived without sin, forbidding expressly the holding of the contrary, and reneweth the Order for celebrating the feast of her Conception. Since in the year 1483. (h) Pope Sixtus the I V. granteth to them that have heard Mass or caused Masses to be sung on the day of the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, instituted by Mr. Leonard de Nogarolles Clark of Verona, the like indulgences as to those that celebrate or say Mass on Munday, Thursday, or Gods Feast. In which Bull the Virgin is called the Queen of heaven and the Mother of grace. By another Bull the same Pope declareth those Hereticks, that say that the Virgin Mary was conceived in sin, and excommunicates them, thereby excommunicating all the Antients that have spoken so. Wherefore the Jesuits, although they say sometimes that the Roman Church hath decided nothing as yet upon that point, yet maintaine stiffly that the Virgin was conceived without sin. (i) Salmeron, Vasques, and Bellarmin, insit much upon that, not fearing to oppose antiquity. Bellarmin saying that the Church of Rome hath defined nothing about that (although the Council of Basil hath decided it, and the Feast is celebrated) yet giveth one Chapter to that opinion. The title of the Chapter is, That the Blessed Virgin Mary was conceived without original sin.

XVII. Hardly in any thing do the Fathers consent more then in the enumeration of the Commandments of the first table of the Law; for (excepting Austin) no antient Author of any authority shall be found, that puts not four Commandments in the first Table, making of the Commandment about the images a Commandment

(q) *Apostolis dicitur sufficere solius fidei justificationem.*

(r) *Ἐγὼ ὡς ἁμαρτωλὸς ἐσθὼν διὰ τὸν νόμον αἰσθύνω, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς χάριτος.*

(s) *Quia nemo legem servat, adeo dictum est quod sola fide justificandi essent credentes.*

(t) *ut sola fide benedicerentur gentes in Christo.*

XVIII. This proposition that man is justified before God by faith only, is odious unto the Roman Church, as a doctrine that slackens the zeal, and averts men from good works as useless. Yet it is the ordinary language of the Fathers.

Origen upon Rom. 3. saith, that (q) the justification by faith only is sufficient. Basil in the Sermon of humility, (r) Paul did acknowledge himself poor in true righteousness, and that he was justified by the only faith in Jesus Christ. Hilary 8. Canon upon St. Matthew, Fides sola justificat, Faith only justifieth. Hierom upon Gal. 3.

(s) *Because nobody keeps the Law, therefore it is said that the believers must be justified. And in the same place, Vobis ad justitiam sola fides sufficit, To be righteous, faith only is sufficient to you. And a little after, (t) That the nations might be blessed in Christ by faith only. Ambrose upon Rom. 4. (u) How do the Jews think to be justified by the works of the Law with the justification of Abraham, since they see that Abraham was justified, not by the works of the Law, but by faith only? and a little after, Impius sola fide justificatur apud Deum, The wicked is justified before God by faith only. Chrysostom upon Gal. 3. (x) They said, that he that stands upon faith only is execrable. But St. Paul sheweth, that he that stands upon faith only is blessed. Austin 68. Sermon de Tempore, (y) Abraham hath been justified by faith without works, and that only belief hath given him that which might be conferred upon him by the observation of the Law. Theodoret, We have not obtained the mystical goods by works, but by faith only. Bernard 21. Sermon upon the Canticles. Being justified by faith only he shall have peace with God.*

(z) *Quoniam ergo Judaei per opera Legis justificari sese putant justificatione Abraham, cum videant Abraham non ex operibus legis sed sola fide justificatum? (x) ἐκεῖνοι πάλιν ἐλεγον ἐπὶ ὁ τῆς πίστεως ἀποστολὴν ἐπαυτοῦ τὸ ἐλεγεῖν: ὅτι τῇ πίστει μεροῦν μόνον εὐλογημένον. (y) Ecce sine operibus justificatur ex fide, & quicquid illi legali posset observatione conferri totum credulitas sola donavit.*

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These Fathers teaching that man is justified before God by faith only, did nevertheless exhort unto good works; for they spake of another faith then that of the Church of Rome, which our Adversaries say to be a belief that whatsoever God hath said is true; a faith which the Devils also have. But they spake of a lively faith working by charity, fruitfull in good works; whereby a man resting upon the promise of God in Jesus Christ our Lord, is thereby induced to love and serve God.

XIX. We will shew hereafter, that in the three first ages of the Christian Church, and more then the half of the fourth, there was not any mention of calling upon the Saints; and that Transubstantiation is contrary to the doctrine of the Antients, and that in the Temples of the first ages there was no picture, or statue, or image of God, and that they worshipped not images.

XX. None that hath some measure of knowledge in antiquity, but knows, that the form and the degrees of Penance observed in the Antient Church, are no more observed in the Roman, and that all the antient penitential Canons are abolished. Read the Epistle of Basil to Amphilochius, and the Decree of Burchard, and all the penitential Canons that are found in the Councils, you shall find nothing in them, of that the Roman Church observeth in our dayes.

XXI. We hope to shew towards the end of this Book, that private Masses (that is, without Communicants and assistants, and sayd to the intention of him that payeth for them) are not only without precedent in the antient Church, but also are generally condemned by the antients, and by the very Orders of the old Roman Church. Bellarmin in his second Book of the Mass, chap. 9. doth freely confess it, saying, *That no express passage is found in all the Antients, which shew that ever they offered sacrifice without the communion of some one or more with the Priest.*

XXII. Who knows not, that in the antient Church the publick service was celebrated in Italy in Latin, in Greece in Greek, in Armenia in Armenian; and that every one prayed in a language which he understood? That they made no elevation of the host over the head, turning their back unto the people? and that the people adored not the host; which was not a wafer, but some quantity of bread which was distributed unto the people? That in those dayes the Bishop of

Rome

Rome had no Court, and was subject to the Emperors and Kings? That the Bishops in their reception took no oath of allegiance and obedience unto the Pope? and that the Pope did not exercise a temporal domination over them by Annats, and the like oppressions? That they did not know what the treasure of the Church was, which now is made up with the overplus of the satisfactions of Christ and of the Saints? That then the nations did not run from all parts to Rome to gain pardons? That the prayers of the Antients for the dead, were not to draw souls out of Purgatory? That then the images of Saints were not worshipped, and they represented not the Trinity in stone or colours? That the Virgin Mary was not called Queen of heaven? In a word, that the face of the antient Church is altogether changed as well as the doctrine? How can now the Popes adherents be so destitute of conscience, as to boast of the consent of the Fathers after they have despised them and forsaken their doctrine?

The sight and consciousness of this, makes them hold forth this doctrine; *That the Roman Church can without the authority of the Fathers, and without the example of the antient Church, make new Laws about faith and manners; the Church of this time having no less authority then the Old. This Bellarmine teacheth in his Book against Barclay, chap. 3. He judgeth not aright of the Church, that receiveth nothing but what he reads expressly to have been written or done in the antient Church: As though the Church of the last time had ceased to be a Church, or had not the faculty of expounding or declaring, yea also of ordaining and commanding the things that belong unto faith and manners. And the Bull Exurge, which is in the end of the last Council of Lateran, puts this among the errors of Luther, that he had said, That it was not in the power of the Pope and the Roman Church to establish Articles of Faith. See Alphonsus de Castro, a Franciscan, in the first book against heresies; where he maintains that the Roman Church of this time is far more instructed and better then the antient Church. Should the Church (saith he) be always in the same case, so that she can never grow better? God forbid, for she is proficient as in virtue and goodness, so in science and Doctrine. He addeth, That now many things are known of which the Fathers were altogether ignorant; and that because of the Decrees which vary and alter, that which was in old time lawfull, is not so now. This is the esteem that this Doctor hath of Antiquity.

CHAP. 49.

Doctrines in which the Roman Church rejecteth every Father in particular.

BESIDES these Doctrines about which a great number of Fathers is consenting; which nevertheless the Roman Church rejecteth and condemneth: there are but few Fathers but have some particular opinion; which the Roman Church disalloweth as well as we; or which is displeasing to our Adversaries for speaking the truth too plainly.

Justin and Clement.

(a) Justin Martyr and (b) Clement Alexandrin did believe, that God had given to the Gentiles the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars to worship, least they should be altogether destitute of religion; and that by the adoration of the Stars they might go to God. The Roman Church approveth not that Doctrine.

Justin Martyr believed (c) that the souls of the Fathers under the Old Testa-

(a) Justin Martyr Dialogo de Tryphone. Τὸν αὐτὸν ἡλιον ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός.

μετέτερον εἰς τὸ προσκυνοῦν αὐτὸν, ὥστε γέγραπται. Vide eundem Dialogum, p. 213. (b) Clemens Stromaton, lib. 6. εἶδεν ὃ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἀστρα εἰς θρησκείαν, ἵνα μὴ τελείως ἀθεοὶ γινώσκοντο, καὶ διαφθαίωσι. (c) Justin Dialogo in Tryph. p. 260. & 33. φαίνεται ὃ καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἐπὶ δυνάμει καὶ προφητῶν καὶ προφητῶν ἐκπλήνυνται τῶν αὐτῶν δυνάμεων.

ment

(d) Idem
ibid. p. 279.
Μηδε ηγειρε
αυτον τον
αγγηνητον
καταβεβακα-
ναι.

(e) Clem.
1. 2. Stromat-
on. Κεθ'
εσττω εδι-
κως ποτε η
φιλοσοφια
της ελληνικης.

(f) Pag.
171. Της
της μωυσε
συναγωγης
επι πτω της
Κυριου τετα-
την αποστασιν.

(g) Strom.
1. 4. p. 17.
Θεληματι της
Θεου η κα-
λας εσση-
ς, εσση εσση-
βης εσσην.
επι εδ

Κυριος θεληματι εσση της Πατρός. (h) Strom. 1. 5. p. 252. φασ ομα εθ Θεον οι Στωικοι, και τα
ομα ης' εσαν ασση αμειλη η πτω λυχη αντηρος πατα ταυτα ευρησεν εν γραφαις. (i) Strom.
1. 6. (k) Lib. 5. p. 227. οι αγγελιοι εσσην οι ε ανω κληρον ελληνους καδολιθησαντες εις ηδονας εζει-
πον τα ανηρητα ταυς γυναικιν.

ment were in the Devils power : And that (d) the glory of the Father is greater then that of the Son ; And that it was the Son, who in old time came down and appeared to *Abraham* and to *Moses*, because the Father doth not come down, and is invisible, as though the Son as God, was not of the same nature, and invisible alike. Himself in the Dialogue against *Tryphon*, p. 307. saith, that the Christians shall live a thousand years at *Jerusalem* before the resurrection. He believed also that the Angels fell by the love of women. And in the second Apology, p. 83. he thinks that *Socrates* and *Heracitus* were Christians. That Divinity is rejected by the Roman Church.

Clement Alexandrin

Clement Alexandrin repeateth often, that (e) before the Lords coming the Grecians were justified by Philosophy. (f) The same puts four hypostases in God. (g) He saith that the afflictions of the faithful happen, and that the death of Christ hapned, not but by the will of God, but by his permission. And that (h) God hath a body, and that Jesus Christ descended into hell to preach to the Jews, and that the (i) Apostles descended to the same place to preach to the Gentiles, and bring them to salvation, even those who among them have lived righteously according to the rules of Philosophy. The same holds, that (k) the Angels are fallen from their purity, by falling in love with women, to whom they did indiscreetly discover many secrets which were not to be divulged. All these Doctrines are rejected by the Roman Church, and this Father is condemned for them.

Clemens I. Romanus.

Our Adversaries have published some Epistles of *Clement* the I. Bishop of *Rome*, in one of which he teacheth that those words of mine and thine ought to be banisht, and that goods ought to be common. Then he addeth, *Therefore a certain man who was the wisest among the Grecians, knowing these things to be thus common, saith, that All things are to be common among friends* : (1) Now under these terms, all things, no doubt but Wives also are comprehended. That is found in the first Tome of the Councils, and in the Canon *Dilectissimis*, in the first question of the twelfth Cause : The Roman Church hath rejected that Doctrine. For although the Popes establish Brothelhouses, yet they would not have all Women to be common.

(1) In omni-
bus aut e sunt
sine dubio et
conjuges.

Ignatius.

(m) η τις
κυριακηνη
σαββα-
τον νησσει
πλην ενος
σαββατες
ετος χειμων-
τος εστιν.

Ignatius in the Epistle to the *Philippians*, saith, (m) that to fast upon Saturday or the Lords day, is to be a murderer of Christ. Wherefore also the Church of *Milan* in *Ambrose's* time, did not fast upon Saturday, but only upon Saturday before *Easter*, and upon Saturday before *Pentecost* or *Whitsunday*. The Churches of the *East*, and that of *Egypt*, kept the same custom. And *Cassian* book 3. chap. 10. reproveth the Roman Church for fasting upon Saturdays. And the VI. Universal Council assembled in the Palace of *Trulla*, Can. 55. condemneth the Church of *Rome* by name for that same reason : Yet the Roman Church for all their order, hath continued the observation of Saturday to fast.

Tertullian.

Tertullian had many errors: He was a Montanist: In his Writings he calleth *Montanus* the *Paracletus* or the Comforter: He adhered to the Prophecies of *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*: In the book of the soul, he maintains that the soul is corporal, and groweth with the body, and hath a bodily figure; Yea that (m) God himself is a body: Many others errors he hath, too long to be related: He believed also the Fall of Angels by the love of Women: Wherefore in his book, where he teacheth, that the faces of Virgins ought to be veiled, chap. 7. he saith, that such dangerous faces ought to be covered, which have darted up standards even to heaven. Himself as well as *Irenaeus* shuts (n) up the Souls of the Saints in an underground dungeon until the day of Judgement: He was also a Chilist, (o) giving to the Church a flourishing reign in *Jerusalem* for the space of a thousand years: And he believed, that some would rise sooner then others: *modicum quodque delictum mora resurrectionis luendo*; that is, that those that have sinned more, shall pay even for the least sin, by the retarding of their resurrection; as he saith in chap. 58. of the book of the soul. *Cyprian* who called him his Master, hath followed him (p) in the rebaptizing of Hereticks; *Austin* in the book of heresies, ad *Quod vult Deus*, puts him among the Hereticks. For the same causes the Roman Church condemneth him: But I find not, that ever any of the Ancients condemned *Tertullian* for expounding these words, (q) *This is my body*, by *This is the figure of my body*; speaking thus in his fourth book against *Marcion*, chap. 40. *Christ* having taken bread, and distributed it to his Disciples, made it to be his body, saying, *This is my body*, that is, the figure of my body; And in the third book, chap. 19. (r) God hath called bread his body, that thereby thou mayst understand that he hath given to bread to be the figure of his body: of which passages we shall speak more fully hereafter.

Origen.

Origen is accused by Cardinal *du Perron* (f) to have denied the Almighty power of God, and the Godhead of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, the resurrection of the flesh, and the eternity of Paradise and Hell. Also to have forged many successive worlds, and affirmed, that the Devils shall become Angels, &c. For these errors and many more he is placed among the Hereticks by *Epiphanius* and by *Austin*. But *M. du Perron* is not content to blame him for the same causes that he was blamed for by Ancients; for he blames him also and multiplieth ill words against him, because he did not believe the Transubstantiation of the bread into the body of *Christ* in the Eucharist, as the words of *Origen* testify it upon *Mat. 15*. *This food which is sanctified by the Word of God, and by prayer, as for the matter thereof goes down into the belly, and is sent down into the draught, and sanctifieth not of its nature*. In the same place, he calt that which is received in the Eucharist, a *Symbolical and significative body*. Upon these words of *Origen*, that this food sanctified, is sent down into the draught, and sanctifieth not of its nature, *M. du Perron* crieth out, (u) *Shut up your ears*, Christians; and saith, that (x) *Origen* doth purposely dispute against the *Catholick Church*, and that it is a particular whimse of the heretical Spirit of *Origen*. It is true, that (y) *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* blames *Origen*, for saying that the Spirit of God doth not work upon inanimate things: Which he confuteth by the example of Baptism; whose water is consecrated by the coming of the holy Ghost, and of the bread, whereby the body of the Saviour is shewed or represented: Which things (saith he) are inanimate, and yet are sanctified by the invocation and coming of the holy Ghost. But in that Text, *Theophilus* condemneth not *Origen* for denying the turning of the bread into the body of *Christ*; since he puts the water of Baptism in the same rank as the bread of the Eucharist. He saith, that both the water of Baptism and the bread of the Lords Supper are inanimate things, and are sanctified

(m) Lib. 2.
contra Mar-
cionem, c. 16.
Quis negabit
Deum corpus
esse, etsi Deus
Spiritus est?
(n) Lib. de
anima, c. 55.
56, 57, 58.
(o) Lib. 3. in
Mark. c. 14.
(p) Lib. de
Baptismo, c.
15. & 18.
(q) *Accipit*
tum panem
& distribuit
tum discipulis
corpus suum
fecit, dicendo
Hoc est corpus
meum, hoc est
figura corpo-
ris mei.
(r) *Parum*
corpus suum
appellans, ut
& hinc jam
etiam intelligat
corporis sui
figuram pass-
edisse.

(f) In the
book with-
out either
head or tail,
entituled,
Examination
of the book of
M. du Perron,
fol. 951.
and in the
book of the
Eucharist,
against the
same, book
2. chap. 7.
(c) The
whole pas-
sage is al-
ledged by
Sixtus Senen-
sis, book 6.
annotation,
66.
(u) Fol. 959.
(x) Fol. 956.
(y) *Perron*
against King
James, fol.
961.

sanctified by prayer and by the Holy Ghost. According to the Cardinals interpretation we should say, that *Theophilus* condemneth *Origen* for not believing the transubstantiation of the water of Baptism into the blood of Christ.

Irenaeus.

Upon that *Irenaeus* saith, Book 2. chap. 39. that Jesus Christ hath taught till the age of 40. or 50. years, Doctor *Feuardent*, who hath commented upon the Book, hath written in the margin *Nemo de aetate Christi, It is a fault of Irenaeus about the age of Christ.* The same Father teacheth (2) that the souls separated from the bodies have a bodily shape, and keep the character or form of the body to which they were joyned. Such was the opinion of many Antients, as of *Theodotus*, who is added to *Clement Alexandrin*, and of *Austin* in the 4. book of the soul and her origine, ch. 19. (a) *The soul* (saith he) *hath an eye, and a tongue, and a finger, and such other members of the body, and all that is a likeness of a body, and not a body.* Like things to this he saith in the 12. Book de *Genesi ad litteram*, chap. 32. & 33. The same *Irenaeus* in the 30. chap. of the 4. Book saith, that the Law was not given to the Fathers that lived before the Law; because they were righteous, and there was no need that they should be warned by reprehensions; But that this righteousness being worn out in *Egypt*, God then had given his Law. The same Father in the 5. Book, chap. 33. and the following, brings after resurrection bodily feasts, because Christ said, that he should drink of the new fruit of the Vine in the Kingdom of his Father. And he esteems that it is the promised retribution to them that shall invite the blind and the lame to their table. That Fathers holiness did not make the Roman Church to follow his opinion. See *Hierom* upon *Matth.* 19. where he confuteth the doctrine of *Irenaeus*, not naming the Author. *M. du Perron* makes bold to say, that *Irenaeus* hath said such things as would make one go for an Arian in these dayes. The same Father opposeth them as Hereticks, that hold that the souls of the faithful departed enjoy the heavenly glory. His opinion is, (b) that at their coming out of the body they go down into an invifible place where they expect the resurrection.

(2) Lib. 2. c. 62. Chattererem corporis in quo etiam adaptantur custodire eundem; & c. 65. Per hoc manifestissime declaratum est & perseverare animas, & non de corpore in corpus transire, & habere hominis figuram. (a) Ergone non dicam vera constantius? & habet anima oculum, & habet linguam, & habet digitum, & habet cetera similia corporis membra, & haec tota est corporis similitudo & non corpus. (b) Manifestum est quia & Discipulorum Christi propter quos & operatus est Dominus, animae abibunt in invisibilem locum definitum eis a Deo, & ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur.

Cyprian.

Cyprian believed and maintained against the Bishops of *Rome*, that those that were converted from Heresies to the true Faith, were to be rebaptized. *Austin* in the 1. Book of Baptism against the Donatists, chap. 8. and (c) Book 2. chap. 4. saith, that it is not known, that ever *Cyprian* went from his opinion. *Agrippin* Bishop of *Carthage*, predecessor of *Cyprian*, and the Council which he assembled, had already established that doctrine in *Africa*. And (d) *Hierom* in his Catalogue saith, that *Dionysius Alexandrinus* was of the same opinion as *Cyprian*, as also *Firmilianus* Bishop of *Cappadocia*, and many with him. And the first Council of *Nice*, decreed that the Paulianists or Samosatzenians be rebaptized. And *Basil* in the Epistle to *Amphilochius* would have the *Saccosori*, *Encratites* and *Apotacticks* to be rebaptized. And *Athanasius* in the 3. Oration against the Arians, holds the Baptism of the Arians to be void and unlawful, and saith, that one is rather defiled then washt in it. The Roman Church hath alwayes resisted that doctrine; so far that *Steven* Bishop of *Rome* hath for that cause called *Cyprian* false Christ, false Prophet, and deceitful workman, as *Firmilian* witnesseth in his Epistle inserted among the Epistles of *Cyprian*. And *Eusebius* in the 4. chap. of the 7. Book of his History saith, that *Steven* for that reason separated himself from the Communion of the Churches of *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, and other Churches neer them. This *Cyprian* in a Council assembled by him against the Church of *Rome*, and in the Epistle to *Pompian*, calling *Steven* Bishop of *Rome* a defender

(c) Si plenario Concilio aut alia ratione fuisset edoctus, mutasset sententiam; & fortasse factum est, sed nescimus. Et Epist. 48. Correxisset eum istam sententiam non invenimus, &c. (d) *Dionysius* in *Cypriani* & *Africanae Synodi* dogma consentiens de haereticis rebaptizandis, ad diversos plurimas misit Epistolas.

Hilarius.

(m) Hilarius de Trinitate. lib. 10. Opinionem nobis naturalis sibi in passione doloris invenit.

Ibid. In quem quomodo aut istius incidere aut voluerit discendere, aut nodi concurrerent, aut suspensio elevarer, afferrent quidem hac impetum passionis, non tamen dolorem passionis inferrent; Ut velum aliquod aut aquam perforans, aut ignem compungens, aut aera vulnervans.

(n) Ibid. Virtus corporis sine sensu poene vim poene in se deservientis excipit.

(o) Ibid. Christus cum cibum & potum accepit, non necessitati sed consuetudini tribuit. Vide Sixtum Senensem lib. 5. Anno. 136. & ipsam Hilarium in Ps. 68. (p) Hilarius in Math. Can. 3. Transfert calix a me, id est quo modo a me bibitur, ita ab his bibatur sine spei diffidentia, sine sensu doloris, sine metu mortis. (q) Si in iudicii severitatem capax illa Dei Virgo ventura est, desiderare quis audebit a Deo iudicari? (r) Hilarius in Math. Can. 5. Animarum species sive obtinentium corpora, sive exulantium, corpoream tamen nature substantiam sortientur. (s) Eusebius, lib. 7. Historiae cap. 7. (t) Lib. 7. praepar. Evang. c. 6.

The Roman Church approveth no better of *Hilary*, who in the 10. Book of the Trinity, and upon the 138. *Psalm*. and upon the 53. maintains that (m) *Iesus Christ* in his death suffered no pain, but that only he would make us believe that he suffered, and that the blows did not give him any pain, no more then if an arrow pierced the water, or prickt the fire, or hurt the air; and that (n) the vertue of the body of *Christ* received the violence of pains without feelings (o) The same *Father* saith, that *Christ* ate and drunk, not out of any necessity, but to comply with custom; for which doctrine he is reproved by *Clandius Bishop* of *Vienna*, in the Book of the state of the soul. That error so gross and ruining the whole work of our Redemption, hath brought him to another, that in these words of the Lord, (p) *Father let this cup pass from me*, *Iesus Christ* desired his *Father* that his *Disciples* also might suffer in the like manner. So that by his account *St. Peter* felt no pain in suffering martyrdom. The same *Hilary* is not approved by the Roman Church, in that he saith, upon the *Psalm* 119. in the Letter *Gimel*, that the *Virgin Mary* (q) must undergo the judgement of the fire of the last day, by which sins shall be purged. (r) It is also one of his opinions that souls are corporal.

Eusebius.

This *Father* is not approved by the Roman Church, because speaking of an image erected unto *Christ*, he saith, that (s) it was done by a Pagan custom. Nor in that having made the universal Ecclesiastical history until the death of *Constantine* hapned in the year of *Christ* 337. in all that time he speaks never a word of the *Popes* primacy, and no trace of that in all his works. And yet he is the only historian we have of the 3. first ages; wherefore our *Cardinal* is angry with him, and accuseth him to have been an *Arian*, although his writings and actions witness the contrary, as we shall shew in the proper place. Neither is he approved for saying (t) that the *Fathers* before the Law had *degar quosdam animas*, as though they were not subject to any evil affection. Nor in that he adviseth to use sometimes lying, in the 12. Book, chap. 29.

Ambrosius.

(u) Ambrosius in Ps. 118. Serm. 3. & 20. Omnes oportet per ignem probari quicunque ad Paradisum redire desiderant, &c. Omnes oportet transire per flammam, sive Johannes Evangelista sit, sive ille sit Petrus. (x) Ambrosius in Ps. 8. Qui non veniunt ad primam resurrectionem, sed ad secundam reservantur, isti veniunt donec impleant tempus inter primam & secundam resurrectionem.

The Roman Church approveth not that *Ambrose* with most part of the Antients believeth (u) that all, yea and the Prophets and Apostles must pass through the fire of the last Judgement to be purged from their sins. This the *Fathers* call the second Baptism, and the flaming sword placed at the gate of Paradise. That was the Purgatory of the antient Church, where Indulgences have no place; for the *Fathers* put off that purgation to the day of Judgement. This *Father* hath followed the errors of *Tertullian*, (x) that all shall not rise at the same time, and that they that have sinned most shall rise later, carrying into a fire the slowness of their resurrection; for which error he is blamed by the Jesuit *Salmeron*, in the 13. Tome. 6. *Dissert.* upon *St. Pauls* Epistles. Also for saying that at *Easter* alwayes some rise again.

In one thing especially this *Father* displeaseth the Roman Church, that he did excommunicate the Emperor *Theodosius* without the advice of the Bishop of *Rome* his neighbour; for it is now a maxime in the Roman Church, that none but the

pope can excommunicate the Emperor. That rule is found in the Aphorisms of *Emanuel Sa* in the word (y) *Excommunicatus*.

Alfo he is not approved for saying (z) that *Abraham* lying with *Agar* finned nor, because the Law was not yet, and adultery was not yet forbidden.

Augustinus.

Austin is not approved by the Roman Church, (a) for condemning Infants dead without Baptism to the torment of eternal fire. Which was also the opinion of *Fulgentius* his Disciple. For *Austin* did not believe the *Limbus* of Infants. He is no more approved for holding the participation of the Lords Supper necessary for Infants to be saved. Nor for making the souls in some manner corporal, as we have shewed. Nor for holding (b) that the world was created not in six days, as *Moses* relateth, but in a moment: Nor for being one of the Bishops, who in the Milevitan Council prohibited the appeals from *Africa* to *Rome*, upon pain of excommunication. (c) Nor for condemning the worshippers of images and relicks. *Sixtus Senensis* in his Preface upon the fifth book of his Library, saith, *Austin* seemeth sometimes to attribute too little to the free Will of man. *Baronius* and *Bellarmine* (d) reprove him for understanding these words, *Super hanc petram*, &c. not of the person of *Peter*, but of his faith and confession. It was his opinion, that (e) the souls are shut up in hidden places until the day of resurrection. How contrary he was to the Transubstantiation, we shall examine hereafter.

Non ergo in Legem commisit Abraham, sed Legem praevenit. Deus in Paradiso licet conjugium laudaverit, non adulterium damnaverat. (a) *August.* Ep. 107. & lib. 28. de civitate Dei & saepe alibi. (b) *Idem.* lib. 4 de Genesi ad litteram. (c) *Idem* lib. 1. de moribus Ecclesiae orthodoxae, c. 34. *Novi multos esse sepulchrorum & picturarum adoratores.* (d) *Bellar.* de Pontifice, lib. 1. cap. 10. (e) *Enchirid.* ad Laurenti. c. 109.

Johannes Chrysostomus.

Sixtus Senensis in the 107. annotar. of the fifth book, observeth, that *Chrysostom* towards the end of his book of Priesthood approveth frauds, lyes, & impostures, and holds them sometimes necessary, when they are done without an intention to do harm to any. Our Adversaries hold, that to do works of piety acceptable unto God, we have need of the preventing Grace of God to move our Wils; *Chrysostom* holds the contrary. Hom. 42. upon *Genesis*. That very thing (saith he) that this Patriarch *Abraham*, who lived before the time of grace, and before the Law, hath by himself, and by the knowledge that comes by nature, attained to such a measure of vertue, will be sufficient to take away all excuse. But perhaps some will say, that God took great care of that man, and that the Sovereign God shewed a great providence towards him. (f) Indeed I confess it; but if he alone had not done that which was in him, he should not have received the Graces of the Lord. And Hom. 16. upon *S. John*, according to the Greek Text, (g) Hence we learn, that God preventeth not our Wils by his gifts; but when we have begun, and we have brought our Wils, then he doth furnish us with many means of salvation. Like things he saith, Hom. 12. upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and in many other places.

The same Father in his Homily *ad Neophytos*, (h) We baptize children (saith he) though they be without sins: Then he addeth to which end children are baptized; Not for the remission of original sins; But (saith he) to add unto them holiness, righteousness, adoption, and inheritance.

Himself in the tenth Homily upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, expounding these words of the fifth chapter, that by the disobedience of one man, many were made sinners: By this word sinners, he understands not that by the sin of *Adam* we are stained with original sin, and made prone to sin, but only that we are subject to

ἡμᾶς ἀρξάμεθα ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἔλκειν τῷ ἀρχαίου, τότε αὐτοὶ πολλὰς διδάσκον ἡμῶν τῆς σωτηρίας ἀφορμὰς.
(h) διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ παιδία βαπτίζομεν καὶ τὰ ἀμάρτηματα ἔκχεοντα.

(y) Reges à solo Papa excommunicantur & consuevis ligantur.
(z) Ambros. lib. 2. de Patriarcha Abraham, c. 4. Consideremus primum, quia Abraham ante Legem Moysi & ante Evangelium fuit; nondum interdictum adulterium videbatur. Pena criminis ex tempore Legis est, quae crimen inhibuit, nec ante Legem ullius rei damnatio est, sed ex Legge.

(f) Ναὶ ὁμολογῶ ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὴ σωτὴρ ᾖ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιδικάζονται, καὶ ἐν οὗτῳ παρὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτῶν αὐτοὶ πλεονάζουσιν.
(g) ἐκ τούτου παιδευόμεθα διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ φθάνειν τῶν βλαβερῶν ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς ταῖς δωρεαῖς, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐ-

(i) Τὸ ἔν ἐστιν
 ἐνταῦθα τὸ
 ἀμείνωτοι;
 ἐμὸν δοκεῖ τὸ
 ὑπερβύνης
 κολασσεῖ καὶ
 καταδιδ-
 κταμένους βα-
 νάτω.

(k) ὁ δὲ
 ἐπαχέρισε
 φιλοταμίαι
 περὶ τῆς
 ἐβουλήτο δὲ
 ἐν δὲ ἐκείνῃ
 ὅτι κατὰ
 καὶ αὐτῶν
 τα παίδος,
 ἡδὲν ἐν τῷ
 μέγα καὶ
 αὐτῶν φαντα-
 ζομένη. ἡδὲ
 καὶ ἀκαίως
 ἐπεσφάδεν.

(l) Οὐ δὲν
 ὁ ἀκαίως
 τὴ ζήτωσι
 καὶ ἐγκρίτω-
 σιν ἡμᾶς οἱ
 πνευματι-
 κῶν, καὶ ἀποφα-
 λῆς περὶ ἐκεί-
 νου.

(m) ἡρόντος
 ἑρῶσι το-
 σῶντες ἡ καὶ
 πάντες καὶ
 ἡδὲ τῶν ἀπὸ
 λαβόν.

(n) Τῆς
 σαρκὸς γὰρ
 ἐκ ἀπολήξε-
 ται τὰ ἀπο-
 ρήτα ἀγαθὰ,
 ὥστε ἐν
 ἡδὲ κολοδιτται.

(o) ἡ εἶναι φύσιν ἀνθρώπου ἀποδοῖ, ὁ οἷον ἀνθρώπων ἀλάστω, ὁ ἀντίθετος δαίμων.

(p) εἰ πῦρ ἐκείνῳ Θεῷ ὁ μὴ ὑπερβύνης καὶ ὑπερβύνης τῶν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, ἡδὲ ὅτι ἡ καὶ ὑπερβύνης ἐκ εἰκῶν Θεοῦ τῆς
 αὐτῆς φύσεως μετέχουσα.

(q) Νεώτερος πρὸς τὴν πνεύματι τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀπόστα.

(r) Oratione
 3. de re-
 surrectione
 Christi.

(f) Lib 2.
 Philosophiæ
 seu de ani-
 ma, c. 6.

(c) Oratione
 de resur-
 rectione Do-
 mini.

punishment. These are his words: What means this word sinners? (i) I think it signifieth as much as subject unto punishment, and adjudged unto death: For he hath shewed prolixly, that Adam dying, we were all made mortal. With these Texts the Pelagians armed themselves against the Orthodox, to deny original sin. I believe not that any of the Roman Church will approve of him for often blaming the Virgin Mary, accusing her of importunity, vain ostentation, presumption and unbelief. Thus Hom. 45. upon Matthew, (k) That which she undertook, was out of an excessive ambition: for she would shew that she had authority and power over her Son, imagining yet no great thing concerning him. Wherefore she came unseasonably: See then her rashness, &c. Hom. 21. upon John, according to the Greek, he gives a reason why Jesus Christ answered his Mother thus: What is there between me and thee, Woman? saying, (l) that when our Parents come to make unseasonable questions, and to hinder some spiritual action, there is danger in obeying them: Wherefore Jesus Christ in this place did so answer her: And thereupon he saith, that Mary thought she could command Jesus Christ in all things, as other Mothers, whereas she ought to have served and revered him as her Lord. And reproveth her for coming in the presence of the people to hinder the utility of the Assistants. In the 28. Homily, upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, (m) and in the 39. (n) upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he teacheth, that the souls of the Saints have not yet received the reward, and shall not enjoy Glory till after the resurrection.

Theodoretus.

The Roman Church approveth not of Theodoret, for teaching (in the book of divina dogmata, in the chap. of the Antichrist) that the (o) Antichrist shall be a Devil clad with humane flesh: Nor for saying (in the same book, in the chapter that proveth that he that is good is righteous also) that the Law forbids not evil thoughts, nor evil desires: Nor for denying, that (p) Woman was created after the image of God in the twentieth question upon Genesis: Nor for affirming, (in the book of Heresies, in the chapter of Nestorius) that to Nestorius Patriarch of Constantinople, (q) the government of the Universal Church was committed; for the Bishop of Rome will not allow that. Nor for saying, (in the second and third Dialogue) that God hath honoured the bread with the name of his body, without altering the nature of bread, and that the bread after the consecration, remains in its first substance, which is overthrowing transubstantiation.

Gregorius Nyssenus.

The Roman Church likes not the opinion of Gregorius Nyssenus; (r) that the souls cannot be tormented without the bodies, and feel no pain before the resurrection: For that opinion is repugnant to Purgatory; Nor his Doctrine, that (f) God creates no more souls, for he holds them to have been created all at once in the beginning of the world: It is he (that to find the three days in which Scripture saith, that Christ was in the womb of the earth) begins the three days at the hour of the institution of the Lords Supper, as if (c) the body of the Lord had been from that time without a soul.

Epiphanius.

Nicephorus lib. 13. chap. 12. observeth that he was an Anthropomorphite: Sozomenus saith the same in the fourteenth chapter of the eighth book, saying, that Theophilus had reprov'd Epiphanius, that he believed that God had a humane shape. That which confirmeth that opinion, is, that Epiphanius having made an

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enumeration very exact of all the heresies, hath not put that of the *Anthropomorphites* among them. He is not approved by the Roman Church, because in the heresie of the *Collyridians*, he condemns certain superstitious women that worshipped the Virgin *Mary*, and called her the *Queen of Heaven*. And whereas the Roman Church deferreth the cult of *dulia* to Angels, and to the Virgin *Mary* the cult of *hyperdulia*, which is an higher kind of adoration; *Epiphanius* makes her inferior to Angels, saying, *If the Apostle prohibits to worship Angels, how much more the woman born of Anna? so he calls the Mother of the Virgin Mary.* Neither is he approved by the Roman Church, for tearing a veil or peice of hanging in a Church in the borough of *Anablata*, because there was an image of Christ in it, or of some Saint; saying, that such images ought not to be suffered in the Church of Christ; As himself saith in an Epistle translated by Saint *Hierom.* (u) *Villavincensius* an *Augustinian* Monk reproveth him for many things, especially because in the *Ancorat* he was so bold as to expound these words, *My Father is greater then I*, as true even of the divine nature of Christ; And for saying that Jesus Christ praying, *Let this cup pass from me*, did not speak in earnest, but fainedly, to mock the Devil. The same Father puts off the day of Christs Nativity (x) to the sixth of *January*: which was the observation of the Churches of Egypt; as one may see in *Cassian* in the tenth Collation, chap. 2.

Cassianus.

He is not approved by the Roman Church, for (y) blaming the Roman Church about fasting upon Saturday: Nor for relating a discourse of the Abbot *Joseph*, (z) whereby lying and hypocrisie are commended, when they are beneficial to our neighbours, and not condemning that Doctrine: Nor for teaching after Abbot *John*, (a) that the Law of God promisseth only temporal goods to the observers thereof.

Hieronymus.

In many things the Roman Church disliketh *Hierom*; As for saying, (b) that the Histories of *Susanna*, and of *Bel* and the *Dragon* are fables. For saying, (c) that the books of *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Maccabees*, &c. are not Canonical, and that the Church acknowledgeth them not for true: for maintaining stiffly, (d) that God knoweth not how many Gnats and Flies are upon the earth, or how many Fishes in the Sea; and he denieth that Gods providence extends as much upon unreasonable as reasonable things, and calls *fatuos adulatores*, foolish flatterers, those that hold the contrary. For calling marriage an ignominy, in his books against (e) *Jovinian*, and married persons *vasa in contumeliam*, vessels to dishonour; saying, that the end of marriage is death; and placing the Virgins with *Abraham*, and the married persons with the rich Glutton: Alledging to that purpose these Texts, *They that are in the flesh cannot please God; and that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God*; as if married persons could not be saved. In the Epistle to *Salvina*, he calls Widows that marry again, dogs that return to their vomit. Going so far as to say, that Saint *Paul* permitting wanton Widows to marry again, had given them *praecepta non bona & justificationes pessimas*; precepts that are not good, and rules of justice most evil. Wherefore also in his Epistle to *Gerontia*, he excludeth such women from the aims of the Church. And in the Epitaph of *Fabiola*, he praiseth her, because she did penance in publick in the Church for marrying the second time. Wherefore *Bovius* in his Notes upon the fifth book of *Clements* Constitutions, speaks thus; (f) *Hierom was too hard against those that marry twice: So that unless he be gently dealt with, hardly can we exempt him from the accusations of those that blame him.*

The same *Hierom* is reproved by Cardinal *Bellarmino*, (g) for maintaining, that Priests are inferior to Bishops, not by divine right, or by Gods Ordinance, but by an Ecclesiastical order.

- (u) Lib. 4. de studio Theologiae, c. 5.
(x) Epiph. haeresi Alogorum, quae est xi. p. g. 446 Tom. 1.
(y) Cassian. lib. 10. c. 3.
(z) Idem Collatione. 17. cap. 19.
(a) Idem Collat. 21. c. 5.
(b) Hieron. Praefat. in Danielem.
(c) Praefat. in Proverb. Salom. & prologo Galileato.
(d) In c. 1. Habak. *Aburdum est ad hoc Dei ducere desideratem, ut sciat per momenta singula quot nascentur culices quotve moriantur.*
(e) Apologia pro libris in Jovinianum.
(f) Tom. 1. Concil. Hieronymus *dixit fuisse bigamus, ita ut nisi tenuis cum eo ageretur, vix posset illi & reprobis criminatioibus liberare.*
(g) Bellarmino. l. 2. de Pontifice, c. 8.

(h) Idem l.
1. de Cleri-
cis, c. 4. 5.
Contra.

The same Cardinal reproveth (h) *Hierom*, because he believed that a man who hath married a Wife before Baptism, and another after, ought not to be held a *by-game*, that is, twice married.

In the first book against *Jovinian*, *Hierom* condemneth the use of flesh as polluted, saying, that the use of flesh was for wrestlers, and for Plow-men, not for Christians.

Himself holds that all oaths are forbidden to Christians, saying upon *Mat. 5. Evangelica veritas non recipit juramentum*, Gospel truth receiveth no oath.

He hath written against *Austin* Letters full of Invectives. The subject of their quarrel was, that *Hierom* maintains, that in Scripture there are sometimes officious lyes; that is, that the Holy Ghost lieth sometimes for the good of those whom he speaks to; and that Saint *Paul* rehearsing how he had reprov'd Saint *Peter*, used lying and dissembling.

Epist. ad
Evagrium.

But that wherein he is most displeasing to our Adversaries, is his making all Bishops equal, and equalling the Bishops of *Tanis* and *Rhegium*, which are small Towns, unto the Bishop of *Rome*; adding that pride came from the Church of the City of *Rome*. And in his Preface upon the book of *Didymus*, he calls *Rome* *Babylon* and the whore clad in purple, and the Clergy of *Rome*, the Senate of the Pharisees. The like things he saith in the Epistle to *Marcella*, under the name of *Paula* and *Eustochius*.

Gelasius.

Pope *Gelasius* in the book against *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, speaks things displeasing to the Roman Church of this time, affirming, that in the Eucharist the substance of bread and wine remains, and the image and likeness of the body and blood of Christ is celebrated in the action of mysteries. It is he who in the Canon *Comperimus*, in the second Distinction of the consecration, condemneth those that take the bread in the Eucharist, and abstain from the cup; and saith, that (i) the division of this Sacrament cannot be done without a great sacrilege. Wherefore he commandeth that one kind be not given without the other. The same Pope in his Commonitory to *Faustus* his Legat, condemns all the indulgences granted to the dead, because it is written, *All that thou shalt bind on earth, and not under earth*. And denieth that a Bishop can give any absolution to the dead, for they are no more of his flock. That Pope speaking thus, hath condemned his successors who give indulgences to the dead, and draw souls out of Purgatory.

(i) Aut in-
tegra Sacra-
menta perci-
piant, aut ab
integris arce-
antur: quia
divisio unius
ejusdemq.
mysterii sine
gravi sacrile-
gio non po-
test provenire.

Lactantius.

(k) Institutio-
tion. divin.
lib. 4. c. 14.
(l) Idem.
lib. 3.
(m) lib. 7.
c. 20.
(n) Lib. 2.
cap. 9.
(o) Lib. 2.
divin. in-
stitut. c. 5.
(p) Hier.
Epist. 65. ad
Pam.

Lactantius saith, (k) that Jesus Christ is not God. He was a Chiliaist. He saith, (l) that God hath divided the world into two parts, the East and the West, and hath reserved the East to himself, and left the West to the Devil; (m) He holds, that the wicked shall not rise in the day of Judgement: (n) He teacheth, that God before he created the world, created two Spirits, the one good, who is his Son; the other wicked, who is the Devil, to whom he hath given craft and dexterity to invent evil. He holds also, that (o) Angels polluted themselves with women, and that out of that copulation came the Demons. *Hierom* observes this error of his, (p) that he denied the holy Ghost to be a person subsisting in the Godhead. We shall see upon another discourse, that he shuts up the souls of the Saints in underground places, and by consequent denieth the invocation of Saints.

Arnobius.

(q) Lib. 2. *Arnobius* holds, (q) that the souls of the wicked are mortal, and are brought to nothing: and in the first book he saith, that men were made subject to diseases, by a certain importunate cruelty that would have it so: and often he sets up many Gods.

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In all these things and many more, the Roman Church rejects the opinion of the Fathers, and holds not her self bound to stand to all they say. For we have made this Collection, not to lay open the errors of the Ancient Doctors of the Church; whose holiness of life we praise, and admire their zeal, and make profit of their writings, but to shew how little our Adversaries deferr unto them; and that in many things wherein they have well spoken; as well as in others where they have erred, the Roman Church hath made no difficulty to depart from their opinion. Also that the Readers may acknowledge, how the Writings of those that are called Fathers, are under the perfection of the holy Scripture; and that the faith of the Christian shall never have any steadfastness, till it be stayed altogether upon the Word of God. Yea I say, that a Son that should see men honouring his Fathers memory with excess, and making an idol of him, should be bound to lay open, though with grief, the imperfections of his Father; that the honour of God might be maintained. Or if a man could be of such a perverse disposition, as to delight, as *Cham* did, to shew to the world his Fathers nakedness, and lay the errors of the ancient Doctors in open view, for no other end but to cast a reproach upon their memory; yet that crime should be light, compared to the rash licentiousness of *Cardinal du Perron*, who hath made a chapter on purpose of the Texts of Scripture which seem absurd unto humane reason; which he sets forth in such a manner, that he makes his end evident, which is to find fault with the Word of God, and expose it to derision, and plant unbelief in the Readers mind. To the confutation of which collection, we reserve also a chapter on purpose.

CHAP. 50.

How far the Ancient Church was from the belief which is now received in the Roman Church. Observations upon the eighteenth Chapter of the Book of Cardinal du Perron.

HIS Majesty of Great Britain had said, that there is a wide difference between the Roman Church of this time, and that of the time of saint *Austin*. And truly who so will compare the Church from the Apostles to *Austins* time with the Roman of our days, will find an extreme difference, and will wonder how the enemy of our salvation could work so great an alteration.

I. For then the publike service was celebrated at *Rome* in a known language; as also it was in Greek among the Grecians, and is still to this day. In *Armenia*, the service was in *Armenian*, in *Italy* in Latin, because Latin was the vulgar tongue. Neither did they know then what it was to pray to God, and not understand ones self.

II. Then (r) the books of *Judith*, *Tobit*, and *Maccabees*, were held *Apo-crypha*, not Canonical, as we shall prove hereafter.

III. Then (f) they believed that things necessary to salvation, were sufficiently and clearly contained in the holy Scriptures.

IV. Then (t) the Pastors of the Church recommended to the people, Tradesmen, Husbandmen, Women, and all, the reading of the holy Scripture.

V. Then (u) the Councils prohibited to have images in the Church, least that which is adored, should be painted on the Walls. And the Fathers of that time, said, that making images of Jesus Christ was a *Pagan Custom*; and those deserve to be seduced, that seek Jesus Christ in painted walls, instead of seeking him in the holy Scriptures. So contrary they were to images, that they would tear vails

(r) Hieron. Prologo Galileato. Et præfatione in lib. Salomonis. Rufinus in Expositione Symboli Concilii Laodicensis. (D) Aug. 1.2. de doctrina Christiana.

Chrysost. Hom. in 2 Thes. 2. & in Psal. 95. (t) Chrysost. 3. Hom. de Lazaro. Hieron. Ep. ad Lxtam. (u) Conc. Eliber. Can. 36. *Placuit in ecclesiis picturas esse non debere, ne quod adoratur in parietibus pingatur.* August. de consensu Evangelico, l. 1. c. 20. *Sic omnino errare merentur qui Christum & Apostolos ejus non in sanctis codicibus, sed in pictis parietibus quaesierunt.* Euseb. hist. l. 7. c. 17. Epiphani. Ep. ad Johannem Ierosolom.

and

(x) Clemens
Alex. Pro-
treptico.
Tertul. in
Hermoge-
nem.

(y) Ambr. l.
4. Sacram.
cap. 5.

Fac nobis hanc
oblationem ac-
scriptam rati-
onabilem ac-
ceptabilem,
quod est figu-
ra corporis
Christi.

(z) Tertul.
in Marcion.
l. 3. c. 19. &
l. 4. c. 40.

Hoc est corpus
meum, hoc est,
figura corpo-
ris mei.

(a) August.
in Adiman-
tum. c. 12.

Non dubitavit
dicere Hoc est
corpus meum,

cum daret fig-
num corporis
sui. Codex

Can.
Eccles. Afric.
Can. 37.

Cyp. Epist.
in Aquarios.
Theod. Dial.

1. & 2.
(b) Origen.
l. 5. contra

Celsum. Justin Mart. Apol. 2. Aug. l. 4. de Trinir. c. 3. Basil. de Sp. S. c. 27. τὸ εὐχαρίστας ῥήμα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐπιτελέσας.

(c) Vigil. J. 4. contra Eurych. Quando in terra fuit, non erat utique in celo; Et nunc quia in celo est, non est utique in terra. (d) August. in c. 6. Joh. & Tract. 26. in 1 Joh. & libro sententiarum Prosperi. Qui discordat a Christo, non manducat carnem ejus. Epiph. hzres. 42. Aug. l. 2. contra Epist. Parmeniani. Basil. Epist. ad Amphilocho.

XIII. Then the whole faithful people did communicate under both kinds, nei-
ther is there so much as one example found in all Antiquity of denying the Cup
unto the people, or of the holy Sacrament administred in the Church without gi-
ving the Cup to any.

(a) Orat. in
Julian. &
Orat. de so-
rore Gorgon.

(b) Aug. de
Spiritu & a-
nima, & lib.

de cura pro
mortuis. c. 13
Hier. Epitap.
Nepotiani.

(c) Aug. de
vanitate se-
culi. tom. 9.

c. 1. serm. 4.
de Confes.
mortuorum.

serm. 13. de
verbis Apo-
stoli. serm.

232. adver.

and hangings where there was any image of Christ or of some Saint. So far were the Christians of the two or three first ages from yielding any religious service to images, that the very (x) trade of Painter was held unlawfull and forbidden by God. *Tertullian* objects it to *Hermogenes* as a crime and a reproach. How farre were they from making pictures of God and images of the Trinity?

VI. Then in the form of service and publike prayers which were pronounced be- fore the table of the Lord these words were said, (y) *Make that this oblation may be put to our account, reasonable, acceptable, which is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Which words have been taken away, and blotted out of the Masse to bring in the Transubstantiation.

VII. The Fathers and Councils of that time (z) give the interpretation of these words, *This is my body*, that is, *This is the figure of my body*, and say that (a) *Je- sus Christ said, This is my body, when he gave the signe of his body*; And expound these words, *the body and the blood of Jesus Christ, by the bread and the wine con-secrated.* They say that the thing which Jesus Christ called his blood was wine, and that the nature and substance of bread remains after the consecration.

VIII. Wherefore also in the antient Church they did not adore the Sacrament with cult of *Latria*; They spake not of accidents without subject; They beleaved not that the body was whole in every drop of the Chalice; They beleaved not that mice could carry away, or gnaw the true body of the Lord.

IX. Then the people received the Sacrament in their hand, and sometimes would carry it home. The Priest made no elevation of the host, shewing it unto the people over his head, turning his back unto them; There was then upon the table not a little round wafer, but a quantity of bread and wine for the whole as-sembly to communicate; The word of transubstantiation was not known, and no more the signification now put upon it.

X. Then the consecration was made, not by these words, *This is my body*, but (b) by prayer; Not speaking to the bread, but to God.

XI. Then they beleaved that (c) as the body of Jesus Christ was not in heaven when it was on earth, likewise that now that it is in heaven it is no more on earth, and that we apprehend him in beleaving, not in chewing; by faith, not with the teeth or belly.

XII. Then they beleaved (d) that the wicked and unbelievers do not eat the body of the Lord, although they take the signe of it to their condemnation.

XIII. Then the whole faithful people did communicate under both kinds, nei-
ther is there so much as one example found in all Antiquity of denying the Cup
unto the people, or of the holy Sacrament administred in the Church without gi-
ving the Cup to any.

XIV. Then it was not lawfull to women to administer the holy Baptism, as it is usuall now in the Church of *Rome*.

XV. Then they made no Masses without either Communicants or Assistants, and no Masses were said for private men that paid for them.

XVI. For three hundred and fifty years since the birth of our Lord, all the Fathers with one consent will have God alone invocated, and reject the addresse of prayers made unto creatures. After that time some began to speak of it doubt-fully, as *Gregory Nazianzen* (a) the first Father that ever called upon Saints, and yet he declareth that he doubteth whether the Saints understand him.

XVII. Then they beleaved (b) that the Saints departed know not and under-stand not the things that are done here below.

XVIII. Then (c) they beleaved that there was but two places for the souls after death, paradise and hell; and that for him who is not in Christ, there is no place left but with the devil.

XIX. Then

ebrietatem. Lib. de meritis peccat. & de remiss. c. 28. Hypognoft. l. 5.

XIX. Then

XIX. Then they prayed for the dead that sleep in peace, that they might rise to salvation, not to fetch souls out of Purgatory; The Masse it self hath that antient prayer; for there they pray for the dead that sleep in a peaceable sleep.

XX. Then they beleev'd (d) that the souls separate from the bodies cannot be tormented, and by consequent they beleev'd not the fire of Purgatory.

XXI. Then no Christian what authority soever he had in the Church, did boast of releasing souls out of Purgatory, and to give Pardons and Indulgences to the dead.

XXII. Then many Priests and faithfull Pastors of the Church were married, and their habitation with their lawful wives was called chastity. And still to this day, in the Greek and Eastern Churches Priests are married.

XXIII. Then they held that S. Peter was the first and chief of the Apostles, as for honour and precedence; (e) but that in power and jurisdiction all the Apostles were equal.

XXIV. Then they held that the multitude was no mark of the true Church, and that the great number was often on the heretick side; And that Hereticks and Seducers are often they that make the greatest shew of miracles, as we have proved before by a multitude of testimonies.

XXV. (f) Then the Bishops that had any authority were called Popes, (g) and writ Remonstrances to the Bishop of Rome, and being assembled in Council without their leave, writ to him that they did not like that he should send them Legats, or take notice of their businesses, or receive any appeal coming from their countreys, and pronounced Excommunication against any man who being condemned by the Church of his Countrey, should appeal to Italy. Their election was made by suffrages of the people. *Cypr. Epist. 52. & 68.*

XXVI. (h) Then the Bishop of Rome exacted not from the Bishops of Gauls, or Spain, or Greece, or Asia, an Oath of Allegiance at the time of their reception; They took no letters of investiture from him, They paid no Annats unto the Pope of Rome. They feared not a sentence of lapse from Rome upon their Benefices.

XXVII. (i) Then the Bishop of Rome in his Epistles and Decrees took none of those Titles which he assumeth now, and called himself only Bishop of the city of Rome.

XXVIII. Then the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch, had the care of all the Churches of the Roman Empire, as well as the Bishop of Rome, and were equally called Heads of the Universal Church, and of all the world that is of the Romane Empire.

XXIX. (l) Then the Patriarchs of Alexandria sent to the Bishop of Rome every year to point unto him Easter day; And the Bishop of Rome accounted it not an injury or a contempt to receive that order from them.

XXX. Then the Universal Councils were convoked by the Emperours, who by their imperial Letters called the Bishop of Rome to the Council. We finde not that the first Council of Nice was assembled by Constantine, by the advice of the Bishop of Rome, or that he consulted with him about it: It is found also, that the second Universal Council, which is the first of Constantinople, was convoked by the Emperour Theodosius the I. without the advice of Damasus Bishop of Rome; And that the same Council having met the second year again, Damasus endeavoured to transferre it to Rome, but could not effect it. In that Council there was not any Legat of the Romane Bishop, and there without his advice the order of the Patriarks was altered. And so for the IV. Council, which was that of Chalcedon, which (m) Leo Bishop of Rome went about to hinder by humble supplications to Theodosius the II. but he could not obtain it. In that Council, against all the efforts of the Legats of Leo there present, the Patriarch of Constantinople was declared equall unto the Bishop of Rome in all things; In the same manner as the City of Epistolæ. Euseb. de vita Constantini. l. 2. c. 67. Socrat. l. 1. c. 8. Ruff. l. 1. c. 1. (m) Leo Epist. 23. *Omnes consuetudinem vestram cum gemitibus & lacrymis supplicanti sacerdotes, generalem Synodum jubentis intra Italianam celebrari. Can. 28. Concil. Chalced.*

(d) Tertul. Apol. c. 48. Nysse. Orat. 3. de resur. Christi. Chrysost. Hom. 39. in 1 ad Cor.

(e) Hieron. lib. 1. in Jo. vinian. Cypr. de unitate Ecclesie.

(f) See the Epistles of Sidonius Apollinaris to the Bishop of Gauls.

(g) Irenæus apud Eusebium Victor. Epist. Synodi Africanæ ad Cælestinum subiecta to. dici Canonum Ecclesie Africanæ.

(h) Formula juramenti Episcoporum in Pontificali.

(i) See the Epistles of Leo 1. and other ancient Popes.

(k) Theodoret de hæres. c. de Nestorio. Basil. ep. 10. Nazian. Orat. de Athanas.

A. S. 1000. 1001. 1002. 1003. 1004. 1005. 1006. 1007. 1008. 1009. 1010. 1011. 1012. 1013. 1014. 1015. 1016. 1017. 1018. 1019. 1020. 1021. 1022. 1023. 1024. 1025. 1026. 1027. 1028. 1029. 1030. 1031. 1032. 1033. 1034. 1035. 1036. 1037. 1038. 1039. 1040. 1041. 1042. 1043. 1044. 1045. 1046. 1047. 1048. 1049. 1050. 1051. 1052. 1053. 1054. 1055. 1056. 1057. 1058. 1059. 1060. 1061. 1062. 1063. 1064. 1065. 1066. 1067. 1068. 1069. 1070. 1071. 1072. 1073. 1074. 1075. 1076. 1077. 1078. 1079. 1080. 1081. 1082. 1083. 1084. 1085. 1086. 1087. 1088. 1089. 1090. 1091. 1092. 1093. 1094. 1095. 1096. 1097. 1098. 1099. 1100. 1101. 1102. 1103. 1104. 1105. 1106. 1107. 1108. 1109. 1110. 1111. 1112. 1113. 1114. 1115. 1116. 1117. 1118. 1119. 1120. 1121. 1122. 1123. 1124. 1125. 1126. 1127. 1128. 1129. 1130. 1131. 1132. 1133. 1134. 1135. 1136. 1137. 1138. 1139. 1140. 1141. 1142. 1143. 1144. 1145. 1146. 1147. 1148. 1149. 1150. 1151. 1152. 1153. 1154. 1155. 1156. 1157. 1158. 1159. 1160. 1161. 1162. 1163. 1164. 1165. 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2494. 2495. 2496. 2497. 2498. 2499. 2500. 2501. 2502. 2503. 2504. 2505. 2506. 2507. 2508. 2509. 2510. 2511. 2512. 2513. 2514. 2515. 2516. 2517. 2518. 2519. 2520. 2521. 2522. 2523. 2524. 2525. 2526. 2527. 2528. 2529. 2530. 2531. 2532. 2533. 2534. 2535. 2536. 2537. 2538. 2539. 2540. 2541. 2542. 2543. 2544. 2545. 2546. 2547. 2548. 2549. 2550. 2551. 2552. 2553. 2554. 2555. 2556. 2557. 2558. 2559. 2560. 2561. 2562. 2563. 2564. 2565. 2566. 2567. 2568. 2569. 2570. 2571. 2572. 2573. 2574. 2575. 2576. 2577. 2578. 2579. 2580. 2581. 2582. 2583. 2584. 2585. 2586. 2587. 2588. 2589. 2590. 2591. 2592. 2593. 2594. 2595. 2596. 2597. 2598. 2599. 2600. 2601. 2602. 2603. 2604. 2605. 2606. 2607. 2608. 2609. 2610. 2611. 2612. 2613. 2614. 2615. 2616. 2617. 2618. 2619. 2620. 2621. 2622. 2623. 2624. 2625. 2626. 2627. 2628. 2629. 2630. 2631. 2632. 2633. 2634. 2635. 2636. 2637. 2638. 2639. 2640. 2641. 2642. 2643. 2644. 2645. 2646. 2647. 2648. 2649. 2650. 2651. 2652. 2653. 2654. 2655. 2656. 2657. 2658. 2659. 2660. 2661. 2662. 2663. 2664. 2665. 2666. 2667. 2668. 2669. 2670. 2671. 2672. 2673. 2674. 2675. 2676. 2677. 2678. 2679. 2680. 2681. 2682. 2683. 2684. 2685. 2686. 2687. 2688. 2689. 2690. 2691. 2692. 2693. 2694. 2695. 2696. 2697. 2698. 2699. 2700. 2701. 2702. 2703. 2704. 2705. 2706. 2707. 2708. 2709. 2710. 2711. 2712. 2713. 2714. 2715. 2716. 2717. 2718. 2719. 2720. 2721. 2722. 2723. 2724. 2725. 2726. 272

Constantinople was equall in all things to the city of *Rome* for the civil. Neither shall it be found that before *Charlemagne* the Popes had Legats in the Councils of *Gauls*, or that his leave was demanded to convocate them, or that the causes of Bishops were evocated to *Rome*. That tyranny got footing in *France* under *Carolus Calvus* towards the end of the ninth age.

XXXI. Then the Bishops of *Rome* were subject to the Emperours who have often punished, expelled and deposed them, and often also have granted them graces, immunities and priviledges, and have imposed upon them certain sums of money for their entry into the Bishoprick. It was then very farre from the Bishop of *Rome* to think of degrading Emperours, and taking crowns from the heads of Kings.

XXXII. Then the Universal Church of all the world was not called *Romane*, and the Christians of *Syria* or *Egypt* were not called Roman Catholicks, but onely when by the word *Roman* the subjects of the Roman Empire were understood, or the favourers of that Religion which was professed in the Roman Empire.

XXXIII. About the year of the Lord 300 began the profession of Hermites who called themselves *Monachi* or *Monks*, living not in Cities but in Deserts, and getting their living with the labour of their hands, without any necessity of vow. The following ages have added to that profession the vow and the works of supererogation, and the counsels of perfection, and divers sorts of Monasticall Rules.

XXXIV. In the antient Church they knew not what belonged to Papal Indulgences; They knew nothing of the great Pardons of *Rome*, nor of the Jubilee, nor of the treasure of the Church composd with the overplus of the satisfactions of Jesus Christ and the Saints, nor of the Pardons of six hundred thousand years, nor of the Popes power to draw souls out of Purgatory, and to put an interdict upon a kingdom, and dispense from Vows and Oaths, and change that which God hath commanded in his word; Nor of Cardinals, nor of the Court of *Rome*. For then the Bishop of *Rome* was not a Prince, and wore not a Triple Crown glittering with diamonds. He gave not his feet to Kings and Emperours to kisse; He boasted not that he could not erre in the faith. He did not canonize the Saints, and caused not himself to be adored.

XXXV. Then there was no mention of Gods Feast, nor of the Masse of such and such a Saint, as now there is the Masse of *St. Rock* and of *St. Genovefa*, and of *St. Anthony*, and of the holy Ghost. For of late they have judged it reasonable that the holy Ghost should also have his Feast. Then the Altars were not consecrated to such and such a Saint, whose Reliques are hid under the Altar.

XXXVI. Then it was an impious language to call the Virgin *Mary* the Queen of Heaven. They beleevd not her bodily assumption into heaven; They did not deferre unto her the cult of *Hyperdulia*. And the Church of that time gave no charges unto Saints over a Trade, or a Town, or a sicknesse,

XXXVII. Then the Roman Indulgences were not in use, as *Gabriel Biel* acknowledged (n) in the 57. lesson upon the Canon of the Masse, and the Cardinal *Cajetan* in the Book of Indulgences to *Julius de medicis*.

XXXVIII. In that time the publike Service was pronounced aloud, and the people answered Amen, because they understood that which was said. That part of the Masse which is called *Secreta*, was a thing unknown to Antiquity.

XXXIX. The antient Church carefully concealed the matter and the mystery of the Sacrament, and would not celebrate it in presence of those that were under penance, or of the *Catechumenes*. Now Jews and Turks, and Pagans may see what is done in the Masse, and the Sacrament which they call the Host, is carried in procession through the streets in open view.

XL. Then the Baptisme was not ordinarily conferred but at *Easter* and *Pentecost*; and the most part to avoid the rigour of the penitential Canons, would defer the Baptisme till they were at mans estate, and many even to the hour of death.

XLI. We shall see hereafter that the whole doctrine, and the whole form of Penitence,

(n) Dixerunt quod ante tempora beati Gregorii modicus vel nullus usus fuit indulgentiarum. Nunc autem crebre scit eorum usus.

Penitence, and all the Penitentiall Canons of the antient Church are abolisht in the Church of Rome.

In a word it is now quite another face of the Church, and another Religion. If any of the Christians of the first ages did return into the world, he would seek the Roman Church in the Roman Church, and should have much adoe to observe in it the Relicks of Christianity.

I have been large upon this matter, to be even with *Card. du Perron*, who in the 18. ch. of his first Book quoteth many testimonies of the Fathers in the margin, whereby he pretends to prove the conformity of the Roman Church of this time with the Antient. All that to no purpose, for who knows whether these passages be faithfully quoted? or whether the same Fathers speak alwaies the same language? or whether the words of these passages be not used in a sense contrary to the Authors minde? or whether the signification of the words be not changed? (As in effect the words of Pope, Merit, Sacrifice, Indulgence, Masse, Consecration, Prayer for the dead, Satisfaction, &c. have lost their antient signification) Or whether the alledged Books be not supposititious? Or whether the severall ages have been uniform, and have altered nothing in these matters? And after all, they are but men that speak, such men as the Roman Church condemneth in many things, and that will not be beleev'd without the Word of God.

In effect, who so will examine the authorities quoted in the Cardinals margin, and consult the authours themselves, shall finde that of those passages some are taken in a wrong sense, some are of suspected Authors, some are out of purpose, and touch not the question, or they are about trifles and petty ceremonies not worth the staying upon, or that a Father having spoken thus hath spoken otherwise afterwards, and hath retracted his doctrine.

For example, he goeth about to prove by the Fathers, that in the antient Church they adored the Eucharist, not only with words and inward devotions, but even with gestures and outward adoration: Upon that he quoteth in the margin *Cyrrillus* of Jerusalem in the fifth mystagogicall *Catechesis*, which is a suspected book, whose style is different, and more concise then the other precedent *Catecheses* of *Cyrrillus*, of which we shall say more in another place. He quotes also *Chrysostome* upon the 1. Ep. to the *Corinthians*, hom. 24. *Austin* upon *Ps.* 98. *Theodoret dialogo* 2. All Texts that say not, that the Eucharist was adored with adoration of *Latria*. The passage of *Theodoret* is this, *The mysticall signes do not change nature after the Consecration, for they remain in their first substance, figure and form, and are visible and to be handled as before: But they are understood to be the things which were made, and they are beleev'd and adored as made that which they are beleev'd to be.*

Theodoret saith. That (ο) the mysticall signes are adored; He speaks not then of the adoration of *Latria* due unto God alone; for the signes must not be thus adored. Besides, the word προσκυνην which *Theodoret* useth, doth many times simply signifie to venerate and make obeysance or a congry. The testimony of *Austin* upon *Ps.* 98. is this, *That none eat this flesh unlesse he hath first adored it;* Where *Austin* speaking of manducation by faith, will have the flesh of Christ adored in the celebration of the Eucharist, but he saith not, Let the Eucharist be adored. It is one thing to worship Christ in the Lords Supper, and another to worship the Lords Supper, or to adore the Sacrament which is set upon the table; The Father also is adored in the Eucharist, although he be not inclosed under the accidents of bread. *Chrysostome* saith the same in the alledged place, and will have all those that partake of the Sacrament to worship Christ, which we acknowledge to be necessary. But he speaks not of the adoration of the Sacrament.

In the same Chapter also to defend the Communion under one kinde, he quoteth in the margin such passages as say, that in old time they carried the bread home, that it was brought to the sick, carried upon the sea, and sent to remote Countreys. Who seeth not that this doth not touch the question? The question

is, Whether in the antient Church the Eucharist was celebrated in the Temple without giving the cup to any of the Assistants; or whether the cup was ever denied to any of the people that required it, or whether it was interdicted to the Laity, as it is now in the Roman Church.

Also for the invocation of Saints, he quoteth in the Margin the book of *Ambrose* concerning Widows. But he saith not, that the same Father retracted his opinion; and that in the oration upon the death of *Theodosius* written many years after, he said, that *God alone must be prayed to, and invoked.*

But of all these Texts we shall speak in their proper place, for the Cardinal brings forth the same Texts, and many more in the Chapter, when he speaks of every question by it self.

CHAP. 51.

Of the pretended power and authority of the Church to add unto Scripture. And of the unwritten Traditions. And why the Pope not only equalleth them unto, but preferreth them before the holy Scripture.

ONE of the chief proofs that our Adversaries bring to raise the authority of the Church above the holy Scripture, is the power which they ascribe unto the Church to add unto Scripture, and to make Laws (which concern faith and manners) not contained in the Scripture. The Jesuit *Gregorius de Valentia* saith, that the (a) *Scripture is not a sufficient rule of faith, because it contains not all things.* The Jesuit *Bayle* in the ninth question of his Catechism, *I will make you* (saith he) *palpably discern, that Scripture is not sufficient.* And so *Charron* in the fourth chapter of the third verity: *Scripture is but a very little parcel of the revealed truth.* *Salmeron* gives a reason why God would not have all the Mysteries of Religion to be written, namely, (b) *That the Commandment of Christ should be kept, Give not holy things unto Dogs.* So that in his account, the holy Scripture is for Dogs: (c) *Costerus* saith the same.

(a) Greg.
de Valentia
Analys. l. 5.
c. 3. in titulo
Scripturam
non esse suffi-
cientem regu-
lam fidei.

(b) Salmer.
Tom. 13.
Disp. 8. §.

Quinto opus. Hoc litteris consignari minimè debuerat, ut servaretur præceptum Christi, Nolite dare sanctum canibus. (c) Coster. Præfat. Enchirid. In ea tamen omnia contineri valde impudenter affirmare non verentur, &c. A Christo videtur cautum ne omnia fidei dogmata Scriptis commendarentur, dum ait, Nolite dare sanctum canibus.

And that one may not think that the Traditions which the Church addeth unto Scripture, be of small concernment; (d) *Thomas Aquinas* saith, that the Pope can make a new Edition of the Symbol. Upon which Text, *Andradus* in the second book of the defence of the Tridentine faith, saith, (e) *The Roman Popes by defining many things which had been hidden before, use to augment the Symbol of the Faith.* Whence the Council of *Florence*, in the last Session attributes to the Pope and to the Roman Church the power of adding to the Symbol. The Bull *Exurge*, which is at the end of the last Council of *Lateran*, condemneth *Luther* for saying that it is not in the power of the Pope and the Roman Church to stablish new Articles of Faith.

(d) Tho-
mas 2.^a. 2.^a.
quæst. 1.
art. 10.
Ad solam
authoritatem
summi Ponti-
ficis pertinet
nova editio
symboli.

(e) Andrad.
Romanos
Pontifices
multa defini-
endo quæ an-
te latitabant,
symbolum fi-
dei augere
consequisse.

(f) Salmer.
Tom. XIII.
part. 3.

Disp. 6. §. Est ergo, Doctrina fidei admittit additionem in essentialibus. (g) Salmer. ibid. §. Tertio varia. Hinc colligi potest non omnia tradita esse ab Apostolis, sed ea quæ tunc temporis necessaria & quæ ad salutem credentium idonea erant.

all traditions Apostolical, there being many Doctrines of which the Apostles have neither written nor spoken. For (saith he) *all things have not been taught by the Apostles, but such as were then necessary and fit for the salvation of Believers.* By that reason there are some Doctrines that now are necessary and essential to faith, which were not so in the Apostles time. It were good to know when Christian Religion shall be perfected, and whether the Popes shall have always the power to add new Articles of faith.

M. du Perron in the fifth observation of the second book, chap. 3. is very ample upon that point. And as in the third observation, he maintains that the Church can change the Scripture, and make other Laws; so in this place he maintains that the Church can add to Scripture, and make traditions of equal authority to Scripture.

To this Tradition our Adversaries have recourse, when Scripture faileth them. So did the old Hereticks, as Irenæus saith in the third book, chap. 2. *When one convicteth Hereticks by Scripture, they will accuse the Scriptures as not being in good form, and having no authority, and diversly spoken, and because truth cannot be found in Scripture by those that know not tradition, because it was not given in Writing, but viva voce.* For which cause, Paul said, *We speak Wisdom among the perfect.* (h) Tertullian being turned Heretick, defended his error by tradition, alledging these words of the Lord, *I have yet many things to say unto you, but as yet you cannot bear them.* Which Text (i) Bellarmine and other defenders of traditions, make use of to establish them; as also of this Text alledged by Irenæus, *We speak wisdom among the perfect.* A little after the Apostles, Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, applied his mind to unwritten traditions, which were parables, and strange Doctrines, and other fabulous things, as Eusebius saith in the last chapter of the last book of his history.

Clemens Alexandrinus, who among many virtues had also his defects, was much given to traditions not contained in Scripture. He (k) taught that the Pagans were justified by Philosophy, and that it was necessary before the coming of the Lord, and that it was a Schoolmaster unto Christ. That Christ had prescribed to the Jews twelve years for a term of repentance; (l) That not only Christ, but the Apostles also descended into hell to preach repentance, and many such Doctrines, which the Roman Church of our dayes doth not receive.

Within these traditions our Adversaries intrench themselves when they are prest by the Scripture, and say that this unwritten word is found in the mouth of the Church, that is, that it depends from the will of the Pope, and of those that govern the Roman Church under him.

Now although the (m) Council of Trent equal those traditions with the holy Scripture, commanding that they be received *with the like reverence and affection of piety as the holy Scripture*; Nevertheless traditions have really a greater authority with the Roman Church then the holy Scripture; Since the Romanists ground the authority of Scripture upon tradition, and upon the testimony of the Church. Certainly if the tradition of the Church can change that which God commandeth in Scripture (as the Cardinal will have it) it follows, that Tradition hath more authority then Scripture. Or if Scripture must be believed, because the tradition of the Church prescribes it, what followeth but that the tradition of the Church is more to be believed then Scripture? Whence also the Jesuit Costerus in his Manual, chap. 1. calleth the tradition printed in the heart, of the Church, another kind of Scripture. (n) *The excellency of that Scripture* (saith he) *far surmounteth the holy Scriptures, which the Apostles have left in parchments; First, because that is written by the finger of God, the other is written with the Pens of the Apostles.* Salmeron in the third part of the XIII. Tome, in the 8. Dispute, pronounceth this goodly Aphorism, *Tradition hath all things necessary to salvation, yea more then Scripture.* (o) He addeth, *Tradition is more ancient then Scripture.* Again, (p) *Scripture cannot be Judge of doubts, because it is hard and dumb, and like a nose of wax which is drawn any way, &c. Wherefore such as will be insolent, cannot be convinced by Scripture; but with the only tradition we must*

(h) Lib. de Monogam. c. 2.

(i) Bellar. I. de verbo Dei non scripto, c. 3.

(k) Strom. I. 1. & 6.

(l) Strom. 6. (m) Sess. IV. Pavi pietatis affectu & reverentia.

(n) Hujus Scripture præstantia multis partibus superat Scripturas quas nobis in membranis Apostoli reliquerunt, &c. (o) §. Secunda. Traditio est Scriptura antiquior.

(p) Scriptura dubiorum que pullulabant iudex esse non poterat, &c. Tum quia difficilis est & quia muta est, &c. Non mittitur ad Scripturas qua instar nasi cerei ducuntur, quo quis vult, &c.

cut

(q) Salmer.

2. Proleg.

§. Septimo.

Non mirum

si Ecclesie

Dei quæ Spi-

ritum habet,

subiiciatur

Scriptura.

(r) In Indice

titulorum, l.

5. c. 5. Eccle-

siam non esse

ex voluntate

Christi Scri-

pturæ al-

ligatam.

(f) Christus

nec Ecclesiam

à charitatis

Scriptis pen-

dere, nec

membris

sua mysteria

committere

voluit.

(t) Stapl.

Dixi & di-

co, non tam

ipsius fidei

regulam in se

esse Scriptu-

ram, quam

ipsarum

Scripturarum

regulam esse

fidem Eccle-

siae.

(u) Innoc.

III. Extra.

de biga-

mis, c. Quia

circa. Postulasti per sedem Apostolicam edoceri si Presbyteri plures concubinas habentes, bigami censentur. Ad quod

duximus respondendum quod cum irregularitatem non incurverint cum eis tanquam simplici fornicatione notatis poteris

dispensare. (x) Navar. Tom. 2. cap. ad inferendam 23. qu. 3. de defensione proximi, c. 35. §. Decimum. Responden-

dum est crimen Sodomie non comprehendi in criminibus quæ irregularitatem inducunt.

cut their throats. Again, Tradition is more firm then Scripture. And a little after, Tradition is far more universal then Scripture, and extends to a longer time, and hath more matters, and more persons then Scripture; Yea that Jesuit goeth so far, as to say, that (q) Scripture is subject unto the Church which hath the Spirit. Now to be subject unto the Church, and unto the tradition of the Church, is all one. Which is the same thing that Lindanus saith in Panoplia, (r) The Church was not tyed to Scripture by the Will of Christ. And the Jesuit Cosserus in his Manual, (f) Christ would not have his Church to depend from Scriptures of paper, and would not commit his mysteries to parchment. And Stapleton in the second book of the authority of Scripture, chap. 11. (t) I have said, and say again, that Scripture in herself is not so much the rule of Faith, as the faith of the Church is the rule of Scripture. Now by the Faith of the Church, the tradition of the Church is understood; and by the Church, they understand the Roman; and by the Roman, they understand the Pope, in whom resideth the whole authority of the Roman Church. So the Pope is set above God, speaking in the Scriptures; Wherefore they are gruelled, when they are asked whether the Pope be subject to the holy Scripture?

Did ever any of their Doctors say of the Traditions, that which they say of the holy Scriptures? Did they ever call the Traditions a piece of a rule, a nose of wax, a stumbling block, a dumb rule, a sword for both hands, an obscure and ambiguous Doctrine which cannot be judge, &c? In a word, they will have Tradition, not Scripture to be Judge. And their practice justifieth it; for in the Roman Church, the people is a thousand times more carefully instructed in the tradition, then in the Doctrine of salvation contained in the holy Scripture. The very idiots among them know what belongs to Lent and Emberweeks; what meats are forbidden on certain days; and speak of Holy days, Vigils, Pilgrimages, Relicks, great Pardons, Obits, Beads, Rosaries, &c. But many that go for learned, are ignorant in the Doctrine of our Redemption, and free Adoption, and Justification by Faith, and about the Offices and Natures of our Redeemer, and about the relation between the New and the Old Testament, which are the fundamentals of Christian Religion. Confirmation being of humane invention, is more honoured then Baptism, which is instituted by Christ. For Confirmation is not conferred but by the Bishop; But Baptism may be conferred by a Woman, yea by a Pagan Woman, yea by a Pagan Whore. Of sins against Gods Law, as Fornication, Murther, Perjury, Adultery, Priests and Bishops give absolution; but they cannot absolve them that have molested those that go to Rome to gain pardons, or robbed the victuallers that carry provision to the Court of Rome, nor Princes and Magistrates that levy Tenths upon the Clergy, nor them that appeal from the Pope unto the future Council. These are cases reserved unto his Holiness, except only in the Article of death. They are traditions, which to transgress, is a greater sin then to transgress the Law of God. If a Priest marry for a remedy to his incontinence, according to the Apostles command, he falls into irregularity, and becomes unable to sing Mass; but not for keeping many Concubines, or for being a Sodomite, as we learn of Pope (u) Innocent the III. and of (x) Navarrru the Popes penitentiary.

It is no wonder that in the Roman Church Tradition hath more authority then Scripture. For the Popes succession in Saint Peters Primacy, is a tradition, which is the foundation of his Empire. He hath then a great interest to exalt tradition, upon which his domination is founded.

Besides, all traditions are lucrative unto the Pope, and serve to exalt and enrich the Pope and his Clergy. He draweth great profits from Indulgences, private Masses, Dispensations, Annals, Suffrages for the dead, and from Purgatory.

By

By the confessions the Confessors know the secrets of families, and the intentions of Princes, and have a King kneeling before them, confessing his sins, and craving pardon, and undergoing penances at their discretion. Clergy-men reserving to themselves and Kings the Cup in the Sacrament, raise themselves above the people, and make themselves fellows to Kings. By the Transubstantiation they arrogate to themselves the power of making God with their word, and hold Jesus Christ shut up in a box. By the sacrifice of the Mass they make themselves Priests after the order of *Melchisedeck*, and sacrifice Jesus Christ unto his Father, having no command of God for that. The images of God the Father arrayed like a Pope, make the ignorant to believe that the Pope is like unto God. By holy dayes the Pope usurpeth the power of shutting up the Shops, and hindring the sitting of Courts of Justice and Councils of State. By the distinction of meats, the Pope rules the markets, and the kitchins, and the bellies, and the Tables of Kings. By the canonization of Saints he gives his servants to be adored by the Nations, and raiseth to heaven such as have faithfully served him: By the Sacrament of Penance he chastiseih Kings and Princes, imposing corporal and pecuniary punishments, and changing when he listeth the corporal into pecuniary: By the Absolution Priests forgive sins, and bear themselves as Judges in Gods cause; For God is the offended party, and the Priest is the Judge. By the adoration of Images, and the prohibition of reading Scripture in the vulgar tongue, the Pope keeps the people in ignorance, that they may not know the abuse and the tyranny. By the service in the Romane language the Pope tameth the people to the Roman Religion, and giveth his language to the nations which he hath subdued. The dispensations which the Pope giveth to Princes, of marrying in the forbidden degrees and unlawfull by the Word of God, oblige the children born of those marriages to maintain the Papall authority; for if that authority were shaken, one might doubt whether they were lawfull. The power which the Pope usurpeth to take from Kings both their Crowns and their lives, and to dispose of Kingdoms, makes him King of Kings, and Monarch over the whole temporall of the earth. Who shall wonder now that the Pope labours with all his power to raise the authority of Traditions above that of the Law of God, since they are so lucrative unto him? And whereas he is Master of Traditions, and having made them he can change them, no wonder if he sticks to them, but he can neither abolish Scripture, nor make another at his pleasure.

For our part, we know no other word of God but that which is contained in the Old and New Testament, which God hath inspired unto his Prophets and Apostles. And holding that word for a perfect Rule of our faith, we reject all additions unto the doctrine of salvation contained in the holy Scriptures, either in expresse words or in equivalent terms.

Yet doe we not absolutely reject all traditions, since Scripture it self is a tradition, as *Cyprian* saith in the 74 Epistle to *Pompeius*. *Whence comes this tradition? doth it come from the authority of the Lord and the Gospel, or from the doctrine and Epistles of the Apostles?* And a little after, *If it be commanded in Scripture, or in the Epistles, or in the Acts of the Apostles, let that holy and divine tradition be observed.* Besides there be many things that concern Ecclesiasticall policy and outward order, which we would not reject, although they be not in Scripture; so that there be nothing in them against good manners, and that they exceed not in number, and that they be not given as necessary to salvation, and equalled to the doctrine of faith contained in the Scripture. Also if there be any tradition which adds nothing to the holy Scripture, but be an acknowledgement of the perfection of the same, and barre all addition to it; as that such and such books are sacred and Canonically, which is a tradition arising from the nature it self of Scripture, we receive it willingly. Moreover, if one call traditions the doctrines which are not found in formall texts in the Scripture, but are found in it in equivalent terms, or are drawn out of it by necessary consequence, we reject not those traditions. We reject those only that cannot be received without admitting some defect in Scripture, as if it contained not the whole doctrine of salvation.

(y) Hier. in
Pl 98. Omne
quod loqui-
mur, debemus
affirmare de
Scripturis
sanctis.
(z) Aug l. de
unitate Ec-
clesiæ. Aufe-
rantur illa de
medio que
adversus nos
in vicem, non
ex divinis Ca-
nonicis libris
sed aliunde
recitamus.

As Hierome saith, (y) Whatsoever we say, we ought to affirm it by the holy Scri-
ptures. And Austin, Let us hear no more among us, This I say, and that thou
sayest, but the Lord saith this. We have the books of the Lord, to whose authority
both of us consent, and beleeve it, and serve it: There let us seek the Church, there
let us decide our cause. Again, (z) Let us remove all that we bring, the one against
the other, from any other place but the Canonick Scriptures.

CHAP. 52.

*That the holy Scripture contains the whole doctrine necessary to salvation.
Examination of the Cardinals answers.*

1. **I**N this Question we lay for a foundation, that true Religion comes from
God, and must be ruled by the word of God. Now we have no other
book that may challenge that Title but the holy Scripture, and our Adversaries
produce none. Whence it follows that the Traditions not contained in the holy
Scripture, though backt with testimonies brought from other books, are drawn
not from the Word of God, but from the word of men.

If the Word of God contained in the holy Scriptures should want any thing
necessary for salvation, whence or by what means should that defect be supplied?
Should it be, from the Decrees and Decretals of the Popes? but the Roman Church
receiveth them not for the Word of God. Should it be by the ancient Councils?
but they speak not of the Traditions which the Roman Church hath added since,
and they condemn the Roman Church in many things. Wherefore the Roman
Church receives not the Councils for the Word of God; Neither doth she hold
her self subject to Councils, but attributes to her self the power of altering that
which was decreed by the Universal Councils. And before the Councils, the Scri-
pture for many ages was held in the Church the only rule of faith.

2. The very title of the holy Scripture is a proof. For it bears on the front the
title of Testament and Covenant of God. We ask then whether the Testament
of our God be whole there, or whether there be but part of it? If it be whole,
nothing must be added to it; but if there be but a part of it, we must correct the
title, and write, *Part of the Testament or Covenant of God*. And indeed our Ad-
versaries were not so bold yet as to affirm that the traditions which they hold
forth make part of Gods Covenant.

3. The same may be said of the title set before the New Testament, that it is
the *Gospel of Jesus Christ*. Which Gospel if it be whole, it follows that the un-
written Traditions are no part of the Gospel: If it be not whole, the title
must be corrected, and our Adversaries must supply that defect, and give us a list
of the unwritten traditions, that the people may have the whole body of Chri-
stian Religion.

4. Now if the Church of this time, and that which shall come after, hath the au-
thority to adde more unto Scripture, Christian Religion shall never be entire, and
there will be still a power to make additions to it, which presupposeth imperfection.

5. Moreover, how shall the people be able to learn these Traditions, and know
the goodness of them? Shall they learn it from the mouth of the Church? but
before that they must be assured, that it is an orthodox Church and sound in the
faith; A thing impossible for the people to know, since the reading of holy
Scripture is forbidden to the people, from which Scripture only the doctrine of
salvation is drawn. And there being many contrary Churches, as the Roman, the
Grecian, the Armenian, the Ethiopian, &c. how shall the poor people know,
which of all their divers traditions they must stand to?

If one say that the good traditions are learned by the consent of the Fathers,
the Fathers are things hidden from the people, who never reade them, because
they are Greek and Latine, and of an endlesse length. And if one should reade
them all, he should finde a great number of traditions in the Roman Church, of
which the Fathers say nothing, and some which the Fathers contradict. Can any
man

man finde in the Fathers of the four first ages any mention of the power of the Pope to send souls out of Purgatory? or to give and take away Kingdoms? Do they speak of Roman Indulgences? or of the Jubilee every twenty fifth year? or of the adoration of Images? or of denying the Cup in the Lords Supper unto the people? or of private Masses? or of forbidding the people to read Scripture? and many the like things.

6. If the Church of *Israel* hath lived many ages having no other doctrine of salvation but the five Books of *Moses*, of which God speaks thus, *Deut. 4. 2. Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall you diminish ought from it*: Is it credible that now that we have these books of *Moses*, the books of the Prophets, of the Apostles, and of the Evangelists, that these sacred books are not sufficient, and that we need yet besides them great number of doctrines? In vain *M. du Perron* answers, that in that place adding and diminishing signifies transgressing the Commandments of God, or omitting to fulfill them, for he that kills or steals, addeth nothing to the Law of God.

The Cardinal saith also, that in the alledged place, *by the word which I command you*, the unwritten word is understood also; and he brings many commandments practised by the Israelites, of which no mention is made in the books of *Moses*; A reason which shall be examined in the following Chapter. That *Moses* gave no unwritten Traditions to the people, but set down in writing the whole Law of God, himself testifieth it, *Deut. 31. 24. And it came to pass when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this Law in a book until they were finished, That Moses commanded the Levites which bare the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, saying, Take this book of the Law, and put it in the side of the Ark.*

7. I add that the whole Service of God consisteth in two points, well-doing and well-beleeving: Of the first we have a summary in the Law, of the second in the Symbol. Many persons are come to salvation with less knowledge then that: *Jonas* did not propound all these things to the Ninivites, to whose conversion nevertheless Christ beareth witness, *Matth. 12.*

8. *Luk. 16. 29.* The rich Glutton being in hell, desireth *Abraham* that some of the dead be sent to his brothers to warn them of their duty, lest they should fall into the like torment; To whom *Abraham* answereth, *They have Moses and the Prophets, let them hear them.* *Abraham* will have them to be content with the doctrine of *Moses* and the Prophets, which was read every Sabbath in the Synagogues, without expecting other revelation. For Christ speaks of that rich glutton as of a man that had lived under the Old Testament, under which the Church had no other doctrine but that of the Law and the Prophets: *Chrysostom* understood it so upon *Gal. 1. (a) Abraham* (saith he) being required to send down *Lazarus*, answereth, *They have Moses and the Prophets, if they will not hear them, no more they shall hear dead men raised again.* Now *Jesus Christ* brings in *Abraham* speaking thus, shewing that he will have us to give more faith to Scripture then to dead men risen again.

9. *S. John ch. 20. ult.* speaking of his Gospel, saith, that these things are written that we may beleeve in *Jesus Christ*, and that beleeving on him we may have life through his Name. We grant to the Cardinall, that these words contain not a demonstrative proof of the perfection of Scripture, but it is a very probable argument, since God hath inspired many of his servants to write the doctrine of salvation propounded by *Jesus Christ*, that he hath indited and inspired unto them, all that he knew to be necessary to save us. For that which is committed to the simple word of men, and to unwritten tradition, is subject to be altered and corrupted: Which appears in that Churches have contrary Traditions, though they have the same holy Scripture. The Antients made use of that Text to prove the perfection of Scripture; So did *Austin*, (b) *All that the Lord would have us to reade about his words and deeds, he commanded them to write, they being as his own hands.* And in another place, (c) *These things were chosen to be written which seemed to be sufficient for the salvation of beleevers.* And *Cyrillus*, (d) *All that the Lord hath done was not written, but that which the writers thought to be sufficient,*

(a) ὁ αὖτις ἐν
Ἀβραάμ,
ἀπεκρίθη
παρὰ τὸν
Ἀβραάμ λέγων,
ὅτι ἔχουσιν
Μωσὴν καὶ τὰς
προφῆτας, καὶ
ἐὰν οὐταὶ οὐ
ἀκούσιν, οὐδὲν
ἐνέχεται
ἀκούσαι τῶν
νεκρῶν.
(b) Aug. de
consensu E-
vangelista-
rum. l. 1.
cult.

(c) Idem
Tract. 49.
in Johan.
Evangelista
testatur multa
Dominum
Christum &
fecisse &
dixisse que
scripta non
sunt; electa
autem sunt
que scribe-
rentur que
saluti creden-
tium sufficere
videbantur.
(d) Johan.
l. 12. c. 63.

that shining by the right faith, and by works, we may attain to the Kingdom of Heaven.

10. The Apostle saith to Timothy, 2 Tim. 3. 15. *From a child thou hast known the holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation.* It matters not whether the word σοφίαι be translated to *make wise*, or to *instruct*, as the Cardinal will have it. For the Apostle speaks not of an imperfect instruction. It is hard to say certainly, whether by the *holy Letters or Scriptures* he understands only the books of the Old Testament, or whether part of the New was already written. Only I say, that if Saint Paul speaks only of the Old Testament, the argument is so much the stronger; For if the Old Testament alone can make us wise unto salvation, how much more the Old and the New?

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But (saith M. du Perron) where is the Ordinance for Baptism, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, found in the Old Testament; and the Ordinance for distributing the body and blood of the Lord? I answer, that the knowledge of these things was not necessary under the Old Testament; And that even in the beginnings of the Christian Church, that which is revealed in the Old Testament about Jesus Christ, might be sufficient to salvation, to him that had wanted means to receive a more ample instruction. Besides, the Old Testament doth instruct us in these things, inasmuch as it sends us to Christ, and commands us to hearken to him, and by consequent to receive his Ordinances. And this is it that the Apostle addeth, saying, *the holy Letters are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through the Faith which is in Christ Jesus*; that is, These holy Letters address thee to go unto Christ, and will have thee to believe in his Word.

To confound the Reader, he will have that word σοφίαι to be translated in the *Præterit*, to have instructed, being ignorant that the infinitive Aorist is taken almost always in the present tense. See Acts 13. 44. & 14. 1. & 15. 10. Hardly is there a chapter in the New Testament without an example of this.

11. The same Apostle, Acts 20. 17. saith, that he hath announced to the Ephesians *the whole counsel of God*. Then the traditions added since by the Popes, are not of the counsel of God. And Acts 16. 22. *He witnesseth both to small and great, that he said none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come.* Then he restrained his preaching to the Scriptures.

12. Mat 15. 3. The Lord Jesus said to the Pharisees, *Why do you transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?* The word transgressing, ὑπερβαίνω, is overpassing. He saith not, *Why do you contradict?* but *why do you overpass the commandment of God?* as in effect the Pharisaical traditions were, for the most part, simple additions unto the Law of God, having an appearance of devotion; Not otherwise forbidden, but as much as God forbiddeth to add unto his Word: as to fast twice in the week, to make broad their phylacteries or fringes of their garments, to wash themselves returning from the Town-hall or Market, to make pots clean in a superstitious way, to number their steps on the Sabbath day.

13. The Apostle Eph. 2. 20. foundeth our faith upon the Prophets and the Apostles. *Being* (saith he) *built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets.* If our Adversaries say, that our faith is founded upon the Word both written and unwritten of the Apostles, they must say also, that it is founded upon the word both written and unwritten of the Prophets. Now we have no unwritten Word of the Prophets, and our Adversaries produce none.

(c) μετα-
μα πόα,
I have trans-
figured.
(f) μη οὐ-
ρα γ.

14. Saint Paul 1 Cor. 4. 6. speaks thus; *These things I have (c) transferred in a figure to my self, and to Apollo for your sakes, that ye might learn (f) not to think to be wise above that which is written.* The whole context takes away all doubt of the sense of these words: For the Apostle in the precedent chapter, v. 5. & 6. and in this chapter, called himself an Architect, and a Minister of Christ, and Steward of the Mysteries of God; and had said, that Paul had planted, Apollo had watered, but that God giveth the increase; and he had sent us to Christ, who is the only foundation of the building. Now in this Text, he saith, that he hath transferred those things to his person, and to that of Apollo, that

that by that example, the Pastors of the Church might learn not to assume to themselves more then the Scripture attributes unto them; for their charge and their authority must be limited by the Word of God. Whence we infer, that since Scripture sets a rule to the charge of Pastors, and puts limits unto them, which they cannot overpass without offending God, then we must make no doubt, but that the same Scripture prescribes unto Pastors that which they must teach, and limits their preaching. Whereby the Peoples duty is also limited; For the faithful must not presume to be wise beyond that which is written. This Text seems to have been purposely made against the Roman Church; in which, the Pope and the Priests assume titles beyond that which is written, as the titles of Vicar of God, and head of the Universal Church, and sacrificers of Christs body.

15. The same Apostle *Gal. 1.8.* speaks thus to the Galatians, *Though we or an Angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you then that ye have received, let him be accursed.* The dispute is vain, whether *ἄλλο* in Greek signifieth besides or against; for whoso teacheth besides the Gospel, teacheth also against it: And adding to the Gospel is gainsaying the Gospel. Hence it is, that the word *transgressing* signifies not only overpassing, but violating and breaking the Law. Chrysostom upon *Gal. 1.* expoundeth that Text in this manner. (g) *Paul saith not, if they announce things contrary to the Gospel, or if they overthrow all, but if they preach never so little besides the Gospel which you have received, if they shake any thing never so little, let them be anathema.* (h) And Theophylactus after him, *The Apostle hath not said, (i) If they preach only things contrary, but if they preach besides that which we have preacht our selves, that is, if they add never so little more.*

(g) ἢ ἄγγελος
ἐκ οὐρανόθεν
ἡγγαγέ-
ται ἡμῶν
καὶ ἄλλο
εὐαγγέλιον
ἡμῶν
πρεσβεί-
ηται, ἢ
ἄλλο τι
ἐκ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας
ἡμῶν
ἀντι-
θέσται, ἢ
ἄλλο τι
ἐκ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας
ἡμῶν
ἀντι-
θέσται.

(h) Theo-
phylact.

in Ep. ad Gal.

lat. Neque

enim si con-

traria solum

prædicaverint

præter id

quod ipsi

evangeliza-

vimus, hoc

est, si pluscu-

lum quippiam

adjecerint.

(i) Hoc primum

credimus non

esse quod ul-

tra credere

debemus.

(k) Nihil ul-

tra scire, om-

nia scire est.

Tertullian in the Book of Prescriptions, Chap. 8. speaking of Scripture, (i) *First, we beleeve this, that there is nothing that we should believe besides.* And Chap. 14. (k) *To know nothing besides that, is to know all.* And truly reason in this is evident: For if S. Paul hath taught both by word and writing all that is necessary to salvation, it follows that he forbids to adde to that which he hath taught, and not only to contradict it.

The Romane vulgar version is exprefs to this purpose, translating thus, *Licet nos aut Angelus de celo evangelizet vobis præterquam quod evangelizavimus vobis, anathema sit:* For although the adverb *παρὰ* in Greek, and *præter* in Latine, signifie sometimes against, yet *præterquam quod* cannot be so taken, and cannot signifie but besides that, or otherwise then.

It is vain to reply, that S. Paul since that Epistle was written, hath added many Epistles, and that S. John after him hath written his Gospel, and the Revelation; For it will not be found that S. Paul in his last Epistles, or S. John in his Books have added any thing to the doctrine of salvation, which S. Paul had written and preacht before, and which was already contained in the other Gospels.

It will not serve to answer, that Paul forbids to add to that he had taught, but that he did not write all that he had taught. For we have heard the Jesuits saying before, that there are many things essentiall unto Christian faith, which the Apostles neither writ nor taught, so that they finde a defect not only in the writings, but also in the preaching of the Apostles. Besides, those that speak this language, oblige themselves to specifie unto us which are those points necessary to salvation, which the Apostles would not set down in writing, and to prove to us by good proofs, that S. Paul having preacht the invocation of Saints, and the service of Images and Relicks, and the Popes Succession in S. Peters primacy, God forbad him to write these things.

16. In the last Chapter of the Revelation, S. John saith, *I testifie unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this Book; If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book.* The Council of Frinli approved by the Roman Church, saith, that this Text is to be understood of the whole Scripture, not of the only Book of the Revelation.

17. Generally humane traditions are forbidden in the holy Scripture, *Mat. 15.* where Christ speaks thus to the Pharisees: In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the Commandments of men. And the Apostle, *Col. 2. 8.* Beware lest any man spoil you through Philosophy and vain deceit after the tradition of men. And it is very considerable that in that Text the Apostle specifieth and condemneth especially certain traditions, which the Roman Church of our time observeth, namely; the service of Angels, the observation of holy dayes, and the distinction of meats: Not because they that taught these things (saying, *Eat not, touch not, handle not*) thought the Angels to be evil, or the meats to be of their nature unclean, but (saith the Apostle) *in will worship and humility, and not sparing of the body, nor in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh.*

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M. du Perron answereth, that Christ *Matth. 15.* speaks not of the Mosaicall and Prophetical traditions, but of the Rabbinicall institutions of *Rabbi Sammay*, and *Rabbi Hillel*, heads of the order of the Scribes and Pharisees. Here he would make a shew of his great reading; yet they that have taught him this, have censured him; for the order of the Scribes comes not from these Rabbies, seeing that *Ezra* was a Scribe, who was none of their disciples, and was more ancient then they. He is abused also by them that made him think that the Scribes and Pharisees were one and the same order: For the Scribes had charge in the Church: but the Pharisees as Pharisees, had none. Pharisaism was a voluntary devotion, and a fraternity of professors of works of supererogation, and of an austere life. The difference between a Scribe and a Pharisee, is such as is in the Roman Church between a teaching Priest and a Lay Frier, whom not to conceive to be all one order would be a great ignorance: It is another mistake of the Cardinal, to put *Sammay* before *Hillel*, seeing that *Hillel* is far more antient. See *Drusius* in his second Book of the three Sects of the Jews. *Cha. 10.*

But to answer the main Question, The words of our Lord cannot be restrained to the Pharisaical Traditions, since to condemn those traditions he makes use of a Text of *Isaiah* more antient then the Pharisees, a Text that condemneth Traditions in general. It matters not upon what occasion Jesus Christ condemneth traditions which add unto the Word of God, since he condemneth them all without exception.

The same I say of the Text of *Col. 2.* where by the Traditions of men, one ought not to understand the Ceremonies of the Law, since God was the author of them: And by consequent, even after their term was expired, they must not be called traditions of men, but Gods laws, which God himself had abolished. Besides the Apostle addeth, that those that observed these traditions, did it out of a voluntary submission, and with a shew of humility: whereas they that observed the Ceremonies of the Law in *S. Pauls* time, pretended to do it out of necessity, holding themselves obliged to it by Gods commandment.

In this Question our Adversaries use to say, that their Traditions are not contraventions unto the holy Scripture, but simple additions. But by speaking so, they contradict themselves. For we have seen before the Cardinal and a number of Doctors affirming, that the Pope and the Roman Church can alter, and have really altered Gods Ordinances contained in the Scripture. And we shall see in this whole Book, that their Traditions are meer contraventions under colour of addition; Consider also that going about to add unto Scripture some doctrine necessary for salvation, is going against Scripture, since God forbids us to add unto it.

С Н А Р. 53.

Testimonies of Fathers of the sufficiency of Scripture against unwritten Traditions.

THE Antients abound in testimonies for the perfection of Scripture. Thus *Tertullian* against *Hermogenes*, (a) *I adore the perfection of the Scriptures.* And in the same book, (b) *Let the shop of Hermogenes shew that it is written, otherwise let him fear the wo denounced to them that add or diminish.* It would be impertinent to object here that *Tertullian* writ this book being a Montanist; for the Orthodox never accused the Montanists of too much adhering to Scripture, or rejecting the unwritten Traditions.

The whole Antiquity commends the words of *Constantine* in the Council of *Nice*. (c) *That the books of the Gospels, and Oracles of the Apostles and of the ancient Prophets, do clearly instruct us of the opinion we ought to have of divine things. Wherefore all perverse contention being laid aside, let us fetch the solution of doubts from the words divinely inspired.* To which (d) *Bellarmin* answers, that *Constantine* was a great Emperour, but not a great Doctor.

Athanasius in the beginning of the book against the Grecians, speaks thus. (e) The holy and divinely inspired Scriptures are sufficient to make the truth to be understood. And in the Treatise of the Lords incarnation, (f) If you will bring other things besides that which is written, why do you fight against us who are persuaded neither to hear nor to say any thing besides that which is written? And in the same place, You are so exceedingly idle (g) as to say things that are not written, and to have tenets remote from piety.

Gregorius Nazianzenus in his oration upon Athanasius praiseth him because he presented to the Emperour *εγγραγιον εναντι της αγγελικης γραμματος*, written piety against unwritten novelty.

Cyrillus of Alexandria in the two books of his Treatises upon *Genesis*, (b) *How could we receive that which holy Scripture hath not said, or put it in the rank of true things? And in the seventh book against Julian, The holy Scriptures are sufficient to make wise and most approved and sufficiently understanding, those that are bred and instructed in it.*

Theodore, in the first Dialogue, entitled *The immutable*; *Bring me not human reasons*, (i) *for I believe none but holy Writ.* And in the second Dialogue, (k) *I am not so rash as to affirm a thing of which the holy Scripture is silent.*

Chrysostom upon the second chapter of the second Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, (1) *All things that are in the divine Scriptures are clear and straight. All that is necessary is clear. And upon Psal. 95. (m) When one saith something that is not written, the hearers mind is halting.*

Basil towards the end of his *Ethicks*, which are among his *Asceticks*, (n) *If* (saith he) *all that is not of faith is sin, as the Apostle saith, and faith is of hearing, and hearing of the Word of God; all that is without the divinely inspired Scripture, being not of the faith, is sin.* Note that he saith *without*, not *against* Scripture. One cannot doubt but that these *Asceticks* are of *Basil*; for *Gennadius* Archbishop of *Constantinople* hath compiled common places, or short *Homilies* drawn out of *Basil*: where there is a great number of passages out of the *Asceticks*. And the style of *Basil* is evident in them where the florid fluidity is inimitable. And *Photius* in his *Library* puts that book among *Basil's* works.

Hierom upon the first chapter of *Haggai*. (o) *All things that men invent of*

γραφῇ. (k) ἔ γάρ οὕτως εἰμι θεσπὺς ὥς ἐ φάναι τὶ στοιχημαίνον ὡς δὲ τῇ θεᾷ γραφῇ. (l) Πάντα θεοῦ
 ἔν ᾧ παρὰ τῶς θεᾶς γραφαῖς, πάντα τὰ ἀναλυτὰ ἴηλα. (m) Εἰς τὶ ἀγαθὸν λέγεται, ἡ
 ἀποστολὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων σφραῖζει. (n) πῶς τὸ ἅγιος τῆς τριτημοσύνης γραφὴς καὶ ἐκ πίστεως ὁ ἀμαρτία ἴσθι.
 (o) Sed et alia quæ abjūctis auctoritate et testimonio Scripturarum quasi traditione Apostolica sponte reperitur
 atq. confinguntur, percutit gladius Dei.

themselves,

(p) Ecclesia Christi non est egressa de finibus suis, id est, de scripturis sanctis. (p) The Church of Christ is not come out of her limits, that is, the holy Scriptures. And writing against Helvidius, (q) We reject that which is not written.

The life of St. Antony attributed to Athanasius, saith, *ἡς γραφαὶ ἱερᾶς εἰναι περὶ διδασκαλίας*, that the Scriptures are sufficient for instruction.

Cyrillus of Jerusalem in his fourth Catechesis (r) Concerning the divine and holy mysteries of faith, the least thing must not be taught without the holy Scriptures. Believe me not saying these things to thee, unless I shew thee what I say by Scripture. Salvation and the preservation of our faith consisteth not in invention of words, but in demonstration by the divine Scriptures.

Austin Epist. 14. chap. 9. By the (f) Scriptures only thou canst fully know the will of God. And in the book *De bono viduitatis*, chap. 1. Let my teaching be nothing else but propounding the words of the Doctor. And in the third chapter of the book *de unitate Ecclesie*, *Anferantur illa de medio qua adversus nos invicem non ex divinis Canoniciis libris, sed aliunde recitamus. Let us take away all that we bring the one against the other, out of other places then the divine Canoniceal books.* This Father receiveth no proof but out of Scripture. Himself in the second book *de doctrina Christiana*, chap. 9. (t) In the things which are clearly set down in the Scriptures, all things are found that concern faith and manners. And against the letters of Petilianus, book 3. chap. 6. Read us this out of the

Law, out of the Prophets, out of the Psalm, out of the Gospel it self, out of the writings of the Apostles, and we will believe it. And in the second book of the merits of sins, and of pardon, chap. 36. When the dispute is about a very obscure thing, without help of clear and certain instructions out of the divine Scriptures, presumption must stay. Most pregnant of all are this Fathers words in the fifth chapter of his book of the unity of the Church (u) Let us pick the clear and manifest texts, which if they were not found in the holy Scriptures, no way should be left to open the things that are shut up, and to clear those that are dark: That holy man finds no other way of clearing doubts and difficulties in religion, then by clear texts of the holy Scriptures. A thousand the like passages might be produced.

This so great a consent of the antients, hath extorted from the most violent enemies of the perfection and authority of Scripture, notable confessions.

The Jesuit Salméron told us before that the Scripture was subject unto the Church, and that Scripture is a nose of wax, and a Judge incapable to decide any difference, and that Tradition goeth beyond Scripture in excellency; Nevertheless in the first *Prolegomen* he speaks thus of Scripture, (x) Scripture teacheth all truth, disswadeth from all vices, encourageth to all good works, exhorteth to all vertue. And a little after (y) Scripture is so formed and woven by the Spirit of God, that it is fitted for all places, times, persons, difficulties, to expell all dangers, sicknesses, and sorrows; to bring in all good, to cut the throat of errors, to establish doctrines, to plant vertues, and drive vices away. And he alledgeth Basil, who compareth it unto a compleat Apothecaries shop, affording remedies for healing all sicknesses.

Bellarmino, who in the first book of the unwritten word, chap. 3. & 4. denieth the Scripture to be sufficient without the traditions, and calls Scripture a part or a piece of a rule, not a whole rule; yet maintains the contrary in the sixth book *de amissione gratia & statu peccati*, chap. 3. (z) We must not (saith he) affirm any thing concerning the things which depend of the will of God, if God himself hath revealed no such thing in the holy Scriptures. So great is the strength of truth.

(p) *Scriptura sic est à Spiritu Sancto concinnata atq; contexta, ut omnibus locis, temporibus, personis, difficultatibus, periculis, morbis, malis pellendis, bonis accersendis, erroribus jugulandis, dogmatibus statuendis, sit accommodata.* (z) § Respondeo. Non est de rebus que pendent à divina voluntate aliquid asserendum, nisi Deus ipse in Scripturis sanctis tale aliquid revelaverit.

CHAP. 54.

*The Cardinals reasons for Traditions against the perfection of Scripture.
And first of the Traditions which he calls Mosaical and Patriarchal.*

THE Cardinal in the second chapter of the third book brings many unwritten traditions not contained in the five books of *Moses*, which nevertheless the Church was obliged to believe under the Old Testament. The Reader is desired to remember, that by Traditions, are understood commandments which must be observed, and doctrines which must be believed, belonging unto salvation and to the ordinary service of God. Now the Traditions which he brings are Histories or commandments addressed to some particular person, not to the Church. Such is the commandment made to *Jeshuab* of carrying the Ark in procession, which the Cardinal brings for example; for that never was done but once, and was no Law in the Church. Also the transporting of the Ark from *Shiloh* into another place. And the commandment to *Solomon* of building the Temple, and making another brazen Altar, and the molten Sea with brazen Bulls, and Cherubims embossed on the walls and pillars. All that cannot be put among the Traditions which the Church was to practise. They were particular commands to *Solomon*, not rules of religion. And I wonder how the Cardinal would put these things among the unwritten Traditions; seeing that *Jesh. 3. 8, 9.* it is spoken of the bearing of the Ark, marching before the people, as of a thing commanded by God; As also the transportation of the Ark from *Shiloh* to another place is mentioned, *Psal. 78. 60. & 67.* and *Jer. 7. 12.* as a thing done by the express will of God. And as for the command to *Solomon* to build a Temple, it is formall in many places; especially *1 Kings 5. 5.* where *Solomon* speaks thus; *Behold I purpose to build a house unto the name of the Lord my God, as the Lord spake unto David my Father, saying, thy Son whom I will set upon thy throne in thy room, he shall build an house unto my name.* Sure, the Cardinal had read Scripture very negligently, since he knew not these things, and would put them among the unwritten Traditions.

He doth also ask where it is read in the Pentateuch, that God had commanded the Ark to be adored, as *David* commands in these words, *Worship his footstool*: But that text is falsified. There is according to the Hebrew *Worship towards his footstool*; in the same manner as it is said a little after, *Worship towards the mountain of his holiness*. The Chaldaick Paraphrasts translate it so, and *Pagninus*, and *Arias Montanus*, and *Lyra*, famous Translators in the Roman Church. It was the custom of the *Israelites* to worship with their face towards the Temple; This is that which *David* commands in that text; for by Gods footstool, his Sanctuary is understood, which for this cause is called the place of his rest, *Psal. 132. 8.* The same words are found *Psal. 132. 7.* where the Vulgar translates, *we shall worship in the place where his feet staid*. The Septuagint have translated *προσκυνήσατε τὸ ὑπόμδιον*, not *τὸ ὑπόμδιον*.

In the same chapter he brings forth divers points of doctrine, which he affirmeth not to be written in the books of the Law, as the immortality of the soul, the doctrine of the final judgement, of Paradise and of Hell. One may wonder how this Prelate is so diligent to mark the defects of Scripture; and it is more to be admired how he hath not seen clear proofs of the immortality of the soul, in the books of *Moses*.

We have *Numb. 23.* these words of *Balaam*, *Let me dye the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his*. He that acknowledgeth the death of the righteous to be happy, acknowledgeth a happiness after this life. Besides, what we translate *their end*, in the Hebrew is *their departing*. He that calls death a parting, acknowledgeth a going to another place.

The Patriarch *Jacob* was saying, being neer his death, *I have waited for thy salvation*

Gen. 47.9.

salvation O Lord, Gen. 49. 18. The same Patriarch calls his life, and that of his Fathers, a pilgrimage on earth, and acknowledgeth himself a stranger in the world. Now the Apostle, Heb. 11. 14. saith, that *they that say such things, declare plainly that they are seeking a country, their proper country.*

Mat. 22. 32.

Gen. 35. 18. It is said of *Rachel* dying in labour, that *as her soul was in departing, she called her son Benoni.* Indeed death should not be a departing of the soul, if the soul did not out-live the body. And the transportation of *Enoch* to heaven is a proof of his immortality. What meant that expresseion of death usuall among the Antient, that *a man slept with his Fathers*, but that they that sleep are not brought to nothing, and that they look for the awaking of the resurrection? So God spake to *Moses*, Deut. 31. 16. *Behold thou shalt sleep with thy Fathers.* All the promises made to *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, should have been deceitfull, if they had concerned their present life only, since the posterity of *Ismael* and *Esau* was in a flourishing state, and reigning in *Arabia* and *Idumea*, while the posterity of *Jacob* was in bondage in *Egypt*. What had *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob* but affliction according to the world? And the promise made unto *Adam*, that the womans seed should bruise the Serpents head, and the promise made to *Abraham* of the blessed seed, are they not promises of the coming of *Jesus Christ*, and of the vocation of the Gentiles, which are spiritual promises that concern salvation? Finally, *Christ* himself out of these words of God, *I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob*, draws this consequence, that these Patriarchs are living, because God is not the God of the dead but of the living. If none before *Christ* drew that consequence (which yet doth not appear to us) it followeth not that it should not have been drawn. And if by these texts the felicity of the Saints is proved, may not one gather thence that the wicked shall not have the like usage, but that God will judge them after this life, although the words of *Paradise*, and *Hell* of the damned be not found in the five books of *Moses*?

2 Tim. 3.

The Cardinal goeth on, and finds many histories of which no mention is made in the books of *Moses*, as that the names of the Magicians that resisted *Moses* were *Jannes* and *Jambres*: That *Moses* being at the foot of the mountain, said, *I exceedingly fear and quake*, &c. But in vain doth he heap up histories, for when we say that Scripture contains all that is necessary to salvation, we understand all the rules and doctrines necessary to that end, not the names of all the persons, nor all the histories and circumstances of things happened, of which one may be ignorant without peril, and without diminution of the doctrine of salvation.

The same I say of many small ceremonies which *M. du Perron* finds in the New Testament, as the washing of feet before *Easter*, and the custom of releasing a felon at *Easter*, and many the like things, which were civil customs, or indifferent observations, not Laws of religion, or necessary customs. The Cardinal was grossly mistaken when he put the custom of releasing a malefactor at *Easter* among the Traditions of the Church; for it was a wicked custom, whereby they saved the lives of murtherers; of which we have an example in *Barabbas*, against the expresse prohibition of God to spare a murtherers life, Num. 35. 31, &c. Yea God will have a murtherer pluckt off from his very Altar, Exod. 21. 14.

As for the form of blessing used among the Jews before they ate the Passover, since God had prescribed none, the Jews had the liberty to make one; and that cannot be put among the Mosaiical Traditions, to which the Church was of necessity subject.

To say with the Cardinal that in the figure of the Manna, and the Paschal lamb it was necessary to understand that *Christ* was signified, and that without that one could not be saved, is a rash affirmation. God forbid that we should exclude from salvation all the Israelites that understood not the figures of the Old Testament.

That which the Cardinal addeth, that the continuall fire which was upon the Altar

Altar was preserved by a miracle during the transmigration, is a Jewish fable. And it is much more credible, that as many other prerogatives and ornaments of the first Temple (among others, the Ark and the Oracles) have been wanting to the second Temple; that also this fire lighted from heaven was not there. But howsoever this is a story, not a doctrine or a precept. It is easie to prove that the fire came down from heaven that consumed the sacrifices in the dedication of *Solomons* Temple (as it is related, *2 Chron. 7.*) was not long preserved, and was out many years before the destruction of the Temple. For *2 Chron. 29. 7.* King *Ahaz* shut up the Temple, and *2 Chron. 35. 4.* King *Manasseh* sacrificed unto false Gods in the two Courts of the Temple. At that time, Gods service ceasing, and the Temple being shut up, how could that continuall fire be maintained upon the Altar?

The walking of two thousand paces and no more upon the Sabbath day was a Jewish superstition, grounded upon that *Josuah* crossing *Jordan* kept the people two thousand cubits from the Ark; It was not a divine rule, or a necessary Tradition.

In the sixth chapter of the same book the Cardinal saith that *Jesus Christ* hath preacht the kingdom of heaven and the resurrection, not contained in the ancient Law. As for the Kingdom of heaven, we have proved that it is clearly taught in the books of *Moses*. And as for the resurrection, we have shewed that *Christ* proved it by the words of God himself contained in the Law.

He alledgeth also the mingling of water with blood, for the purifying of the people, *Heb. 10.* of which no mention is made in the books of *Moses*. I answer, that *Moses* did so once, and made no Law about it in the Church; and by consequent this ought not to be put among the Traditions, which we have to do with in this place, namely such as are Laws and Rules of religion. The same of the putting of a censer in the Ark, and of the combat of the Angel *Michael* with Satan for the body of *Moses*, which are histories not rules. Here the fault of the Cardinal is pardonable, when he (a) saith that *Moses* fought with the Angel, whereas it was the Angel that fought with Satan. See the Epistle of *Jude*, ver. 9. (b)

pag. 778.
Joh. 3. 4.

pag. 803.
(a) Book 3.
chap. 6.
p. 104.
(b) ἰσὴ
Μιχαὴλ ὁ
ἀγγέλῳ
ἔτε τοῦ σα-
βῶτος δια-
κρινόμενος δι-
ὰ τὸν αἵμα
τοῦ Μωϋσέως
ἐμάχησεν.

CHAP. 55.

Texts of the New Testament which Cardinal du Perron brings for the Traditions not contained in the Scripture.

HE brings for the Traditions these proofs from the New Testament. First he makes a shew of this text of *2 Thes. 2. 15.* Hold the Traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our Epistle. The word *παράδοσις* signifies every doctrine given to some body. The vulgar version *1 Cor. 11. 2.* translates *παράδοσις* *præcepta*. And the Apostle, *Gal. 1. 14.* saith that he had been zealous of the tradition of his Fathers, calling thus the Law of *Moses* of which he had been a zealous abettor. In that sense Scripture it self is a tradition. Thus the Apostle *1 Cor. 11. 23.* speaking of the institution of the holy communion, *I received of the Lord ὁ παράδοσις ὑμῖν, that which I delivered or taught you.* It is then a tradition, though it be contained in Scripture.

pag. 754.

In this text the most advantageous sense for our Adversaries of this word Tradition is to take it for doctrines not written in the Epistle of St. Paul to the *Thessalonians*, and by consequent this text is not to the purpose. For our difference is not whether the first Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, but whether the Old and the New Testament contain all the doctrines necessary to salvation. And although the Apostle had said, Receive the traditions which you have learned by our word, or by the holy Scriptures, it would not follow that the things which he had told them were any thing else but what is contained in the holy Scrip-
tures

tures; for one may teach the same thing several wayes. Moreover, if one will know what those traditions or doctrines were, which Saint Paul had given by word unto the *Thessalonians*, let him read the fourth chapter of the first Epistle, beginning at the second verse, where he makes unto them a repetition of those things: There you shall find none of the Traditions of the Church of Rome.

In another place the Cardinal repeateth the same objection, then addeth; *You must not cavill that St. Paul speaks of the Tradition unwritten at that time, but written since. For the Tradition after which and for which he pronounceth that generall precept, was a Tradition which neither then nor since was ever written, namely the cause why the coming of Antichrist was delayed.*

The Cardinals blindness is extream, to say that the causes of the delay of the coming of the Antichrist were never written, whereas they are written in the same text, where the Apostle saith, *Only he who now letteth will let untill he be*

2 Thes. 2. 7.

(a) Tantum
qui nunc te-
net teneat, do-
nec de medio
fiat, quis nisi
Romanus Sta-
tus cujus ab-
scissio in de-
cem reges di-
spersa Anti-
christum
superducit?
(b) Τὸ δι-
ποτε δεῖ το
κατεχόν αὐτοῦ
καλοῦσθαι
αὐτὸν, κατ'
ὅσον κατε-
χον; οἱ μὲν
τὸ πνεῦμα
τὸ πῦρ
καὶ οὐ φασί,
οἱ δὲ τὸν
βασιλέα
αἰροῦν, οἱ δὲ
ἐν ὁμολογίᾳ
τίθενται.

taken out of the way; And then shall that wicked one be revealed; which the Antients understand of the ruine of the Roman Empire, before the Antichrist (who was to come in his place) should be revealed. Which experience also hath confirmed. So Tertullian understands it in the book of the resurrection of the flesh, chap. 24. (a) *Only let him that holds now, hold still, untill he be abolisht. Who is that but the Roman Empire, whose departure dispersed into ten Kings will produce Antichrist, &c.* Chrysostom in the fourth Sermon upon the second Epistle to the *Thessalonians* speaks to the same purpose, in these words, (b) *What is it that hinders him to be revealed? Some say that it is the Roman Empire, to whose opinion I rather incline. Austin in the twentieth book of the City of God, chap. 19. That which the Apostle saith, Only let him that holds now, hold till he be taken away, is not without reason esteemed to be said of the Roman Empire, as if it was said, Only let him that reigneth, reign untill he be abolisht.* Primasius upon this place saith the same, and Ambrose in his Comment upon this text. And Hierom in the eleventh question to *Algasia*, where he saith that St. Paul durst not say openly that the Roman Empire must be destroyed before the Antichrist come, for fear of drawing persecution upon the Church; and upon 2 Thes. 2. he saith that the revolt that St. Paul speaks of in this place, *est discessio Gentilium à Rege Romano*, the revolt of the Gentiles from the Roman Emperour.

The Cardinal brings another text for Traditions; 2 Tim. 1. 13. *Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus.* Keep the good depositum (or that good thing committed unto thee) by the Holy Ghost. This text doth nothing for him; for the Apostle saith not that the things which Timothy had heard of St. Paul were diverse from those which he writ to him, or which are written in the holy Scripture. It is remarkable that Tertullian in the twenty fifth chapter of Prescriptions saith, that the hereticks alledged these texts for their traditions. O Timothy keep that which was committed unto thee, and again keep that which was trusted unto thee. Thus the Cardinal maketh himself a disciple to those hereticks.

To the same purpose Bellarmin in the fifth chapter of his book of the unwritten word, alledgeth for the Traditions our Saviours words, John 16. *I have yet many things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now.* But Tertullian in the twenty second chapter of the same book, saith, that the hereticks defend their traditions with that text.

To the same purpose the Cardinal brings these words from the second chapter of the same Epistle, ver. 2. *The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.* To which text we make the same answer, as to the precedent, Why will he have the things which Timothy had heard to be diverse from those that are written? But with what rashness doth the Cardinal presuppose without proof that those things heard in the presence of witnesses, are the invocation of

of Saints, the service of Images, the Succession of the Pope in St. *Peters* primacy, and the like things?

He alledgeth also 1 *Tim.* 3. 15. *The Church is the pillar and ground of truth.* That proof hath neither colour nor likelihood. For the Church is the pillar and ground of truth, when it defends the truth contained in the holy Scriptures, not when she adds unto Scripture. Thus *Gregory Nazianzen* in the beginning of the Oration upon his Fathers death, calls *Basil* the pillar and ground of the Church. And in the Oration upon *Athanasius* he gives to *Athanasius* the same title of honour. Whereby he understands not that *Basil* or *Athanasius* had the power to give new Laws unto the Church, or to add unto her doctrine. I leave also to the judgement of the Reader, well read in the Greek tongue, whether in these words, [that thou maist know how thou oughtest to behave thy self in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth] the last words, *the pillar and ground of truth*, may not be applied unto God, rather then to the Church; supplying the word *is* and translating thus, *the house of the living God, who is the pillar and ground of truth.* For to speak properly, God and true doctrine are the pillar and ground of the Church. So speaks *Chrysostome* upon 1 *Tim.* 3. (c) *Truth is the pillar and ground of the Church.* And *Irenaeus*, book 3. chap. 11. (d) *The pillar and ground of the Church is the Gospel.*

(c) ἡ ἀλη-
θεια ἡ τοῦ
ἐκκλησίας ἡ
σύλη & ἡ
ἰσχυρία,
(d) Columna
& firmamen-
tum Ecclesie
Evangelium.

CHAP. 56.

Doctrines held in the Christian Church, which the Cardinal saith are not contained in Scripture.

BUT that upon which the Cardinal insisteth most, is to seek some doctrines in Christian religion which he holds necessary unto salvation, which yet are not found in Scripture. And he finds four of that nature. The first is the admission or acknowledgement of the Baptism of hereticks for a true and real baptism, of which no mention is made in Scripture, and yet he holds that it is a doctrine necessary to salvation.

By speaking thus he condemneth *Cyprian* and the whole *African* Church of his time to Hell, for they did err in that point. Certainly many were saved that never heard of that question.

That which he adds [that if the doctrine that both we and they hold in that point be not true, the Protestants which were baptized by Catholics (whom they hold for hereticks) have no true Baptism] hath no strength against us, who think not that any person is excluded from salvation for not being baptized, when that happens not through his fault, but by some impediment which could not be removed. Yet it will be found that Scripture decideth that question; for we see that the circumcision of the ten tribes, that were idolaters, was received among the Jews, there being no Law that obliged them to be circumcised again. Now Circumcision was unto them that which Baptism is unto us now.

The second Tradition which he saith is not contained in Scripture, is the Baptism of little children. Upon which he confesseth that the Roman Church disputing against the Anabaptists, brings many texts of Scripture, which he produceth, and endeavours to confute, making himself the Advocate of the Anabaptists. Yet not daring to condemn his own Church, he holds those texts for good and usefull, which is sufficient to us. For what need we to prove to the Roman Church by Scripture that children ought to be baptized, since she herself baptizeth them, and dischargeth us of that labour? Pag. 809.

The third point is the Article of the procession of the Holy Ghost, about which we dissent with the *Grecians*. Which controversy is rather imaginary, and fed by the animosity of the parties, then a true controversy. The *Grecians* saying that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father through the Son; and the Pag. 816.

Latins saying that he proceeds from the Father and the Son. For I hold that he that saith that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son, saith also by consequent that he proceeds from the Father and the Son. As for the manner of proceeding, it is better in such a high matter to be ignorant then too great a disputant. The Cardinal acknowledgeth that the Roman Church disputing with the *Grecians*, alledgeth texts of Scripture, which texts he goeth about to weaken, thereby disputing not with us, but with the Roman Church. By overthrowing the doctrine of his Church he makes himself incapable to dispute with us.

Pag. 819.

The fourth and last unwritten Tradition is the removing of the Sabbath day to the next day, that is, from the last day of the week to the first; Of which he saith that no mention is made in Scripture. The Jesuite *Riberā* in his Comment upon the first chapter of the *Revelation*, expounding these words, *I was in the Spirit on the Lords day*, speaks thus, *Here we see that the solemnity of the Sabbath hath been changed to the [now] Lords day in the time of the Apostles.*

Thomas saith the same in the second lesson upon 1 Cor. 16. And *Estius* upon the same Chapter of the alledged text of the *Revelation* gathers, that we must not doubt but that the name and institution of the Lords day must be referred to the Apostles. And as for not observing the old Sabbath, *St. Paul* dispenseth Christians of that observation, *Col. 2. 16. Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new Moon, or of the Sabbath day, which are a shadow of things to come.* He teacheth that Christians ought not to be condemned for observing no more the Jewish distinctions of meats, or the holy dayes and Sabbaths of that Church. By *Acts 20. 6.* and *1 Cor. 16. 2.* it is made evident that on the first day of the week solemn Assemblies did meet, and collections were made for the poor. And though all these proofs should fail, yet observation of dayes is no point of doctrine, and is not an Article of its nature necessary to salvation. It is necessary for salvation to sanctifie the Lords day, and to be employed that day in holy actions in holy Assemblies, not because that day is of its nature better then another, but because it is necessary for salvation, not to be contentious, and not to separate from the union of the Church.

Then of these four points, as of many others, I say that either they are found in Scripture in expresse or equivalent terms, or by good consequence, or they are not found in Scripture. If they be found, we have what we ask; If they be not found, they are not necessary to salvation.

CHAP. 57.

Of the Traditions which the Fathers allow.

(a) Nam & multa alia quæ per traditionem in Ecclesia observantur, &c. Velut in Baptismo ter caput mergere, lactis & mellis prægustare concordiam. See also the Epistle to *Lucian*.

WEE have brought many testimonies of the Antients, wherein, as for matter of salvation, they reject all doctrines not contained in the Scriptures. To those texts the Cardinal opposeth other texts, of *Tertullian*, of *Basil*, of *Epiphanius*, of *Anstīn*, in which they approve unwritten traditions. But who so will narrowly examine of what kind of traditions they speak, shall find no difficulty in that seeming difference. For either they are traditions about Ecclesiastical policy and things of indifferent nature, or they are traditions grounded upon holy Scripture; For they are traditions which the Roman Church approves not, and which consequently by the confession of our Adversaries are not Apostolical traditions, unless they will confess that they are departed from the Ordinances of the Apostles. See *Tertullian* in his book *de corona Militis*, chap. 2. & 3. And the book concerning the Holy Ghost attributed to *Basil*, chap. 27. And (a) *Hierom* in his Dialogue against the *Luciferians*, And *Anstīn* *Epist.* 118, 119. There you have a great list of unwritten traditions; as to be dip't three times in Baptism, to taste in Baptism milk and honey

honey mingled in sign of concord; Not to wash that day nor the whole week after, to sign ones self in the forehead with the sign of the cross at every action, to pray standing from *Easter* to *Whitsunday*, to celebrate on certain anniversary dayes the passion, the resurrection, and the ascension of Christ: To pray with the face turned Eastward, the anointing with oyle, the form of prayer whereby consecration is made: To which one may add, prayers for the dead, the admission of the Baptism of hereticks; And the tradition of which *Tertullian* speaks in the alledged place, that it is not lawfull for a Christian souldier to be crowned with flowers and leaves, when the army is mustering. Of which traditions some are contrary to the custom of the Apostles, as the custom of not kneeling at prayers from *Easter* to *Whitsunday*. For *Acts* 20. 16. & 21. 5. the Apostle *Paul* prayeth kneeling, and that a few dayes before Pentecost.

Most of these traditions are rejected by the Roman Church, although the Antients give them for Apostolical: as the custom of fasting upon *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, which *Epiphanius* in the heresie of *Aerius* (b) will derive from the Apostles. The custom of tasting milk and honey. Not to wash for a whole week after Baptism. Not to fast upon the Lords day. To pray standing from *Easter* to *Whitsunday*. Never to pray but being turned Eastward. To pray for the dead as the antient Church did, which prayed not to fetch souls out of Purgatory, but that the dead might rise again to salvation, or that they might rise betimes, or that they might be but gently toucht with the purging fire of the day of the resurrection; or that in the receptacles of the souls where they slept, they might receive some comfort.

Chrysostom Hom. 4. upon the second Epistle to the *Thessalonians* seems to favour our Adversaries, saying that *the Apostles have not taught all by Epistles, but have taught many things without writing, and that these things as well as those are worthy to be believed.* But in the homily before, he sheweth evidently that he meaneth unwritten traditions not necessary to salvation. For as for things necessary to salvation so he speaks, (c) *All that is in the divine Scriptures is clear and right; All things that are necessary are therein clearly set down.* And *Hom. 13.* upon the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, he calls Scripture (d) *an exact ballance for all things, a square and a rule.* And upon *Psalms* 95. *When one saith that which is not written, the hearers mind is halting.*

Besides these traditions which the Roman Church hath left, the Fathers speak of traditions that are founded in Scripture, although they be not found in express terms. As the tradition which *Basil* brings in the same place, that the Father and the Son must be glorified with the same glorification. For since Scripture saith that Jesus Christ is God, and that he thinks it not robbery to be equall with God his Father, and that he is one with the Father, it follows that the same glorification must be rendred unto him. Upon which we have an express text, *John* 5. 23. *That they all honour the Son as they honour the Father.*

Irenaeus in the third book, chap. 4. saith, that if the Apostles had not left us the Scriptures, we should have recourse to tradition. But what is that tradition? Is it the invocation of Saints, the worshipping of images and relicks, the succession of the Roman Bishop in *St. Peters* primacy, the Communion under one kind, the celibat of the Clergy, the service in an unknown tongue, the Roman Indulgences, the Transubstantiation? Nothing of all that; but the doctrine concerning the nature and Office of Christ, and the Articles of the Symbole, of which he makes an enumeration in the same place.

As for the admission of the Baptism of hereticks, *Austin* puts it among traditions. And yet in the first book of Baptism against the Donatists; and in the second book, chap. 14. And in the fourth book, chap. 7. And in the fifth book chap. 4. & 23. he endeavours to prove it by texts of Scripture, which he saith to be certain and clear. Whence it appears that by the *unwritten things*, he understands the things not contained in the holy Scriptures in express terms, but deduced from the Scriptures by consequence. And indeed we have shewed before that the admission of the Baptism of hereticks is not without foundation

(b) Epiphanius
heresi 75.
παιδὲς καὶ
πρεσβυτέρους
τοῦ κυρίου
δοῦναι ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
ὡρισμένον.

(c) πάντα
σαφὲς καὶ
εὐθεῖα τὰ
παρὰ τοῦ
θεοῦ ῥη-
σῶς, πάντα
τὰ ἀναγ-
καία διδά-
(d) ἀκριβὴς
(ὡς καὶ ἡ
μοῖρα καὶ ἡ
νόμος.

in Scripture. And though it were not grounded upon it, that would not prejudice us in any thing; for the knowledge of that point is not necessary for salvation. *Hierom* upon 2 *Thef.* 2. (if these comments be his, not of *Pelagius*) puts Baptism among the Apostolical traditions. *Apostolica traditio est qua in toto mundo predicatur, ut Baptismi Sacramenta. It is an Apostolical tradition which is preacht over all the world.*

In generall, almost all these traditions are either light things, of their nature indifferent, and infinitely under the divine doctrine concerning faith and the service of God contained in the Scripture; or they are points contained in the Scripture, if not in expresse words, at least in equivalent terms, or by necessary consequence.

Note, that *M. du Perron* could not bring any testimony of the Antients which put among Traditions any of the doctrines about which we dissent with the Roman Church, excepting only prayers for the dead, about which the Roman Church differs with the Antient Church, as we will shew hereafter. But they shall not find one of the Antients that puts among the Apostolical traditions, Roman Indulgences, or the Popes power to release souls out of Purgatory, and to give and take away Kingdoms, and to canonize Saints, or the adoration of images, or the images of the Trinity, or the title of Queen of heaven bestowed upon the Virgin *Mary*, or the *Limbus* of infants, or the celibat of Priests, or prayers in a language which he that prayeth understands not, or the publike service in an unknown language, or the prohibition made to the people to read Scripture without an especial leave, or the communion of the cup denied to the people: for they are Papal not Apostolical traditions.

We must not dissemble that *Aufin* in the one hundred and nineteenth Epistle complains that already in his time humane traditions did multiply, and were often preferred before the word of God. *That (saith he) grieveth me much that many most wholesome precepts of divine books are neglected, and that all is full of so many presumptions; So that he is more sharply reprov'd that trod barefoot within the octave, then he that hath buried his understanding in drunkenness. He addeth, That men had so loaden religion with servile burdens, that the condition of the Jews was more tolerable then that of Christians.*

Wherefore the Roman Church hath rejected with just reason the traditions believed by *Irenaus*, who believed that the souls separate from the bodies have hands and feet; and that the souls coming out of their bodies go not into the heavenly glory, but into an earthly Paradise; And that the Fathers before the publishing of the Law by *Moses* were without Law: And that Christ must reign a thousand years in earth: In which reign there will be feasts and bodily delights; and the traditions of *Clemens Alexandrinus* who believed that the Grecians were saved by Philosophy. That there is in God four hypostases. That the Angels fell by cohabitation with women. That the death of Christ no more then our afflictions, happened not by Gods will, and many the like traditions. And that of *Ambrose* and *Tertullian*, who hold that some shall rise again sooner then others. And the tradition held by the Antients that souls shall be purged by the fire of the day of judgement, of which we shall speak hereafter.

Iren. l. 2.
c. 62. & l. 5.
c. 5. & l. 4.
c. 30. & l. 5.
c. 12, 14, &
35.

CHAP. 58.

Of the prohibition of reading holy Scripture. Shifts of Cardinal du Perron.

IT is one of the accusations of his Majesty of Great Britain against the Church of Rome, that they have deprived Christians of the understanding of the holy Scripture, and forbidden the reading of it unto the simple people. This (a) the Cardinal doth not absolutely confess; for he denieth that it is forbidden to the people to read the Bible in Hebrew, or Greek, or Latin, that is, that the simple people are not allowed to read the Bible, but in the tongues which they understand not. They give leave to women and tradesmen to read the Hebrew Bible. He saith also that they forbid only the reading of corrupt and not approved versions. Thereby he seems to mean that the Roman Church giveth leave unto the people to read the good and approved versions. But there is no such thing. For the Roman Church approveth no version in any vulgar tongue, and there is none allowed by publike authority. If any private man hath translated the Bible into French as René Benoist Parson of St. Eustache in Paris, his work hath been presently censured and condemned by the Popes authority, as M. du Perron acknowledgeth, page 1103.

But this matter deserveth a carefull examination: for it is a new tyranny, and a custom without example in all antiquity.

It must be known then that in the Council of Trent, Prelates and Doctors in good number were appointed to make an Index or Catalogue of books, the reading whereof ought to be prohibited. That Index hath been published by the authority of Pope Pius the IV. and confirmed and augmented by Sixtus the V. and Clement the VIII.

Their first prohibition begins at the holy Scripture; of which they say in the fourth rule prefixed before that Index, that (b) *the reading thereof in the vulgar language being indifferently allowed, doth more harm then profit, by reason of the rashness of men.* Wherefore they forbid the traductions of the Bible made by Authors which are not Catholick. And as for the versions made by Authors that are Catholick and approved, they permit the reading of them, so that one get a written permission from the Bishop, or from the Inquisition, or from the Parson; (c) Adding, that *who so without that permission will have a Bible, or read in it, his sins shall not be forgiven him, till he hath delivered his Bible to his Parson.* Whereupon it is to be observed, that when this Decree was made, there was not any version of the Bible in Italian, or Spanish, or French, or German, that was approved in the Roman Church. And that since that time the Pope caused no version to be made in any vulgar tongue. It is known that in all the Countries where the Inquisition reigneth, there is none to be found. To permit the reading of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholick Authors, and in the mean while to give leave to none to translate it, is it not an abusive permission? For it is giving leave to the people to read a book which is no where to be found, and permitting that the people read the approved versions, while they approve of no version.

Nevertheless the Popes were afraid that some would think that this permission was given in good earnest. Wherefore to that fourth rule they have added another, that speaks more roundly, and absolutely forbids the reading of Scripture in the vulgar tongue. That prohibition is set down in the same book immediately after the forementioned rule. Thus (d) *It must be observed concerning the IV.*

(a) Du Perron in the last book, ch. 4. p. 1095, & c.

(b) Index libror. prohibitorum cum Regulis confectis per patres à Synodo Tridentina delectos Regula IV. Cum experimento mani-

festum sit si Biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde ob hominum temeritatem detrimenti quam utilitatis oriiri, hac in parte, iudicio Episcopis vel inquisitoris stetur ut cum consilio Parochi vel Confessarii biblicorum à Catholicis authoribus versorum lectionem in lingua vulgari concedere possint, &c.

(c) Qui ubique tali facultate ea legere vel habere præsumpserit, nisi prius Bibliis ordinario redditus, peccatorum absolutionem percipere non possit.

(d) Avertendum est circa supra scriptam quartam regulam felicis recordationis Pii Papæ IV. nullam per hanc impressionem aut editionem de novo tribus facultatibus Episcopis vel Inquisitoribus vel Regularium superioribus, concedendi licentiam emendi, legendi, aut retinendi Biblia vulgari lingua editarum hactenus mandatio & usu sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & universalis Inquisitionis sublata eis fuerit, facultas concedendi huiusmodi licentiam legendi vel retinendi Biblia vulgaria, aut alias sacre Scripturæ, tam Novi quam Veteris Testamenti partes, quavis vulgari lingua editas, &c.

Rule

verendum est circa supra scriptam quartam regulam felicis recordationis Pii Papæ IV. nullam per hanc impressionem aut editionem de novo tribus facultatibus Episcopis vel Inquisitoribus vel Regularium superioribus, concedendi licentiam emendi, legendi, aut retinendi Biblia vulgari lingua editarum hactenus mandatio & usu sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & universalis Inquisitionis sublata eis fuerit, facultas concedendi huiusmodi licentiam legendi vel retinendi Biblia vulgaria, aut alias sacre Scripturæ, tam Novi quam Veteris Testamenti partes, quavis vulgari lingua editas, &c.

Rule above written, made by Pope Pius IV. of blessed memory, that by this impression or edition no new power is given to Bishops or Inquisitors, or Superiors of the Regulars, to give permission to buy, read, or keep the Bible in the vulgar tongue, seeing that hitherto by the commandment and use of the holy Roman Church, and universal inquisition, power is taken from them to grant such permissions of reading or keeping such vulgar Bibles, or some parts of the holy Scriptures, either of the Old or of the New Testament, printed in any vulgar language whatsoever. Or even any Summary or abridgement of the histories of the Bible, or of the books of the holy Scripture, written in any vulgar language whatsoever. This to be inviolably kept.

Nothing can be more express then that prohibition. Wherefore in the Countries where Inquisition reigneth, as in Spain, Italy, Sicily, Corsica, the East and West Indies, one shall as soon find an Alcoran as a Bible in the language of the country, unless some have secretly brought in a Bible from England, or Netherlands, or Geneva, which is a crime punishable by the fire if it be discovered. But all kinds of unchast and profane books are impudently read. No book forbidden but the word of God.

But Gods command is more regarded by us then that prohibition; for he recommendeth to the faithfull the reading of his word, Rev. 1. 3. *Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy.* And Dent. 17. 18, 19. Kings are commanded to have the book of the Law in their hand, to read in it all the dayes of their lives. Which command, if the Kings that reigned since seven or eight hundred years had kept, their crowns should not have been subjected to an outlandish Priest, and Popery had not so disfigured Christian Religion. Because in the Church of Thessalonica there might be some that could not read, the Apostle commands that his Epistle be read to all the holy brethren, 1 Thes. 5. 27. He praiseth Timothy, (2 Tim. 3. 15.) that from a child he had known the holy Scriptures. And the Eunuch of the Queen of Candace was reading in his chariot the Prophet Isaiah, Acts 8. 28. The faithfull people of Berea, (Acts 17. 10, 11.) having heard St. Pauls preaching, searcht the Scriptures daily whether those things were so. For a Preacher that would deceive and seduce the people, should have fair play if he were allowed to alledge Scripture in his Sermons, and the people were not allowed to consult Scripture and confer the text, to see whether the Preacher had faithfully alledged them.

This also is very considerable, that the Apostle St. Paul writ long Epistles to the people of Corinth, of Ephesus, of Philippi, &c. not fearing that the reading of them should do harm to those he writ them to. And St. Peter, and St. John have written Catholick Epistles to all the faithfull, and by consequent to those of this time. Why then should they not read the Epistles written to them? Why should not the things which God saith unto his people, be read by the people to which God is speaking? And whereas they that instruct the people are sinfull men, apt to draw religion to their profit, shall the people have no way to know whether they be taught the truth? Why shall God be suspected by men, as if his word were a dangerous book, doing more harm then good, as the Tridentine Fathers speak?

The reason given for this is full of impiety. They say that it belongs to none but the learned to read Scripture. Now we thought that Scripture must be read to get learning. But these men will have a learning in Religion without Scripture, and before the knowledge of Scripture. Whereupon we would gladly know of them what kind of learning one must have before he can read the holy Scripture. Must one be learned in Greek and Hebrew? But the Popes themselves that give these rules, are unskillfull in these tongues; As Innocent the III. who deriveth (d) the word *Pascha* from the *passion*; And the Decretal of *Anacletus*, who saith that *Cephas* signifies a head. Besides, one cannot become learned in Hebrew, but by the reading of the Old Testament. Must one have read the Poets full of fabulous combats and amorous passions? But many are corrupted by those studies. Must one be versed in philosophy? But the Apostles had not studied that kind of learning, and Philosophers have been mortall enemies

(d) Innoc.
III. Serm. 1.
in Conc. La-
teran. Tom.
IV. Concil.
gen.

to Christian religion. They were the men that called St. *Paul* a babler. What then can that learning be which is requisite before the reading of Scripture? I know none, unless it be that one must be strongly forestalled with Popery as a preservative against the doctrine contained in the Scripture. But a man that believeth that the Roman Church cannot erre, shall believe also that Scripture is not a competent Judge, and that the reading thereof is not necessary. And in vain should he ask license to read Scripture in the vulgar tongue, since no Bible is found allowed by the Roman Church in the language of the countrey.

To excuse that prohibition, they alledge also the rashness of men that abuse Scripture. But because of the indiscretion of some men we must not abstain from good things, such especially as God hath commanded. By the same reason the word of God should not be preacht to the people because many abuse it. And the Bishops and Parish Priests to whom that lecture is permitted, are no more exempt from rashness then the rest of the world; For in effect all heresies are sprung not from the people, but from the Pastors. Few examples or none shall be found of any of the people who by reading Scripture have brought in any heresie into the Church.

But this is not the true reason of that prohibition. For if the holy Scripture were favourable unto the Roman Church, they would not hide it from the peoples eyes: Such as find themselves guilty, are afraid of the Law, and wish that there were none. Thieves will blow out the candles for fear of being perceived. To the same end, to weaken the strength of this Scripture, they have forged another unwritten word more favourable unto the Pope, of which the Pope disposeth at his pleasure. To the same end, the Roman Church beareth her self as an infallible Judge of the sense of Scripture. By that means she shall never be condemned by Scripture.

As for that fraudulent permission to read Scripture, so that the version be made by Roman Catholicks, the Popes had just reason to revoke and disannull it. For it is a manifest impiety to give a man leave to do that which God hath commanded him; as if the Pope said to one, I give thee leave to obey God, or I permit thee to believe in Jesus Christ. By that account God shall not be obeyed unless the Pope consent to it, and cannot be served without leave. Or if he have the luck to find some servants, he shall be obliged for it to his Papal holiness. Certainly to command disobedience unto God, is a less evil then to permit obedience to his commandments. For he that commands that God be disobeyed, doth not only oppose himself unto God and contradict him, but he placeth himself above God, and grants to him, as to an inferiour, that some persons may yield him obedience.

Upon this his Majesty had said that the Antients did constrain every one to read at home continually the sacred books, which the people is now forbidden to touch without especial leave, upon pain of *Anathema*. The Cardinal omitting all the rest of the Fathers, answers for *Chrysostom* only, who many times exhorts his hearers to the reading the holy Scriptures, and saith that *Chrysostom* did so because he had to do with learned hearers, skilled in Philosophy, and with Courtiers whom by the reading of Scripture he laboured to turn away from the reading of Philosophers: But if he had brought the very texts of *Chrysostom*, it had been evident that he made that exhortation to tradesmen, and to the lowest and most ignorant of the people.

In the third Homily concerning *Lazarus*, he speaks thus, I do exhort you alwayes, and never give over exhorting, that not only you hearken to that I say, but also that when you are at home you diligently tend the reading of the holy Scriptures; A duty which I have not ceased to press upon those that have resorted to me in private. For one must not tell me, There is but little savour in these words, and we may well be without many of these things: I am tied to my law. businesses, I have my hands full with the affairs of the publick, I have my trade, I have a wife, I must provide meat for my children, I must take care of my family, I am employed in the world, and therefore it belongs not to me to read the Scriptures, but to those

that have taken their leave of the world, that dwell in the top of mountains, leading an austere life. What sayest thou man? Must thou not peruse the Scriptures because thou art distracted with many businesses? Nay, it belongs more to thee to read the Scriptures than to those [that have left the world] For they need not so much the help of Scripture, as you that are tossed among the waves of businesses, &c. Again, It is impossible, yea, I say impossible for any man to obtain salvation, unless he be perpetually imployed in the spiritual reading. And a little after, The grace of the Spirit hath so dispensed and fitted the Scriptures, that publicans, fishermen, tent-makers, Pastors and Apostles, ignorant and unlettered men can be saved by these books; lest that some idiot excuse himself about the difficulty; to the end that the things herein said might be easie to perceive, and that the tradesman, the servant, the widow, and the most unlearned of men may get some profit by the hearing of that lecture. The like things he saith, in his second Homily upon St. Mathew, and in the third upon the second Epistle to the Thessalonians. This discourse is very far from the opinion of Sixtus of Siena, a Carmelite Fryar, in the sixth book of his Library, in the 152. annotation, where he saith that to permit the reading of Scripture unto Shoemakers, Fullers and Curriers, is giving holy things unto dogs, and pearls to swine.

Perron
p. 1056.

(c) Jesu Bone, quo illa fervore, quo studio intenta erat divinis voluminibus! (f) Semper in manibus tuis sit divina lectio.

(g) Post Scripturas sanctas doctorum hominum tractatus lege.

(h) Athanas. Tomo 2.

pag. 248. Edit Paris.

(i) Ita Scripturas sanctas lege, ut semper memineris Dei illa verba esse.

(k) Auctoritas quæ omnibus ad legendum esset in promptu, et secreti sui dignitatem in intellectu profundo servaret.

(l) Athan. Tomo 2. 148.

ἀπειργασίαν τῶν γεγραμμένων προοίσιον ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τολμῶν ὡς ἀπροσίτων τῇ διὰ ἀληθείαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φεύγειν τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλεγχον.

Because the Cardinal by this answer endeavours to perswade that none but Chrysostom speaks so, and that other Fathers, Hierom especially, speak to the contrary, let us see what Hierom and the other Fathers say.

Hierom then in the Epitaph of Fabiola speaks thus of that holy woman; (c) O good Jesu! with what fervour, with what study was she bent upon the divine books; as desirous to satiate her hunger with the Prophets, the Gospels, and the Psalms! And in the Epistle to Salvina (f) Let the sacred lecture be alwayes in thy hands. And in the Epistle to Furia (g) After the holy Scriptures, read the Treatises of learned men. Himself in the Epistle to Leta touching the instruction of her daughter Paula, Instead of jewels and silk, let her love the divine books; loving in them not the checkered picture of Babylonian leather, but the learnedly correct and distinct Scripture. Let her first learn the Psalms. Let her recreate her self with the Canticles. Let her learn to live well in the Proverbs of Solomon. Let her learn to tread worldly things under by the Ecclesiastes. Let her follow the examples of vertue and patience in Job. Thence let her pass to the Gospels, and have them in her hands alwayes. Let her learn the Prophets by heart: Let her abstain from all the Apocrypha.

(h) Athanasius disputing against those that held it the safer course to abstain from the Scriptures, and simply to believe, speaks thus, Shall I neglect the Scriptures? whence then shall I get knowledge? But by what means shall I have faith? And soon after, Reverence that studious Eunuch who being set over the Queens treasure, even in his way did not leave reading.

In the Epistle to the Virgin Demetrius, which was set the one hundred forty second among Austins Epistles, chap. 23. (i) So read the holy Scripture, that thou remember alwayes that they are the words of God.

Austin in the sixth book of his Confessions, chap. 5. (k) That (saith he) Scripture might be easie to be read of all, and yet should keep in a deep intelligence the dignity of her secrets, &c. And in the second book of Christian doctrine, chap. 9. In these books they that fear God and the meek seek the will of God. Yea he adviseth them that cannot read, to learn them by heart.

Gregory Nazianzen in the Epitaph of his sister Gorgonia, puts among her virtues, θεῶν λόγων ἐντιθεῖν καὶ ἀναπνεῖν, that she acquainted her self with the word of God and turned it over.

(l) Athanasius saith that hereticks turn the people away from the Scriptures, saying that they are not accessible, but (saith he) the truth is, they flye to be condemned by them.

Wherefore also the holy Scripture was translated in all languages. Socrates lib. 4. cap. 27. And Nicephorus lib. 11. cap. 48. doth witness that Vlsilas had translated

translated Scripture in *Gothick* language. And *Hierome* in his Preface upon the four Gospels saith, that before the time of *Lucian* and *Hesychius* (m) Scripture had been translated into the languages of many Nations. And *Chrysostome* in the first Homily upon St. *Johns* Gospel saith, that *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Persians*, *Ethiopians*, and many other Nations had St. *Johns* Gospel translated in their languages (n). The same Father hath translated the New Testament and the Psalms in *Armenian* language. *Hierome* hath translated the whole Scripture in the *Dalmatick* tongue. *Theodoret* (o) in his book of the cure of the sicknesses of the *Grecians*, speaks thus; *The Hebrew language* (so he calls the old Testament) is not only translated into Greek, but also into the tongues of the Romans and Egyptians, and Persians, and Indians, and Armenians, and Scythians, and Sarmates; in a word, in all the languages, which all the Nations continue to use. At that time they did not put the holy Scripture in the Index of the prohibited books: For they had not translated it into all languages, but that all Nations, even the most barbarous should read it: and they that read it, asked leave of no body, there being then no Inquisition set up, nor any penalty against those that labour to instruct themselves in Gods knowledge by his word.

In all this the end of the Pope is to keep the people in ignorance, whilst he builds up his Empire. To the same end the Council of *Trent*, (p) of all the Latin versions approveth none, but that which is commonly called the *Vulgar*; and they will have it authentical, with prohibition to contradict it under any pretence whatsoever. For this serveth for the raising of the Empire of the Latin Church, to establish that Bible alone which the *Roman* Church useth in the publick service. This they do against the authority of all the Latin Fathers that have written of that matter. *Hilary* upon *Psal.* 118. (q) *We have often given warning, that no sense which may give satisfaction, can be drawn from the Latin version.*

Hierome in his Epistle to *Sunias* and *Fretella* (r). In the New Testament, if sometimes there is any question and variety found in the Latin copies, we have recourse to the *Spring*, even to the *Greek* language in which the New Testament was written. And in his Preface to *Damasus* upon the four Gospels (s). If we must believe the Latin copies, let them answer me which? for there are wellnigh as many diverse exemplaries as there are copies. But if among many copies we must seek which of them is the true one; why do we not correct the things that have been ill translated by faulty interpreters, returning to the *Greek* originals? And in the Epistle to *Lucinius* (t) As the purity of the books of the Old Testament must be examined by the *Hebrew* books, so the purity of the books of the New Testament must be examined upon the rule of the *Greek* text. The same he saith in his Preface upon *Ioshuah*, and in the Epistle to *Marcella*.

Austin in the second book of Christian doctrine, ch. 11 (u) Men whose natural language is Latin, have need of two other tongues for the knowledge of the holy Scripture, the *Hebrew* and the *Greek*, that they may have recourse to the precedent [*Hebrew* and *Greek*] copies, when the infinite variety of the Latin interpreters brings some doubt.

It would be an infinite thing to produce the faults of the Latin vulgar version, the only approved by the Council of *Trent*. *Sixtus Senensis* Library-keeper to Pope *Pius* the fifth, doth freely acknowledge it, saying, (x) Our vulgar Edition which they say to be of St. *Hierome*, is remote from the *Greek* truth in many things. And shortly after; Although this Edition be not of *Hierome*, and that many things that are there, agree not with the truth of the *Greek* text, &c. In the same place he maintains, that the Latin version of the *Roman* Church is not of *Hierome*, but a mingled version. The Jesuite *Maldonat* upon *Luk.* 16. saith the same. The

stio exoritur, & est inter exemplaria varietas, recurrimus ad fontem Græci sermonis quo novum scriptum est Testamentum. (s) Si Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus: tot enim pene sunt exemplaria, quot codices; sin autem veritas est querenda de pluribus, cur non ad Græcam originem revertentes quæ à vitiosis interpretibus male sunt reddita corrigimus? (t) ut enim veterum fides de Hebræis voluminibus examinanda est, ita novorum Græci sermonis normam desiderat. (u) Latine lingue homines duabus aliis ad Scripturarum divinarum cognitionem habent opus, Hebræa scilicet & Græca, ut ad præcedentia exemplaria recurratur, si quam dubitationem citulerit Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas. (x) Vulgata nostra editio quæ Hieronymi esse dicitur, in multis à Græca veritate distat.

(m) Multarum gentium linguis Scripturæ translata.

(n) Sixtus Sen. l. 6. A. 152.

(o) Scrm. 9. de nativitate hominis.

Ἡ Ἑβραίων γὰρ τὸ μόνον ἐστὶ τῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεταλήψας.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ

Ἀγυπτίων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ

Ἰνδῶν καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ

Σκυθῶν καὶ Σαρματῶν, καὶ συνλήψας

ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἐκείνας τὰς χλιώδεις αἰς ἀπαρτὰ τὰ

ἐθνη κερύματὰ διατελεῖ.

(p) Con. Trid. Sess. 4. Sacrosancta Synodus statuit

& declarat ut hæc ipsa vetus & vulgata editio

&c. pro authentica habeatur, & ut

eam nemo quovis prætextu rejicere

auderet aut præsumat.

(q) Littera læmæ frequentes admonimus non

posse satisfactionem intelligentiæ ex

Estinitatis translatione præstari.

(r) In Novo Testamento si quando apud

Latinos qua-

(y) *Nouum Testamentum ab Hieronymo conuersum non esse, sed veterem tantum versionem multis in locis emendatam.*

(z) *Et adorauit Israel contra summam virgine ejus: & in hoc loco quidam*

frustra suadent adorasse Jacob summam sceptri Joseph, quod uidelicet honorans filium, potestatem ejus adorauerit, cum in Hebræo multo aliter legatur, Et adorauit (inquit) Israel ad caput lectuli.

(y) *New Testament was not translated by Hierome, but only the old version hath been corrected by him in many places. And Hierome himself saith the same in his Preface to Damasus: that he doth not own it, nor greatly approve it, he sheweth in his works, where he alledgeth many texts out of the Old Testament, otherwise then they are found this day in the vulgar version: And which is more, he disputes against it. For example, Heb. 11. 21. the vulgar version which they say to be of St. Hierome, translates thus, Jacob adorauit fastigium virgæ ejus, Jacob adored the end of Joseph his staffe. A text which our aduersaries ule to maintain the adoration of creatures. But Hierome rejecteth that version in the book of the Hebrew questions upon Genesis, in these words, Israel worshipped the end of his staffe. (z) In that place some do in vain make the world believe that Jacob worshipped the end of Josephs scepter, as if by honouring his son he had adored his power; whereas in the Hebrew text it is read quite otherwise, namely that Israel worshipped towards his beds head.*

Nevertheless the Council of *Trent* prefers the Vulgar version full of corruptions and depravations, before all other translations made after the Hebrew verity (such as is among others, that of *Pagninus* a fryer of *Luca*) and by consequent before the Hebrew and Greek Originals. Of which it seems that the Popes, *Sixtus* the fifth and *Clement* the eighth were ashamed, having since the Council of *Trent* published an edition of that Vulgar version where many things are altered, and many faults corrected.

But *Bellarmino* is so rashly bold, as to offer to prefer the Latin version before the Greek and Latin Originals: as if one would make us forsake the source and send us to the myrie brook. Cardinal *Ximenes* Archbishop of *Toledo* doth worse. For in his prologue upon the Bible of *Complute*, he giveth a reason why he put the vulgar version between the Greek and the Hebrew texts. (a) *We have* (saith he)

(a) *Mediam autem inter has Latinam beati Hieronymi translationem velut inter Synagoram & Orientalem Ecclesiam posuimus, tanquam duos hinc & inde latrones, medium autem Jesum, hoc est Romanam Ecclesiam.*

put between both the Latin version of St. Hierome, as holding the middle between the Synagogue and the Eastern Church; like the two theeues, the one on the one side and the other on the other, and Jesus Christ between both; that is the Roman Church, for she alone is built upon the stone.

Thus that venerable Prelate revileth and debaseth the Original texts of Scripture, comparing them to two thieves, and blaspheming against the holy Ghost, who hath spoken both in the Hebrew and in the Greek tongue, by the mouth of his Prophets and Apostles, and hath inspired them to write in those languages. As for the Latine version which that Cardinal compareth to Jesus Christ placed between two thieves, among a thousand corruptions it hath no good, but that wherein it is conformable with the Greek and Hebrew Originals, upon which it hath or ought to have been translated.

Out of all this it appeareth that the *Roman* Church forbidding the people to read the holy Scripture, opposeth Scripture, since Scripture it self recommendeth the reading of the same; and likewise opposeth the consent of all the Fathers, who are all of one mind in this point, to recommend the reading of Scripture unto all, even unto the least of the people. The evidence of this truth fetcheth from the Jesuite *Salmeron* these words of anger against the Popes that have forbidden the reading of Scripture; (b) *Wherefore hath not David chosen another rule to conduct his life then Scripture? Thy word, saith he, is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path: And whosoever hinders men to read the sacred books where the Laws of God are written, exempteth them from all law, and makes them children of the Devil. And why should he commend the Thessalonians that perused the Scriptures and searcht them every day (Act. 17.) if things went so?* The

(b) *Salmeron Prolog. 7. S. Præterea. Et qui à sacris arceat libris, in quibus leges Dei sunt conscriptæ, exleges & filios Belial facit homines.*

The ordinary excuse is, that Scripture is dark, and that the ignorant might be seduced by it. But they that speak so, not only accuse Scripture of obscurity, but of untruth also. For Scripture bears witness to it self, that it is clear and made to give light to the understanding, *Psal. 19. The commandment of the Lord is pure enlightning the eyes,* and *Psal. 119. Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path.* The books of the Prophets are of all Scripture the most obscure, yet *St. Peter* saith that they are *like a light shining in a dark place.* They accuse then Scripture of untruth, when they accuse it of darkness; and together cast a great reproach upon God, as if he had digged a pit to make men fall into it in the dark, and hidden the doctrine of salvation under obscure terms to lead men into error; like one that makes his will in ambiguous terms, purposely to sow strife among his heirs. Should the Father of light study obscurity? He that gave his Son to save his enemies, should he be envious of the salvation of his children? If Scripture must be forbidden to the people lest they fall into heresie; by the same, yea by stronger reason it ought to be forbidden to Bishops and Priests, since from them, not from the people, all sorts of heresies are come: Read the Catalogues of ancient hereticks made by *Epiphanius, Philastrius, Theodoret, Austin,* &c. you shall find, that almost all the heresiarches were Clergymen, and having charge in the Church. And if reading Scripture be for none but the learned, none ought to read it, because none can be learned before he hath read it.

2 Pet. i. 19.

For these causes it belongs to those that accuse Scripture of obscurity, to look to themselves, lest that the obscurity wherewith they charge Scripture be found in their understanding, and this sentence of the Apostle belong to them, (*2 Cor. 4. 3.*) *If our Gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds.* So the distracted maid of *Seneca's* wife being smitten with sudden blindness, complained that the air was dark. Men will cast their defects upon God himself, and are ingenuous in finding blocks to stumble at.

Note.

But it is no wonder that our adversaries find Scripture dark, since they cannot find in it what they would find. For one hath need to have piercing eyes and a reaching wit, that will find in Scripture a commandment for sacrificing the body of Christ in the Mass, or the Invocation of Saints, or the Veneration of Images and Relicks, or the Popes succession in *St. Peters* primacy, or his power over the temporal, and the very crowns of Kings, or the *Roman* indulgences. There is no doubt, but that these Gentlemen desire that Scripture were a thousand times darker, that none might find in it their condemnation.

The Fathers are so far from that language, that *Origen* disputing against *Celsus* a Pagan, and *Theodoret* writing of the sicknesses of the *Grecians*, that is, of the *Pagans*, defend Scripture against this reproach of the *Pagans*, that it is written in a stile too simple and too familiar. The same Fathers also generally commend the perspicuity and evidence of the holy Scriptures.

Irenaeus in the second book, ch. 46. (c) *All the Prophetical and Evangelical Scriptures are open and without ambiguity, and may be heard of all alike.* *Tertullian* calls hereticks *Lucifugas Scripturarum*, people that fly from the light of the Scriptures. The Emperour *Constantine* (d) in the Council of *Nice* was saying, *The Evangelical and the Apostolical books, and the Oracles of the Prophets teach us openly what we must believe of the divine things.* *Austin* 9. ch. of the second book of Christian doctrine, saith much to the same purpose; *In the things which are clearly set down in Scripture, all things are found that concern faith and manners to live well.* *Epiphanius*, in the heresie 69. and 76. (e) *All things are clear in the holy Scriptures to them who with a pious reason will draw near the word of God.* And *Chrysostome* told us above, that Scripture is easie to be understood even by tradesmen and ignorant men.

(c) Irenaeus. *universa Scripturae Prophetica et Evangelica in aperto, ut sine ambiguitate & similiter ab omnibus audiri possint.*

(d) Theodoret l. 1. hist.

c. 7. *εὐαγγελικαὶ βιβλαὶ καὶ ἀποστολικαὶ*

To the objection that it cannot be denied, but that there are some dark texts

ὅτι τῶν παλαιῶν προφητῶν τὰ θεσπίσματα σαφῶς ἡμεῖς ἔχοντες καὶ τὰ θεῖα ῥημάτων ἐκκαθαίρουσι. (e) πάντα σαφῆ ἐν τῇ θεῖᾳ γραφῇ τοῖς βουλομένοις εὐσεβῆ λογισμῷ προσερχεσθαι τῷ θεολόγῳ.

(f) Ἀγίας
γραφῆς ἐαυ-
τῶν ἑρμηνεύ-
ουσιν, καὶ ἐκ
ἀφείσθαι
πλανάσαι
τὸν ἀκούσαν.

(g) Τὰ ἀμ-
είβετα καὶ ἐπικαταλυμμένα εἰρηδῶται δοκῶντα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς βιοπνεύσεως γραφῆς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις ὁμο-
λογούντων σαφηνίζονται.

in Scripture, these Fathers answer that Scripture expounds her self; and that such things as are obscurely spoken in some places are plainly delivered in other places. Thus *Chrysostom*, Hom. 13. upon *Genesis* (f) *The holy Scripture expounds it self, and suffers not the hearer to go astray.* And *Basil* in his *Alcetics* in his Answer to the 267. Interrogation, (g) *The things which seem to be said obscurely in some places of Scripture, are expounded by other texts clearly delivered.* *Austin* in the second book of *Christian doctrine*, 9. ch. *To clear the darker expressions, take the clearer passages.* And 6. ch. *Almost nothing can be deduced out of these dark places, but is found most clearly spoken in other places.*

(h) Διὰ τὴν
ὑπόμνησιν
χρῆσις πάντων
σφηγῶν καὶ ἐν-
θῆται παρὰ
τῆς θείας
γραφῆς,
πάντα τὰ
ἀναγκαῖα
εἶναι.

But above all is clear and evident the testimony of *Chrysostom*, hom. 3. upon the second Epistle to the *Thessalonians*. (h) *What need is there of Sermon, seeing that all the things that are in the divine Scriptures are clear and right? all that is necessary is evident there. But because you are hearers that look for delight, you will have also these things; that is, Sermons.* Then he personates one of the people saying, *But I know not what is contained in the divine Scriptures. Why? are they written in Hebrew or in Latin? are they set down in another but thine own language? are not the contents of it in Greek? But (answers he) there they be but obscurely. Tell me, what obscurity dost thou mean? are they not histories? knowest thou not what things there are clear, that thou mayest enquire of the obscure? There are infinite histories in the Scripture; tell me one among the rest. But thou canst not tell it; so that all that thou sayest are but pretences and vain babbling.* So did that goldenmouth chide his people when they alledged the difficulty of Scripture, to dispense themselves from the reading of it. For then it was not lawful to any not to read it: whereas now adays to read it one must have a permission and an especial privilege. Truly, if after the example of *Chrysostom* one would question diverse persons that abstain from the reading of Scripture, pretending that there are many obscure things in it; *Tell me what texts of Scripture you find clear, and what dark places did ye find in it?* they could not answer. They complain of the obscurity of a book where they never read one line. Indeed hardly can Scripture be clear to him that never lookt in it. Poor souls, they make use of that scruple to feed their idleness; they study ignorance under a pretence of docility. *Christ* asked a Doctor of the Jews, *what is written in the Law? how readeest thou?* presupposing that he read the Scriptures or ought to read them. If it had been in those days the privilege of Doctors to read Scripture, *Christ* to convince him of idleness and contempt, would have told him, *Thou art a Doctor, and hast licence to read Scripture; thou should'st then make use of thy privilege.*

Luk. 10.

CHAP. 59.

Defence of the purity and truth of Scripture against the Cardinals accusations and falsifications.

Pag. 1099.

THe boldest Chapter of the whole book of *Cardinal du Perron* is the 6. ch. of the fifth book, wherein by a most perverse diligence, that I say no worse, he gathers up all the texts of Scripture, which (saith he) seem to mans sense to be full of absurdity and contradiction; that so he may dissuade the people from reading Scripture, and make them refer themselves to the *Roman Church* about the sense of those texts, as about all other difficulties.

This might have some colour, if the Church to which he sends us had made some declaration about that, or if any ecclesiastical exposition was extant, authorized by the judgement of the Church: but that is nowhere found. The *Roman Church*

Church which falsely stileth her self Univerfall, hath no exposition of Scripture, but of particular Doctors, who expound Scripture diversly, and there is little agreement among them.

Of the pretended absurdities of Scripture which he alledgeth, some are easily resolved, as these. That it is said that God separated light from darkness, that is, the day from the night. That God created the Sun on the fourth day. That God took one of *Adams* ribs and therewith formed *Eve*. That he made to *Adam* and *Eve* clothes with beasts kins. That God put the rain-bow in the cloud for a sign that there should be no more a general flood. That after *Moses* there arose no Prophet like unto him. That *Sampson* killed a thousand men with the jaw-bone of an *Ass*. That out of a tooth of that jaw-bone he fetcht water, and many the like things, which none can find absurd but he that seeks absurdity in them, or brings the Almighty power of God in question, or doubts of the truth of his word.

He brings other objections where one cannot deny but there is some difficulty, as about the calculations of times, and some proper names which seem to be put instead of other names. By which difficulties it pleaseth God to call us to sobriety. Every wise man if he cannot satisfie his reason, will choofe rather to keep himself in silence then to contend with Gods word; and for that, will not abstain from reading Scripture, as though it were a dangerous book.

He heaps up other texts of Scripture concerning manners which seem to be scandalous, as that which is said in *Ecclesiastes*, chap. 2. *that there is nothing better for a man, then that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good by his labour.* And in the third chapter, *that the death of man, and that of a beast is the same; as the one dieth so dieth the other, and herein man hath no preheminance above the beast; And that a living dog is better then a dead Lion.* Sentences which say only that according to the course of nature, and considering nothing but the present life, a man hath nothing of all his temporal good but to use it with joy, and to eat and drink with tranquillity of mind; And that according to the course of nature the same causes make a man and a beast to die. But the same book is full of sentences which put a great difference between the end of good and evil men; saying that *God shall judge the righteous and the wicked.* That it shall be well with them that fear God. That God shall bring every work to judgement. And he concludeth the book with this sentence, *Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man.*

He puts in the same rank some expressions of *Solomons Song*, as ill befeeming: Then the history of the incest of *Lot* with his daughters, and of *Juda* with *Thamar* and the like things. But it is not without cause that God in his word layeth open the sins of holy men, to make us acknowledge humane infirmity, and to shew that God fetcheth good out of evil. Neither is there any thing in all these, that ought to dissuade a man from reading Scripture. It belongs not to us to prescribe to the Spirit of God what language he must use.

He addeth some texts, which (to his thinking) might shake the faith with scruples, as *My Father is greater then I.* And *I go up to my God and to your God.* And *This is life eternal that they may know thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent*, and other texts imployed by the Arians. But that ought not to keep the people from reading Scripture. For in the same Scripture they shall find wherewith to instruct themselves upon that point, and clear texts for the Godhead of the Son of God. As when *Rom. 9.* he is called God above all things blessed for evermore, and *Tit. 2.* Looking for the blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And by *Isaiah 9.* he is called the everlasting Father. And *John 1.* That word was God. And *1 John 5. 24.* Jesus Christ is the true God and eternal life. And *Phil. 1. 6.* He thought it no robbery to be equall with God.

But that which is more intolerable in that great gathering of texts, is that this Prelate falsifieth Scripture, and makes it say what it saith not, to make it absurd. He saith that it is written *Gen. 2.* that in the garden of *Eden*, among other rivers there

Gen. 2.

Gen. 3.

Gen. 9.

Deut. 34.

Judg. 14.

Ecclef. 3. 17.

8. 12.

12. 14.

12. 13.

John 14.

John 17.

Note.
A notorious
falsification
of the Car-
dinal to dis-
grace Scrip-
ture.

there was both *Nilus* and *Euphrates*, which are above a thousand leagues asunder; but in that text there is no mention of *Nilus*, but of the river *Gihon*, even in the vulgar version. It is a Jewish fable which is found in *Josephus* in the first book of his *Antiquities*; wherein he sheweth so much ignorance, that he makes *Nilus* to come from the East. And I wonder what moved the Cardinal to falsifie his own Bible.

In the same place he saith that *Gen. 3.* God walked in the cool of the wind after noon in the garden. He finds an absurdity in these words *the cool in the afternoon*; which seem to say that God was cooling of himself against the heat of the afternoon. But these words *cool* and *afternoon* are not in the Hebrew; there is only in the text that *Adam and Eve heard God going in the garden in the wind of the day.*

In the same place he makes Scripture to say (*Judges 15.*) that God made a spring of water to come out of the hole whence a tooth of the *Asis* had been pluckt out, to give drink unto *Sampson*. But there is in the text that God brake a great tooth of the jaw-bone, and thence came out water; Of a fountain coming out of the hole of the jaw-bone it is not spoken, not so much as in the vulgar version. Here it will not be unseasonable to say that by the Hebrew word *Leki*, which is translated a *jaw-bone*, a rock is understood; out of which God fetcht water, so named in memory of *Sampsons* combat happened in that place. Thus the Chaldaick Paraphrast understands it.

He adds for an apparent absurdity that (*2 Chron. 21.*) it is written that *Elias* writ to *Joram* King of *Judah*, although *Elias* had been taken up to heaven eight years before the reign of *Joram*. The absurdity which he conceiveth is, that a man that liveth no more on earth should write to a man that liveth on earth. But these letters might be written by *Eliab* in his life time, and sent to *Joram* some years after the Prophets death.

To make *Solomon* speak like a prophane man and an Epicurean, he makes him say *Eccles. 9. 5.* that the dead have no more reward yonder, as if the souls were mortal, and no salvation for them. There is according to the Hebrew, there is no more gain unto them, that is, to the dead: for he speaks of the profit or gain which they can get on earth. But that word *yonder* is an addition of *M. du Perron* to exclude the hope of another life.

I do not put among the falsifications, but among the oversights that which he saith in the same place, that the Levites wife died by being too much abused by the men of *Jabesh*, (*Judges 19.*) he put *Jabesh* for *Gibeah*.

But this is most insupportable, that he makes the Gospel to say, (*John 15.*) he that came after me was made before me. Not a word of that is found in that chapter. True it is, that in the first chapter there is, *He that comes after me is preferred before me*, or, *was before me*. The word *made* which favourereth the Arians, making Christ to be a creature, is of the addition of the vulgar version, which *M. du Perron* rather chose to follow, because the sense is absurd as that version makes it, then to follow the truth of the Greek text, which is the original. The small skill that this Prelate had in Greek, made him believe that *ἐκείνου* and *ἐκείνου* signifie alwayes the same thing, whereof the one signifies, *was made*, the other *hath been*.

I shut up this chapter with the sentence of *Epiphanius* in the heresie of the † *Unlike*, which is the 76. *All things are clear in the divine Scripture to them that will with a godly reason approach unto the word of God, and conceiving not a devillish efficacy, do not turn themselves down into the gulfs of death.*

אין עוד
להם שכר

ἐμπροσθεν
μὲν γάρ.

† Ἀποστολῶν.
πάντα σαφῆ
ἐν τῇ θεῷ
γραφῇ τοῖς
βελουμένοις
ἐν σοφίᾳ λό-
γισμῶν συνε-
σχεῖσθαι τῷ
θεῷ λόγῳ.

CHAP. 60.

Of Canonical and Apocryphal books.

*Proofs by Gods Word that Tobit, Judith, the Maccabees, &c.
are not Canonical.*

IN this question, more then in any other, our Adversaries are at a loss; for they have no less against them then the word of God, reason, and the testimony of Antiquity.

As for the word of God, every one confesseth that the Church of the Jews to which the oracles of God had been committed, did not acknowledge the books of *Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Susanna*, and *Maccabees* for Canonical. This is known by the testimony of *Josephus* book 1. against *Appion*, where he reckons but two and twenty books of the Old Testament, and saith that the books written since the time of *Artaxerxes* are not so worthy of evidence as the precedent. Indeed *Josephus* is posterior in time unto Christ: His birth meets almost with the time of Christs death. And when he writ, the Jews were fallen already from Gods Covenant, but making an enumeration of the sacred books, he sheweth what books have been received by the Jews; not only in his time, but also in the ages that went before him.

Austin saith that the Jews hold not these books for Canonical. Wherefore Jesus Christ and his Apostles never alledge these books. And if sometimes they mention some history written in the *Apocrypha*, as the Feast of the dedication, *John* 10. 22. they mention also, not seldom, histories attested by the Pagans and by the unbelieving Jews.

The book of *Maccabees* is held Canonical by the Roman Church. Yet there mention is made of *Alexander* the Great and of his victories, which many Pagans had already written before the book of *Maccabees* was made. *St. Paul* alledgeth texts out of *Menander, Aratus, Epimenides*, &c. and that in a point of doctrine. As that which he brings (*Acts* 17.) out of *Aratus*, that in God we live and move and have our being. As then the allegation of a book in the New Testament is not a proof that the book is Canonical; so on the other side it is an evident sign that the books in question are not Canonical, that of so great a number of books not one is alledged in the New Testament. And if the Apostles have used some word or expression which is found also in some *Apocrypha*, it followeth not that the Apostles alledge that book; For the same word shall be found also in Pagan authors.

There is no reason then why the books of *Judith* and *Maccabees*, &c. having never been divine nor Canonical under the Old Testament, should become holy and Canonical under the New, as if they had altered their nature. Neither can we receive the books of the Old Testament but from the Church of the Old Testament; nor have the books of the Old Testament in other esteem then the Church of the Old Testament had them.

The same is evident in that these books are not found in Hebrew. Now how unlike is it that the book of *Wisdom*, if it was made in Hebrew by *Solomon*, be not extant in Hebrew, and that ill versions have been preserved, seeing that the divine works of *Solomon* were so precious unto the Jews? And that the Jewish Church, which then was the true Church, hath carefully preserved in their natural language the book of *Hester*, and the Prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Daniel*, but suffered some chapters to be lost, and not been carefull to preserve the whole books in their proper tongue? Must we say that the sacred books were more perfect among the Grecians then among the Jews, and in the versions then in the original tongues? Which chapters added to *Jeremiah* and *Daniel* who so will compare with the chapters that go before, shall easily perceive that not only they have no connexion with the precedent, but also that they contradict them, and that the style of both is as different as day and night.

M. du Perron
handleth
this question
in the first
book ch. 50.
p. 439, & seq.
Rom. 3. 2.

ὅτι μὴ
ἀπὸ τῶν
ἐκείνων βιβλίων.

Aug. l. 18. de
Civitate Dei
cap. 36. &
contra secundam
Epist. Gaudent.
cap. 23.

Du Perron
chap. 30. l. 1.
p. 440, & seq.

CHAP. 61.

Untruths and errors in the books called the Apocrypha.

THE strongest instance for us in this matter, is, that these books are stuffed with fables, and forged tales, and doctrines contrary to that of the Canonical books. Could we be able to receive fables and grossly devised lyes for the word of God? In this accusation we desire not to be believed without evident proofs. I will produce some of them.

Of the book of Tobith.

In the 5. chap. v. 14. the Angel Raphael doth falsely call himself *Azarias* of the race of the great Ananias and of the brethren of Tobit, who was of the tribe of Nephtali. Wherefore also in chap. 7. v. 3. when Raguel asked the Angel and the son of Tobit whence they were, the son of Tobit answereth for both, *We are of the children of Nephtali captives in Nineve.*

To say that the Angel took the name of *Azarias* because he was like some man of that name, doth not excuse the lye; for he that resembleth *Azarias*, is not *Azarias*. And as if that untruth were not enough, he saith that he is of *Tobits* brethren, endeavouring thereby to print a false perswasion in *Tobits* mind, which he effected, as *Tobit* himself exprest it.

No more doth it serve to say that *Ananias* signifieth the grace or gift of God; and that the Angel meant that he was the son of the grace or gift of God: for he said himself to be of the race of the great *Ananias*; Now it would have been falsely and absurdly spoken to say that he was of the race of the great gift of God.

The book of Judith.

This book is manifestly fabulous. The history is related as happened after the return of the Jews from the captivity of *Babylon*; Which is expressly said in the fourth chapter, v. 2 (a) *They were newly returned from the captivity.* And ch. 5. v. 18. *They were led captives into a land which was not theirs, and the Temple of their God was cast to the ground, and their Cities were taken by their enemies. But now are they returned to their God, and are come up from the places where they were scattered; and have possessed Jerusalem where their Sanctuary is, and are seated in the hill countrey which was desolate.*

There is in the Greek which is the original, ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν ἐγερνῆθη ἐς τὴν γῆν, which signifieth word by word, *The Temple of their God was laid to the ground.* Whence it appears that this history is given as happened since the captivity of *Babylon*, for that Temple was never pulled down, nor the people of the Jews transported, nor the countrey made desolate before that captivity. Yet that history is related as happened in the time of King *Nebucadnezzar*, dead long before the return of that people from the captivity.

Our adversaries think they may scape by saying that in their Latin version these words, *and the temple of their God was laid to the ground* are not found. As also in the same version by a notorious falsification, these words, *they were newly returned from captivity*, have been put out, and are found no more. But (besides that we must alwayes rather stand to the original text then to a version, especially to the worst version of all) there is enough remaining in that Latin version, to verifie that this story is related as happened since the return from that captivity, when the Jews were transported to *Jerusalem*. For in chap. 5. v. 18. after many falsifications these words remain, (b) *Many of them were led captives into a land that was not theirs, but of late being returned unto the Lord their God, they*

(a) ἐπιστὰς
τοὺς ἰσραὴλ
ἀναβιβασ-
τες ἐκ τῆς
ἀχχουα-
νίης.

(b) Plurimi
eorum captivi
abducti sunt
in terram n. n.
suam; Nuper
autem reversi
ad Dominum
Deum suum
ex dispersione
qua dispersi
fuerant, adu-
nati sunt,
&c. & ite-
rum possiden-
Jerusalem.

they were gathered again from the dispersion wherewith they were scattered abroad, and possess Jerusalem again. That history then is related as happened after that the people transported from Jerusalem was returned thither; in which time Nebuchadnezzar was dead long before.

At that time also there was no more Ninive, which had been taken and destroyed by the Medes in the time of Cyaxares, if we believe Herodotus in his first book; or by Nebuchadnezzar, if we believe the last chapter of Tobit, long before the return from the captivity. Then also there was no more Kingdom of the Medes. Media was under the Persians, and the Kingdom of Media had been abolished many years before. Nevertheless that history of Judith, given out as happened since the return from the captivity, in chap. 1. 5. maketh Ninive to be the seat of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom, though he never kept his Court there, since he pulled it down (c) when he had taken it. And speaketh of a King Arphaxad, who never was.

(c) This is very expressly affirmed in the end of Tobit's book.

It will not serve our Adversaries to say that this history happened in the time of King Manasseh who was carried away captive into Babylon; and to seek in the time of King Manasseh, a Nebuchadnezzar which cannot be found; for he was not yet born when Manasseh died. They seek also in the time of Manasseh a transportation of the people of Jerusalem, and a return of the people to Jerusalem after the captivity, which is to be found in no story. For 2 Chron. 33. 11. it is said only that the Captains of the host of the King of Assyria took Manasseh among the thorns, and carried him to Babylon, but they took not Jerusalem, and the people was not led away captive; Neither is there any trace of that captivity, nor of the return from the same, in any history. Only Manasseh released out of prison returned unto his Kingdom. Besides, if this history of Judith happened in the time of Manasseh; the Temple also was ruined in his time, which is known to be false. They must also find in the same time a King Arphaxad of Media, who shall no more be found than King Nebuchadnezzar. In the time of Manasseh's imprisonment Phraortes son of Dejoces reigned in Media, of whom Herodotus speaks much in his first book. Which Phraortes was never discomfited by Nebuchadnezzar no more than Dejoces his Father, as the first chapter of Judith relates of Arphaxad. Both father and son were more antient than Nebuchadnezzar, and were both dead before Nebuchadnezzar reigned. Then reigned in Babylon either Nabopolassar Father to Nebuchadnezzar, or rather he to whom Nabopolassar succeeded.

To this add that if Manasseh had been then reigning in Jerusalem, he would not have suffered Joakim the Priest to take upon him to give the orders of war, as it is related, Judith 4. 6. That would have been inroaching upon the Royal Office, and from a Priest turning a Captain; which was never done while there was a King; and they make Joakim contemporary to Nebuchadnezzar, although he lived above a hundred years after that King.

Josephus in the tenth book of Antiquities chap. 4. relates exactly the things happened in Manasseh's time, but speaks not of Judith, nor of Holofernes, nor of Bethulia, nor of the people of Jerusalem led away captive, nor of the Temple pulled down and built up again, which the fabulous book of Judith mentioneth.

To multiply lyes, it is said towards the end of the history, that Judith waxed old in her husband's house, being a hundred and five years old. And that there was none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the dayes of Judith, nor a long time after her death. Let now our adversaries busie their brains to find those hundred and five years, and many more after Judith's death, in which the people of the Jews enjoyed a constant rest. Can any find, I say not a hundred and five years, but forty only of rest in Judea, beginning at the return of Manasseh from his captivity? That King having reigned but few years after his release, left the Kingdom to his son Amon, who brought Idolatry again into Judea, 2 Chron. 33. 22. Where was Judith then, so much respected over all the countrey? Where was that peaceable time without trouble in Israel? To that King, killed after two years reign, succeeded the good King Josiah; who after he had reigned thirty one years was killed in battle by Neco King of Egypt. The end of his

life was the beginning of the ruines and desolations of the Jews, which never gave over, till all the Towns being taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the countrey pillaged, *Jerusalem* and the Temple razed, the people were transported into *Babylon*; Where was then *Judith*? For they affirm that history to have hapened when she was in her prime. And that after this passage, she lived with his husband: And that her husband being dead, she was still of great beauty, and was wooed by many lovers which she refused, and dwelt a hundred and five years in her husbands house, in a time when there was neither people nor houses in *Judea*, and when the countrey was a desert. Was there ever a fable more grossly patcht up?

Seder Holam,
hoc est, ordo
seculi seu
Chronicon.

The last verse of the book, according to the Latin version, saith that the day of *Judith's* victory is received of the Hebrews among the Holy dayes, and is celebrated by the Jews unto this day; Which will be found false. For of that Feast of so great solemnity, no trace is found in all the Antiquity of the Jews; not in *Josephus*, not in *Philo*, not in the other *Josephus* son to *Gorion*, not in the *Macabees*, not in Rabbi *Nahasson* who hath written Canons or rules of the Jewish Feasts, not in *Seder Holam*, not in *Munster* who hath written the Jews Calendar.

In chap. 9. v. 2. *Judith* saith her self to be daughter of *Simeon Jacobs* second son. But in chap. 8. v. 1. her pedigree is fetcht from *Salasadai* son of *Jacobor Israel*, which is an imaginary name; for *Jacob* had no such son. And in the vulgar Latin version, which the Roman Church preferreth before the Greek original, the absurdity is double; for in the same place it is said that she was daughter of *Simeon* son of *Reuben*: whereas every body knoweth that *Simeon* and *Reuben* were brothers.

Gen. 49. Jacob dying condemneth the massacre of the *Sichemites* committed by *Simeon* and *Levi*, so far as to say, *Cursed be their anger for it was fierce, and their wrath for it was cruell*. But *Judith* chap. 9. ver. 2. & 4. praiseth and magnifieth that action, as if God had set them on to do it, saying *O Lord God, of my Father Simeon, to whom thou gavest a sword to take vengeance of the strangers*. And soon after, *Thou hast given all their spoil to be divided among thy dear children*, as if the ransacking of *Sichem*, and the robbery committed by the sons of *Jacob* had been a blessing of God. In the same place speaking of *Simeon* and *Levi*, she saith, *They were moved with thy zeal, and called upon thee for aid*.

Also over all that history such things are attributed to *Judith* as are ill be- seeming a holy and vertuous woman, as if that story had been made purposely to defame her. She tricks up her self curiously to provoke the unchaste desires of a Pagan Prince. In chap. 9. ver. 13. she craveth of God the grace of deceiving with her lips. In chap. 10. ver. 12. being arrested by the *Assyrians*, she payeth them with lyes, saying that she was fled from the Hebrews, and was come to declare words of truth unto their Captain, and shew him a way whereby he might conquer the countrey without the loss of one man. And chap. 11. ver. 5. she promiseth *Holofernes* to tell him no lye, and interposeth the name of God to lye with more colour. She praiseth the wisdom, the policy, and the valour of *Holofernes*; Promiseth him that he shall exterminate the Nation of the Jews, because they had offended God; that God had sent her to work with him, to lead him through the midst of *Judea*, and set his throne in the midst of *Jerusalem*. Falsly adding that God had revealed her these things; which was doing the part of a false Prophetess, and faining a false revelation.

With little honesty and no small peril of her pudicity she goeth out by night, having no body to attend her but her maid. She washeth her self in a fountain in the midst of the camp of the enemies. Being called to come to *Holofernes*, to please him in his desires, she answereth, *Who am I that I should gainsay my Lord!* chap. 12. ver. 13. All that very far from the purity and integrity of a holy woman.

The

The book called the Wisdom of Solomon.

This book is placed among the *Apocrypha* by *Hierom*, *Ruffin*, and a great number of Fathers, especially by the Council of *Laodicea*, as I will shew hereafter.

The title of the book is manifestly false; for it is none of *Solomon's* works, who writ in Hebrew not in Greek: Now that book is extant in Greek only, and is not in the Hebrew Bible. Neither is it any thing like the style of *Solomon*.

Austin speaks thus of it, (a) *These two books, the one entituled the Wisdom, the other Ecclesiasticus, are said to be of Solomon, because of some resemblance. For that opinion is constantly received that Jesus the son of Syrach did write them.* It is true that *Austin* in the first book of the *Retractions*, doth retract himself in the fourth chapter for saying that those books have been written by the son of *Syrach*. But he saith not for that, that they are *Solomons*. Only he saith that many call that book the *Wisdom of Solomon*, speaking of it doubtfully. But in the seventeenth book of the *City of God*, cap. 29. he saith that the learned hold for certain that this book and *Ecclesiasticus* are not *Solomons*.

Hierom the most learned of the Fathers in such matters, in his Preface upon the books of *Solomon*, saith that the inscription of this book is false: (b) *Another* (saith he) *whose title is false, being intituled the Wisdom of Solomon.* And a little after, (c) *Some writers affirm that this book is of Philo the Jew.* And in the same place he saith that *the style favours the Greek eloquence.*

(d) *Basil* in the first book against *Eunomius*, towards the end, alledgeth the book of *Wisdom of Zorobabel*; And in the same book (e) *We acknowledge but three works of Solomon, even those three that we have in the Hebrew Bible.*

And all the Fathers whom we shall hear hereafter, that put the book of *Wisdom* out of the rank of the Canonical Scriptures, deny by consequent that it is *Solomons*: And there is great difference between books that treat of matters of salvation and of Gods service, and books of plants and natural Philosophy written by *Solomon*, which he did not write that they should be taught in the Church.

Now all that deny the book of *Wisdom* to be of *Solomon*, accuse the Author of untruth; for he saith himself to be King *Solomon*, chap. 9. ver. 7, 8. speaking thus unto God, *Thou hast chosen me to be a King of thy people.* — *Thou hast commanded me to build a Temple upon thy holy mount.* But in chap. 15. ver. 14. the Author forgetting that he had called himself King *Solomon*, speaks as writing in a time when the Church was oppressed (f) and kept under by her enemies; which cannot be applied to *Solomons* time. Had the Jesuit (g) *Salmeron* considered this, he would not have said that probably this book could not have been written by any but *Solomon*.

We must not find it strange that those very Fathers that deny this book to be Canonical, will call it sometimes the *Wisdom of Solomon*; for they do but use the title of the book as custom would have it, as both we and the Roman Church call the third and fourth book of *Ezra*, which cannot be of *Ezra*, and are not received as Canonical by the Council of *Trent*. This *Austin* saith lib. 17. de civitate Dei cap. 20. (h) *As for the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, custome hath carried it, that they be said to be Solomons; but the learned hold for certain that they are none of his.*

It is evident that the book was written by a man versed in the Grecian Philosophy, in that he speaks of the *Solstices*, chap. 7. ver. 18. and of the four moral vertues, temperance, fortitude, justice, and prudence, ver. 7.

In chap. 7. ver. 25. *Wisdom* is called a vapour or breath of the vertue of God, wherein he speaks like an ignorant, whether he understand by the wisdom of God the Person of the Eternal Son of God, or a vertue of God, which is essential to him, and his own substance. Take it either way, is the wisdom of God a vapour? And since it is a vertue of God, how should it be a vapour proceeding from his vertue? With the like abuse in chap. 6. ver. 22. he speaks of the beginning of the nativity of *Wisdom* as though she were born and had a beginning.

(a) lib. de doctrina, Christiana cap. 8. Hi duo libri, unus qui Sapientia, & alius qui Ecclesiasticus inscribitur, de quadam similitudine Solomonis esse dicuntur.

Nam Jesu filius Sirach eos scripsisse constantissime perhibetur.

(b) Alius pseudepigraphus qui Sapientia Solomonis inscribitur.

(c) Nonnulli scriptorum veterum hanc esse Philonis Judei affirmant.

(d) τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον σοφία.

(e) τρεῖς μόναις ἐννομεν τὴν Σαλωμῶντος τὰς σοφίας.

(f) There in the Greek κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπὶ τοῖς, imperium exercuerunt.

(g) Salmeron Proleg. 9. Can. 3. Librum Sapientie ab alio quam Salomone scribi non potuisse valde probabile est.

(h) Alii duo quorum unus Sapientia, alter Ecclesiasticus dicitur, propter eloquii nonnullam similitudinem, ut Salomonis dicuntur, obtinuit consuetudo; Non autem esse ipsius non dubitant doctores.

In tant doctores.

In the same book chap. 8. ver. 15. *Solomon* speaks of himself as being valiant in war, of which nevertheless he never gave any proof, having never given any battel. And ver. 20. speaking of his origine, he saith, that *being good he came into a body undefiled*. So then he was otherwise born and composed then *David* his Father, who *Psal.* 51. 7. saith *Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me*.

He cannot be excused for calling Manna the Angels food, as if Angels did eat and had need to be fed with meat; Nor for saying (chap. 10. 7.) that the land of the five Cities, meaning *Sodom* and the other Cities of that plain, was smoaking still ever since they were consumed by fire from heaven. It is false also that five Towns were burnt in that plain; for *Moses* nameth but four, *Sodom, Gomorrha, Adama, and Tseboim*. The fifth which was *Tsoar*, was spared at the request of *Lor*. So the Author of that book saith untruly that *the fire came down upon these five Towns*. And it is likewise false that which he saith (chap. 12. ver. 5.) that the old inhabitants of the land of *Canaan* whom the Israelites expelled, were devourers of mans flesh. *Moses* often describes the abominations of those people, but never speaks that they were man-eaters. Also in chap. 6. ver. 22. that false *Solomon* relates things that never hapned to the children of *Israel*, and coyneeth histories, saying that *snow and ice endured the fire and melted not*.

Of the book of Ecclesiasticus.

This book is not found in the Hebrew Bible, the Bible of the Old Testament, which was read in the Synagogues. We shall also see hereafter that the Antient Christian Church did not receive it as Canonical.

This book contains many good precepts, which made the reading of it recommended by many of the Antient, and by our own Church. But there are many profitable books, which ought not therefore to be ranked among the divine books, nor held for Canonical.

The Author of the book cannot be *Solomon*, seeing that in the forty seventh, forty eighth and the following chapters, he speaks of the reigns of *Roboam, Jeroboam*, and of the Prophets *Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel*, and many others who lived many ages after *Solomon*. Before the book there is a Preface where the Author *Iesus* the son of *Sirach* saith that he came into *Aegypt* in the time of King *Ptolomæus Evergetes* who died about seven hundred sixty two years after *Solomon*.

In the same Preface *Iesus* Grandfather to that *Iesus* who compiled these sentences, is compared unto *Solomon*, and equalled in wisdom and doctrine: which is not without impiety.

In chap. 1. ver. 4. and in chap. 24. ver. 24. there is an error which our Adversaries approve not, namely that the Wisdom of God was created before all things, which is meer Arrianism. For *Arius* taught that Christ was a created God, made before other creatures. A sentence which none but distracted brains will excuse with saying that Christ was created in his humane nature; for Christ in his humane nature is not the Wisdom of the Father; and so far was he from being created before all things, that he had not assumed humane flesh when *Iesus* the Son of *Sirach* writ his book.

In chap. 46. ver. 20. it is said that *Samuel* prophesied after his death. So this Author makes the Prophet *Samuel* to say that which was said by the Devil, and puts the souls of the Saints in the power of Satan. For that the Ghost that appeared unto *Saul* was not the Prophet *Samuel*, holy Scripture testifies it in the same chapter, ver. 6. where it is said that God would not answer *Saul*, neither by *Urim* nor by *Thummim* which was the ordinary oracle, nor by the Prophets. Neither is it in a Witches power to fetch the souls of Saints out of the place of their rest. The same appears by that Ghosts saying to *Saul* in the nineteenth verse, *Thou and thy sons shall be with me to morrow*. For seeing that *Saul* is dead desperate, killing himself with his own sword, it is not credible that his soul after death

Deut. 29. 24.

Gen. 19. 20.

1 Sam. 28. 6.

death was gathered with the Saints, nor that the soul of *Saul* and that of *Jonathan* were carried into the same place. Wherefore it must be granted that this Ghost was called *Samuel*, because it was like *Samuel*, and counterfeited him, according to the custom of the Scriptures to give unto signs and representations the name of represented things.

Austin handleth this question, and saith that though this image of *Samuel* said unto *Saul*, *Thou shalt be with me*, he said an untruth. Then he saith (i) *Therefore Scripture calls with the name of Samuel an imaginary illusion made by the machinations of the Devil, because images use to be called by the name of things whereof they are images.* And finally after he hath canvassed that question on both sides, he concludeth, *Let us think rather that such a thing was done by the wicked ministry of the Pythonissa or witch, which we cannot find or expound any more.* See the Canon *Nec mirum. Causa 26. q. 5.* where it is amply proved that it was not the true *Samuel*, but an illusion of the Devil.

Also that book doth unworthily yea unjustly deal with the feminine sex, saying that (k) *the wickedness of a man is better then the good that a woman doth*, chap. 42. ver. 14.

The book of Susanna.

This history hath no truth at all. For what likelihood or possibility is in this, that a handfull of Jews newly led captive into *Babylon* should have, even in *Babylon*, Judges of their Nation, condemning to death without appeal? The Jews while they served the Romans, might have in their countrey some Judges of their own, because the Victors, after they had subdued them, had left them some kind of jurisdiction, as it is the custom of Conquerors towards the people whom they have conquered and brought under their Empire. But it will not be found that after the ruine of *Jerusalem* Jews led captive to *Rome*, had Judges of their Nation at *Rome* that could sentence to death without appeal.

Especially it is the height of absurdity and far out of all road of likelihood that a young stranger child, being in no Office, should make himself Judge of the ordinary Judges, and condemn them to death, with a Sovereign judgement without appeal: As if some stranger-child brought captive to *London*, should command the Lord Chief Justice of *England* to appear before him, and then sentence him to death, and send him to the Gallows.

Here observe the time: for *Daniel* was a child in the time of the first siege laid to *Jerusalem* by *Nebucadnezzar*; *Jebojakim* being King in *Jerusalem* who was carried away captive with part of the people, among which was *Daniel*, as one may see in the first chapter of *Daniel*. That happened eleven years before the second siege, whereby *Jerusalem* was razed, and the rest of the people transported. That was the time of the extreame depression and bondage of the Jews in *Babylon*, who were so far from having Offices of Judicature and delicious gardens in *Babylon* (as it is said in that book of *Joakim Susanna's* husband) that they were used as bondmen in hard servitude. The Author was short in his *Chronology* to raise *Daniel* to dignity at that time, as he was afterwards when he came to age.

It is known also that in *Babylon* the vulgar tongue was the Chaldean, not the Greek; Yet the history of *Susanna* makes *Daniel* to speak Greek in *Babylon*, sitting in a judicial seat, examining Judges of capital causes. For this book makes him use Greek clinches and allusions upon the words (l) of Mastick tree, and Holme tree, which allusions will not be found at all in the Chaldean language, or in any tongue but the Greek. And who so affirms the contrary, doth but set forth his own ignorance. Wherefore *Porphyrius* the great enemy of the Christian name, having made this objection, *Hierom* in his *Proem* upon *Daniel* answers that the book of *Susanna* is a fable, and hath no authority of holy Scripture. We will alledge his words upon the history of *Bel*. Pope *Gelasius* is express upon this, saying that the book of *Susanna* is Apocrypha.

(i) Aug. 1. 2. questionum ad Simplicianum qu. 3. Et sic te hoc quod cum illa imago Samuelis Saulem prodigere moventium, dixit enim secum futurum, quod utique falsum est. Et paulo ante.

Imaginariam illusionem Diaboli machinationibus factam propterea Scriptura nomine Samuelis appellat, quia solent imaginum rerum eorum nominibus appellari; quarum imagines sunt.

(k) This may bear a good sense in the English version.

which goes thus, better is the churchfulness of a man then a courteous woman.

(l) ὁ μαστικὸν ἕρως καὶ ὁ ὁλμὸς, ὁ δὲ ὁλμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ μαστικὸς. ὁ δὲ ὁλμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ μαστικὸς. ὁ δὲ ὁλμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ μαστικὸς. Can. Sancta Romana. Dist. 15.

The History of Bel and the Dragon.

This History is of the same stuff. The very beginning is a lye, That presently after the death of *Astyages*, *Daniel* was preferred to the table of *Cyrus*, honoured above all his friends. For when *Cyrus* dispossest *Astyages* his Grandfather from the Kingdom of *Media*, *Cyrus* was not yet Master of *Babylon*, and *Daniel* living in *Babylon*, was none his subjects. Neither did *Cyrus* conquer *Babylon* but about two and twenty years after the end of the reign of *Astyages*, as one may see by the first book of *Herodorus*; by *Berosus* alledged by *Josephus*, by the *Chronicles* of *Eusebius*, and by the Canon of *Ptolomæus*.

Hierom in his Preface upon *Daniel*, calls this book a Fable; and saith that it was left out by the Greek Doctors, as having no authority of holy Scripture. These are his words.

(m) *Eusebius* and *Apollinaris* have well answered *Porphyrius*, that the fables of *Susanna*, *Bell*, and the *Dragon* are not contained in the Hebrew text; but that they are part of the prophesie of one *Habuc* son of *Jesu* of the tribe of *Levi*, as it is put in the title of the same fable in the *Septuagint*, where it is said That there was a Priest named *Daniel* son of *Abda* that are at the table of the King of *Babylon*; whereas Scripture testifieth that *Daniel* and the three young men were of the tribe of *Judah*. Wherefore we also translating *Daniel* many years ago, gave a black mark to these visions, to signifie that they were not found in the Hebrew. And I wonder how some peevish men are angry with me as if I had curtailed that book, seeing that *Origenes*, and *Eusebius*, and *Apollinaris*, and other Ecclesiastical persons, and Greek Doctors acknowledge that these visions are not found among the Hebrews; and that they are not bound to answer *Porphyrius* for these books which have no authority of holy Scripture.

Some pedants (n) give us a warning that sometimes this word *fable* signifieth a story, and with the same reason (likely) would suffer the Gospel to be called a fable. But they dissemble that *Hierom* saith, that these books have no authority of holy Scripture.

The rest of the book of Esther.

The rest of the book of *Esther*, contradicteth in many things the book of *Esther* which is in the Hebrew Bible. The true Hebrew story chap. 6. ver. 2. relates that *Esther* was brought to King *Assuerus* to be Queen, in the seventh year of that King; and that she being already Queen, *Mordecai* discovered a conspiracy of two Eunuchs named *Bigthan* and *Teres* against the life of King *Assuerus*, of which he gave notice to Queen *Esther*, and she to the King.

The same history is quite otherwise related in the *Apocrypha* book of the rest of *Esther*, in the first chapter. There it is said that *Mordecai* had a dream in the second year of King *Artaxerxes*, and discovered a conspiracy of two Eunuchs, *Gabatha* and *Thara*. One of the books saith *Assuerus*, the other saith *Artaxerxes*. The one saith that it was in the seventh year of King *Assuerus*, the other, that it was in the second year of *Artaxerxes*. And the names of the Eunuchs are different. How unlike is it that in the same book the same history should be twice related by the same Author, and in a different way? In the sixth chapter, ver. 10. of that *Apocrypha*, it is said that *Aman* was a *Macedonian*, who in the true story is said to be an *Agagite*, that is an *Hamalekite*. (o) See *Numb.* 24. 7. And such was the name of the Kings of *Hamalec*, 1 *Sam.* 15. 20. *M. du Perron* answers that (p) all the strangers in *Asia* were called *Macedonians*, which might be after *Alexander* in the reign of the *Seleucides*, but the history of *Esther* is many ages before. Besides *Aman* was no stranger in *Asia*, as the Cardinal esteemeth, for he was an *Arabian*. Now *Arabia* is in *Asia*. All that swarms with ignorance.

With the like ignorance he saith that *Aman* is called *Macedonian* in the letters of

(m) Cui & Eusebius & Apollinaris pari sententia responderunt, Susannæ, Belisq; ac Draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebraico, &c. unde & nos ante plurimos annos cum verteremus Danielem, has visiones obelo prænotavimus, significantes eas in Hebraico non haberi; & miror quosdam repugnantes indignari mihi quasi ego decurrerim librum, cum Origenes, &c. & doctores Græci fateantur non haberi apud Hebræos, nec se debere respondere Porphyrio pro his quæ nullam Scripturæ autoritatem habent.

(n) Regourd in his Demonstr. p. 337.

(o) Josephus l. 11. c. 6. saith that he was an Hamalekite.

(p) Du Perron chap. 88. p. 628. & 629. Du Perron, p. Ibid.

of *Assuerus*, (p) because the writer followed the Syriack version. But in the Syriack translation these letters are not to be found, the Interpreter having interpreted only the Canonical book of *Esther*. (d) Du Per-
ron. p. ibid.

But how absurd is that which is said in chap. 6. ver. 14. of the same book, that *Haman* would have transported the Empire of the *Persians* to the *Macedonians*? For besides that these words suppose that *Haman* was a *Macedonian*; who is never so little versed in History, knoweth that the Kings of *Macedon* at that time were petty Kings, unknown in *Persia*, and without any power; And that these words are no less ridiculous, then saying that such a one hath undertaken to transport the Empire of the *Turks* to the Prince of *Parma* or to the King of *Algiers*.

About these rests of *Esther* let us hear the verdict of *Sixtus Senensis* (q) who hath few fellows in learning among our Adversaries; *The other six chapters*, saith he, *unto the end of the book*, have been added out of several histories, by I know not what Greek author; But especially out of the eleventh book of the *Antiquities* of *Josephus*. Then he addeth that *Melito* of *Sardis*, and *Gregory Nazianzen* have not reckoned that book among the sacred books, and that *Athanasius* hath by name rejected it as supposititious, and that it was received very late among the Christians.

(q) Bibliotheca lib. 1.

Of the books of Maccabees.

The books of *Maccabees* swarm with fables. In the beginning of the first book the author saith, that *Alexander* before his death divided his kingdom among his servants: Which is contradicted by a multitude of Historians that have written of *Alexander's* death (r) By *Diodorus Siculus*, by *Justin* the Epitomizer of *Trogus*, by *Quintus Curtius*, *Emilius Probus*, *Strabo*, *Pausanias*, *Plutarchus*, *Appianus Alexandrinus*, and many more. All relate that *Alexander* made no division of his Kingdom before his death, but only gave his ring unto *Perdiccas*: whence arose a thousand confusions among his successors.

(r) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17. & 18. Justin lib. 12. & 13. Curtius l. 10. Emil. Prob. in vita Eumenis. Strabo l. 17. Pausanias Atticis, Plutar. vit. Alex. Appian. de bello Syriaco.

In the first book of *Maccabees*, chap. 6. *Antiochus Epiphanes* striving to get *Elimais* in *Persia*, is beaten back by the inhabitants of the Town, then flieth to return into *Babylon*; and hearing the ill success of the arms of *Lyfias* the General of his army against the Jews, falls sick with sorrow, and dieth in the one hundred forty ninth year of the reign of the *Seleucides*. But in the ninth chapter of the second book, the death of that *Antiochus* is quite otherwise described. That being entred into the City of *Persopolis*, he went about to hold the City. That being driven from thence, he came to *Ecbatana*, where having heard tidings of the defeat of *Nicanor* and *Timotheus*, and swelling with anget at it, he resolved to exterminate the Jews, and make of *Jerusalem* a burying place. That in the way he fell from his chariot, and being sore bruised, worms rose out of his body, and that he dyed a stranger in the mountains. Can any two things be more diverse then these two relations of the same thing? The one speaks of the City of *Ecbatana*, the other of the City of *Persopolis*. The one saith that he would enter into the Town, the other that he entred into it. The one that he fled to return into *Babylon*, the other that he came to *Ecbatana*, which are very different ways. The one that he heard ill news of the defeat of *Lyfias*; the other puts *Nicanor* and *Timotheus* instead of *Lyfias*. The one saith that upon these ill news he fell sick for sorrow; the other that while he was threatening the Jews he felt a sore pain in his bowels, and that by the way he fell from his charret, whereupon his flesh rotted and bred worms. He that said that he died in *Persia* neer *Ecbatana*, knew not that *Ecbatana* was in *Media*, not in *Persia*. It is now called *Tauris*.

In the first chapter of the second of the *Maccabees*, ver. 12. the Jews give God thanks for driving away those that had fought against the holy City in *Persia*. Now in *Persia* all the Cities were Pagan, and there was no holy City. The holy Scripture giveth that honourable name to none but *Jerusalem*,

although *Judea* had many other Cities where God was purely served.

In the same chapter the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes* is related the third time in a far different manner. Namely that he was stoned in the Temple of *Nannea*. Now that this *Antiochus* is the same that is called *Epiphanes*, it is evident, because this is related in an Epistle where the Jews of *Judea* announce to the Jews of *Egypt* the death of that King as a great deliverance, and signifie unto them the institution of the Feast of the Purification of the Temple upon the twenty fifth day of the moneth *Caslen*, which feast was instituted by *Judas Maccabee* a little after the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is a great ignorance to think that in this *Macc. 2. chap. 1.* The death of *Antiochus Eupator* is related; For that *Eupator* was not killed in *Persia*, and never made war there, and was killed by *Demetrius* son of *Selencus*, who took from him both his kingdom and his life. He was not stoned in a Temple, and outlived but two years his Father *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Neither was it in consequence of the death of *Antiochus Eupator* that the Fast of the purification of the Temple was instituted.

And though we should grant that this *Antiochus* is *Antiochus Eupator*, yet the untruth is evident, in that the letter which describeth the death of this *Antiochus*, and signifieth to the Jews of *Egypt* the institution of the Feast of the purification of the Temple, is dated on the one hundred eighty eighth year of the reign of the *Selencides*. But the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes* fell on the year one hundred forty nine, as it is related, *1 Macc. 6. 16.* By which account *Antiochus Eupator* had died thirty nine after his Fathers death, although he outlived him but two years.

It is no less against all reason to think that this *Antiochus* that was stoned to death was *Antiochus Sidetes*, dead in the one hundred seventy fourth year of the reign of the *Selencides*. For the institution of the Feast of the purification of the Temple beareth not that date but some thirty five years before. And *Antiochus Sidetes* was not stoned to death in a Temple of *Persia*, and never made war in *Persia*. For *Justin*, *Appian*, *Orosius*, and (f) *Eusebius* witness that he died in battell against the *Parthians*, being forsaken by his men. *Appian* addeth that being thus forsaken, he slew himself. And it would be a strange up-side-down History in the second of *Maccabees*, if the Author had begun his relation by *Antiochus Sidetes* to remount to *Antiochus Epiphanes* who came to the Kingdom about forty eight years before.

Observe also that *Judas Maccabeus* is one of them that writ the letter set down in the first chapter of the second of *Maccabees*, which is dated the one hundred eighty eighth year of the reign of the *Grecians*, that is some thirty six years after his death. For that this *Judas* that writes these letters is *Judas Maccabeus* it is evident, because it is he that instituted the purification of the Temple, of which he gives notice in these letters unto the Jews of *Egypt*.

1 Maccab. 8. v. 6, 7, 8. it is said that the Romans had taken *Antiochus* the great alive, and had given to *Eumenes* the countreyes of *India* and *Media*. All that is false. (t) The Romans defeated *Antiochus* the Great in three battels, but they never took him prisoner. They never had any thing in *India*, and *Media* was none of theirs. Their greatest Empire never went beyond *Euphrates*. In the time of this *Antiochus* the limit of the Roman Empire was Mount *Taurus*, which is the limit of *Asia minor* on the East. Indeed some passages of (x) Latin Poets call *Ethiopia India*. But the absurdity should be greater yet to say, that the Romans had given to *Eumenes Ethiopia*, where they never posselt any thing, and which was about a thousand leagues distant from the habitation of *Eumenes*.

For excuse they say that these things were related unto *Judas*, but that they were not true. That with the like untruth, *Numb. 13.* the spies sent to discover the land of *Canaan* made a false relation. And that the Evangelists relate many blasphemies and lies spoken against our Saviour. But all that is to no purpose; for the relation of the spies and the slanders against our Saviour are related in the Scripture as false, and are convinced of falshood. But the relation about the Romans, (*1 Mac. 8.*) is related as true. And the Author will have *Judas Maccabeus* to believe things as ridiculous, as if he had believed that *Virgil* was

Bishop

(f) Euseb.
Chron. Asfa-
ces Parthus
Antiochum
Sidetem in-
terfecit.

(t) See Hie-
ron. on Da-
niel. Zosimus,
Justin, Titus
Livius l. 37.
Appian in
Syriacis.
(x) Virgil. 4.
Georg. lo-
quens de
Nilo,
usq; colorat
annis de vex-
us ab Indis.

Bishop of *Iffington*, and had sent Embassadors to *Rome* about it. The most eminent man among the Jews, who had the conduct of their affairs, could he have been ignorant that *Media* and *India* belonged not to the Romans? And though he had been ignorant of that, could the Author of this book be ignorant of a thing so well known unto all if he had been enlightened by the Holy Ghost?

The like stuff he gives us in the second and third verses of the same chapter, *Macc.* 1. 8. That the Romans had conquered the *Galatians*, and had done great feats of arms in *Galatia*, and had brought the gold and silver mettals of *Spain* under their power. If by the *Galatians* he meaneth the *Gauls*, the Romans did not conquer them but about an hundred years after the death of *Judas Maccabeus*. If by the *Galatians* he understands those of *Asia Minor*, *Judas* was not so ignorant but he knew that the Romans never gave any battell in *Galatia*. Those mettals of gold and silver in *Spain* are fables. The Romans never made war in *Spain* for that end. The Poets say that the river *Tago* in *Spain* hath golden sands, which is found now to be false. But though it were true, the Romans never got treasures that way.

But how false is that which is affirmed in the fifteenth and sixteenth verses of the same chapter, that the Romans held every day a Councell of three hundred and twenty persons, and that they committed their Government to one man every year? for little children know that they created two Consuls, equall in sovereign power, every year; and that they had certain dayes which they called *nefastos*, upon which there was a cessation of all businesses. (y) As for the number of the Senators, *Romulus* established a hundred, *Tarquinius Priscus* increased the number of them to three hundred, and that number was yet in the time of the *Gracchi* which were posterior in time to *Judas Maccabeus*.

In the same place, *ver.* 14. it is observed, that none of the Romans was clad in purple to be magnified thereby. This Author knew not that the Roman Senators wore Gowns embroydered with broad flowers of purple, which they called *latus clavus*. And that the Knights wore small purple flowers on their Gowns, called *angustus clavus*. The robe of the Antient Roman Kings, and that of the Augurs called *trabea*, and the triumphal habit which they called *toga palmata*, were of purple. And the Sovereign Priests (z) of *Rome* were clad in Purple. Which the Roman Emperors have imitated when they have taken the title of *Pontifices*. Whence is derived the purple robe which the Roman Popes wear now.

1 *Macc.* 12. An excellent observation is found in this chapter. An Epistle of *Arius* King of *Sparta* to *Onias* High Priest of the Jews, whereby the *Lacedemonians* say themselves to be of the stock of *Abraham*; as right as if I said that the Low Britains in *France* are of the stock of *Nicodemus*. Doubtless it is from thence that the *Lacedemonians* were circumcised and spake Hebrew. They that had so much docility as to believe that simple tale, as *Eusebius*, have been deceived by (a) *Josephus*, who in these things is liberal of egregious lyes: so far as to (b) make *Hercules*, the great knocker of monsters, son-in-law to one of the daughters of *Abraham*.

In the first chapter of the second of *Maccabees*, *ver.* 19. & seq. a very strange fable is related; that when the Jews were carried away captive into *Persia* (he would say *Chaldea* or *Babylon*) The Priests hid the fire of the Altar in a deep well; and that *Nehemiah* sent to *Judea* by the King of *Persia*, sent Priests to take and to bring that fire; But they found no fire in that well, but thick water; which being poured upon the wood of the Altar turned into fire, and burnt the wood. This fable is put (c) by *M. du Perron* among the unwritten traditions necessary to salvation. Yet it is rejected by the universal consent of the Rabbins, who say that this fire descended from heaven, was not in the second Temple. We have the History of *Nehemiah* written by himself, wherein he punctually relates all that he hath done in *Jerusalem* for the good of the people of the Jews; but he makes no mention of that fire, nor of that thick water, nor of that burning of the wood laid upon the Altar. Before that *Nehemiah* was sent by King *Artaxerxes*,

(y) Dionys.
Halicar. l. 2.
& 3. Plur. in
Gracchis.
Florus Epit.
Livian. l.
60.

(z) Ov. Fast.
4. 14 c. purpu-
rea canus cum
veste sacerdos.
Minutius
Felix. Sacer-
dotum hono-
res & purpu-
ras despici-
unt.

(a) Joseph.
Antiq. l. 13.
c. 9. Euseb.
Chronol.
Olymp. 141.
(b) Joseph.
Antiq. l. 1.
c. 16.

(c) Book 1.
chap. 2.
pag. 777.

they were sacrificing in *Jerusalem*, and the Altar was set up again, as it is related, *Ezra* 3. 2, 3. Neither was *Nehemiah* come to restore the sacrifices, but to build again the walls of *Jerusalem*, as his history shews it. What need then of that miraculous thick water to kindle a fire which was already kindled?

In the second chapter of the second book of *Maccabees*, ver. 4, 5. it is said that *Jeremiah* the Prophet commanded that the Tabernacle, and the Ark, and the Altar of incense should be brought to him, and that he hid them in the mountain of *Nebo* in a pit, wherein a house was, saying to them that would mark that place, that the place should be unknown untill God had gathered again the congregation of the people, and that when the Lord would shew those things, the glory of the Lord should appear, and the cloud also, as it was shewed unto *Moses*. He that coyned that fable was not very learned; for who knoweth not that in *Jeremiah's* time there was no Tabernacle, and that instead of a Tabernacle *Solomon* had built a Temple, about four hundred years before *Jeremiah* prophesied?

(d) ἐκέλευεν
αὐτὸν συν-
ακολεθρῆν.

Jer. 38. 28.

The absurdity and impossibility is not leis in this 2 *Mac.* 2. 4. that *Jeremiah* commanded the Tabernacle and the Ark to follow him, for so it is in the Greek. (d) How could a Tabernacle, which was not, follow *Jeremiah*? And to whom could *Jeremiah* have delivered this command? To the Jews that were slain by the Chaldeans? or to those that were reserved from the slaughter to be carried away slaves in a hard bondage? And when *Jerusalem* had been taken and razed, and the Temple burnt, and the vessels of the Temple, and the Ark by consequent were partly carried away, partly burnt; how could *Jeremiah* who was a prisoner in chains command that the Ark should be brought to him to march after him? The poor Prophet relates, how being odious to the people of *Jerusalem*, and to King *Zedekiah*, he was cast into a deep pit full of myre, and being drawn from thence, he remained in the court of the prison, and was a prisoner when the Town was taken, and both City and Temple burnt. But the victorious King of the Chaldeans fetcht *Jeremiah* out of prison, and committed him to the keeping of *Gedaliah* whom he had set over the countrey, as it is related, *Jer.* 34. 14. Yea after he was taken out of the prison, he was bound with a chain, *Jer.* 40. 1. and in that case carried to *Rama*, and thence sent to *Juda*, where he stayed till he went into *Egypt* with part of the people. In all that time, when and to whom could *Jeremiah* have commanded to bring him the Ark? Where was he, to be able to save Ark from the burning of the Temple? or to get it out of the hands of the Chaldeans to hide it in a hole, and in an under-ground house fifty leagues from that place? Even in time of peace, would the High Priest have suffered that a contemptible man, odious among the people, as *Jeremiah*, should have taken the Ark from the Temple to transport it into an unknown place! And when he was prisoner upon a charge of treason, those Priests against whom he had prophesied would no doubt have prosecuted him for stealing the Ark away and hiding it they knew not where.

We meet with the like or rather greater absurdities and difficulties when it is question of finding that Ark again after the peoples return from the captivity, to bring it again into the Temple rebuilt by *Zorobabel*, about seventy years after. The Author of the second book of *Maccabees* saith not by whom, nor when it was found and brought to the Temple again, and of that no trace is found in any history. And no more of that which is promised, 2 *Mac.* 2. 8. that after the finding the Ark and the Tabernacle, the cloud would cover them, and the glory of the Lord would manifest it self over them, as in the dayes of *Moses*. Such a miraculous manifestation would not have been omitted by *Josephus* who hath most exactly written the history of the Jews of that time and of the following ages, untill the last destruction of *Jerusalem*. So far is Rabbi *Solomon Jark* from confirming this, that he directly contradicts it in his Comment on the first chapter of *Haggai*, saying that in the second Temple there was no Ark. Which is confirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*, who saith that *Pompey* having taken *Jerusalem* entred into the Temple, and having the curiosity to enter into the Sanctuary, he found *vacuam sedem & inania arcana*, the place empty and nothing in the

Histor. l. V.

most

most secret place, Which should be false, if he had found there an Ark bearing two Cherubims.

Jeremiah himself contradicts the relation of the *Maccabees*; for (*Jer. 3. 16.*) speaking of the happy and peaceable state which God would give to the Jews after these desolations, he saith, *And it shall come to pass when ye be multiplied and increased in the land, in those dayes, saith the Lord, they shall say no more, The Ark of the Covenant of the Lord; neither shall it come to mind, neither shall they remember it, neither shall they visit it; Neither shall that be done any more.* Other versions say, *Neither shall it be any more.* For although I willingly grant that *Jeremiah* in that place speaks of the vocation of the Gentiles; yet it is the custom of the Prophets, by the things happening to the Jews before the coming of Christ, to prefigure future spiritual things. Be sure that if *Titus* having taken the Temple of *Jerusalem* had found the Ark in it, he would not have omitted to cause it to be carried before him in triumph, with the other pieces of the ornaments of the Temple, the enumeration whereof is made by *Josephus* in the seventh book of the *Judaick* war; where he saith that the golden table was carried among the pomps of the triumph, and the golden candlestick, and the book of the Law; things far inferiour in magnificence to the Ark, and to the Cherubims made by *Solomon*.

(e) *Bellarmin* seeing such an evident truth, and finding no likelihood of truth in saying that the Ark had been found again, after the return from the captivity of *Babylon*, and brought again to the Temple, hath found out another shift. He saith that the Ark is not found yet, but that it will be found in the last dayes, the next unto the day of judgement; But the Jesuite *Regourd* is of another mind. For indeed it were hard to say what good a guilded chest would do and an Altar of incense, and a Tabernacle of skins among the general burning of the world in the day of judgement.

(e) Lib. 1.
de verbo Dei
cap. 15. §.
Respondeo
potuisse.

(f) This Jesuite then in his fourth Demonstration saith that it is more likely that the Ark was found again after the Captivity, and was in the Temple built by *Zerobabel*. And he proveth it by the second book of *Maccabees*: Wherein common sense faileth him; For our difference is whether that book be fabulous. As if one proved that the fables of *Ovid's Metamorphosis* are true, because they are in *Ovid's Metamorphosis*.

(f) P. 538.
& 540.

2 *Chron. 5. 9.* It is written that the bars of the Ark remain there untill this day. An evident proof, that the Author writ the book when the Ark was yet in being, and that the part of the last chapter which speaks of the taking and ruine of *Jerusalem*, and the Temple, and of the deliverance granted by *Cyrus*, was added since by another author. In the same manner as the book of *Deuteronomy*, being written by *Moses*, the last chapter where the death of *Moses* is described hath been added since. The same is seen in the book of *Joshuah*. For if from that text one would infer (as *Regourd* doth) that the Ark was yet in the Temple after the return from the captivity, he must say also that the Temple hath not been ruined by the *Chaldeans*, and that the Ark did not stir from it.

In the fourteenth chapter of the second of the *Maccabees*, v. 41. & 42. *Razias* is praised for killing himself. He being ready to be taken on every side fell upon his sword; Choosing rather to dye manfully then to come into the hands of the wicked, to be abused otherwise then becomed his noble birth; Can one more expressly commend self-murder? Is that dying vertuously? Was it vertuously done of that man to regard more the nobility of his race then Gods commandment? That which follows is no better, that he cast himself headlong from a high place, and tore his bowels with his own hands.

One hath need to be of an easie belief to believe that which is related, 2 *Mac. 8. 20.* that eight thousand Jews gave battell to the *Galatians* in *Babylon*, where they killed six score thousand *Galatians*. Such battells are not given in a Town. *Josephus* or some other Author would have spoken of it. The whole countrey of *Galatia* together, which is a very little countrey, cannot afford so many souldiers. And much more impossible it is, that there should be so many

Galatian

Galatian soulders in *Babylon*, which is about five hundred leagues from *Galatia*. This is no less absurd then if one said that six score thousand English Souldiers in *Constantinople* were killed in a battell given within the Town, by eight thousand Spaniards. This could not be done unless the *Galatians* had taken *Babylon* before, which they never did.

2 Macc. 15.
38.

(g) Si minus
digne, conce-
dendum est
mibi.
And the
French ver-
sion appro-
ved by, the
Jesuites of
Louvain.
Si je n'ay
pas dit comme
je devois, il
me le faut
pardonner.

In the end of the book this Author acknowledgeth his weakness, as he may well; and with just reason doubteth whether he hath well said. If (saith he) *I have done well, and as it is fitting the story, it is that which I desired; but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.* The Spirit of God doubteth not whether he hath well said, excuseth not his style, and alledgeth not his want of power for excuse. In the *vulgar* version, the only approved by the Council of *Trent*, the Author craveth pardon for his faults. (g) If (saith he) *I have not said as worthily as I ought, I must be pardoned.* I ask then if it be convenient to the Spirit of God, who hath inspired his Prophets to write, to doubt whether he hath spoken as he ought to do, and to crave pardon of men. And as for the lowness of the style, the Spirit of God doth not trouble himself to seek an eloquent style. His end is not to tickle the ears, but to instruct the consciences. God knoweth what style is fit for his word, and simplicity is more powerfull and effectuell for his end.

M. du Perron answereth that St. *Paul* excuseth himself in terms more express of the style of his Epistles, when he saith 2 Cor. 11. 6. *Though I be ignorant in word, yet I am not so in knowledge:* (for so the Cardinal translates it) Wherein he commits three notable faults.

The first, that he makes St. *Paul* to excuse himself for his ignorance, whereas he rather commends his learning, saying *If I be rude in speech, (or, If I speak like one of the vulgar) yet I am not rude in knowledge.* He doubts not whether he hath said well; He saith not, If I have not said as I ought. He craveth no pardon.

The second fault of the Cardinal, is that he thinks that St. *Paul* in that text speaks of the style of his Epistles, whereas he means his ordinary speech when he taught by word of mouth. For as for his Epistles, they were so far from needing an excuse of their rudeness and simplicity, that the *Corinthians* upbraided him, (2 Cor. 10. 10.) *that his letters were weighty and powerfull, but his bodily presence was weak and his speech contemptible.*

The third fault is that he falsifieth the text of *Paul*, translating *idōtis ignorant*, whereas it signifies in this place *rude and simple*, like one of the common people. For although *idōtis* signifie sometimes *ignorant*, yet it cannot be so taken in this place. For learning and ignorance consist not in words, but in things, in which St. *Paul* in the same place, affirmeth himself to be learned, saying, *If I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge.*

M. du Perron seeing himself besieged about with so many difficulties, and perceiving so many absurdities and untruths in the books of *Maccabees*, thought it his best course to leave all and abandon that cause, going over all those rubs with silence. But to scape, he striveth to find the like absurdities in the Canonical books; as that *Elijah*, eight years after he was transported to heaven, writ to *Joram*. That *Joram* begot *Ozias*, saith *Mathew*, who puts only fourteen generations where there are seventeen. And that *Luke* dissents from *Josephus*. Of which pretended absurdities, and the way to resolve these objections I have spoken above, chap. 59.

The Reader may judge by what spirit this Cardinal was led, and what account he made of the holy Scripture, since he makes use of the testimony of *Josephus* to shake the certainty of the words of the Evangelist St. *Luke*. Though there were a discord between the history of the Gospel, and that of *Josephus*, a Jew and no Christian, can there be any difficulty in resolving which of the two must rather be believed? Can that doubt fall into a Christian soul that believeth the Gospel?

We must not omit that the Cardinal, while he labours to shew himself an Hebrician,

Ἄν μὲν ἐπι-
σολαί βαρεῖ-
αι, ἢ δὲ πα-
ρυσία τῆς σῶ-
ματός αὐτοῦ
καὶ ὁ λόγος
ἐξουθενούμενος.

Hebrician, shews his ignorance, saying that *Onias* in Hebrew signifies the strength of the people, whereas it signifieth *God is my strength*; and putting *Onias* and *Onian* for two names signifying the same thing, whereas *Onian* signifies nothing. True it is that *Oniam* which comes neer *Onian*, signifieth *the people is my strength*, but that name is not used among the Hebrews.

CHAP. 62.

That the Cardinal attributes weak objections to us, and defends that which we do not impugn.

M. Du Perron not daring to meddle with such strong objections, puts straws in our hands instead of swords, and ascribes to us reasons which we do not use, or if we use them it is another way, and answereth objections which we never made.

He makes us say that the book of *Maccabees* is not an original history, but a summary. That the primitive Author was called *Jason* which is a profane name; And that he was a Cyrenian not a Jew. But we do not reason thus. We know that a holy man may have a name taken from the Pagans, as *Apollo*, *Philippus*, and the like. If the Etymology of the name of *Jason* is Greek, it signifies *Physick* or *remedy*, where there is nothing that is prophane. But if the origine be Hebrew, it is a name corrupted from the name *Jesus*, according to the custom of the Hebrews of that time to give to their Hebrew names a Greek or Latin inflection, turning *Phinees* into *Phœnix*, *Saul* into *Paul*, and *Jesus* into *Jason*. We know also that *Cyrene* was full of Jews, and that the same man might be a Jew and a Cyrenian. And such was that *Simon* that bore the cross of the Lord, *Mark* 15. 21.

This is then our true Objection. The Author of the *Maccabees* saith that his book is an abridgement of the five books of *Jason* the Cyrenian. That book of *Jason* being not a sacred book, how can the summary of a profane book be facted and Canonical? This is as unreasonable as if an epitome of *Titus Livius* or *Cornelius Tacitus* were made a Canonical book.

He makes us say also that the Author of the second book of the *Maccabees* excuseth the rudeness of his style. But we do not say that only, but we say that this Authour doubts whether he hath said well, and craves pardon, saying that he could do no better. Which are things unbecoming an Author speaking by the inspiration of the Spirit of God.

CHAP. 63.

That we reject not the Apocrypha because they are contrary to us; And that they are rather favourable to us.

Some persons little versed in our Controversies and in the reading of the *Apocrypha*, might think that we reject all these books because they are contrary to us. The following texts will shew the contrary.

In these books the Purgatory and the Limbus of the Fathers are clearly condemned. *Wisdom* 3. 1. the Author speaks thus, *The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them. They are not then tormented in a fire.*

Tobit 3. 6. *Tobit* sore afflicted, and wishing for death, prayeth thus to God,
Command

Command that I may be delivered out of this distress, and go to the everlasting place. Then he did not believe the *Limbus* of the Fathers; for our Adversaries do not hold it to be an everlasting place. No more did he believe Purgatory; for none is so senseless as to beseech God that he may be tormented in a fire. Neither can Purgatory be called an everlasting place: for our Adversaries hold that the souls come out of it after the purgation is ended, and that Purgatory shall be no more after the day of judgement.

In the *Apocrypha* supplement of *Esther*, chap. 13, ver. 13, 14. to kiss a mans feet is accounted idolatry: for *Mardocheus* gives this reason why he would not kiss a mans feet. *I would have been content with good will for the salvation of Israel to kiss the soles of his feet. But I did this that I might not prefer the glory of man above the glory of God; Neither will I worship any but thee O God.* Yet neither this, nor the example of Jesus Christ who gave not his feet to kiss though he was God, could hinder the Pope from giving his to kiss, not only to persons of low condition, but even to Kings and Emperours. And he causeth himself to be worshipped with a religious worship.

In the book of *Barnuc*, chap. 6. the honours and services which the Pagans yielded to the images of their false Gods, are amply described, which are the same as the people of the Roman Church yield to the images of the Saints. In ver. 11. the Author saith that the Pagan Priests will deck *with garments their Gods of gold, and silver, and wood.* The same is done to the images of the Saints. *That they wipe their faces because of the dust,* ver. 13. The like is done to the images of the Saints. That some of those images hold a dagger, some an axe, ver. 15. Thus also the images of the Saints are armed. St. Paul with a sword, St. George with a lance, St. Peter with a key like *Janus*, and St. Christopher with a club like *Hercules.* That to these images they light candles, though they cannot see, ver. 19. The same is done to the images of the Saints. That these idols are carried upon mens shoulders; That being fallen they cannot rise again. That offerings are made unto them as to the dead. That their Priests gather those offerings and make profit of them. That they sing before those images, ver. 25, & seq. What is there in all these, that is not done to the images of the Saints which the Roman Church worshippeth? Who seeth not that Popery imitates Paganism, and that the one is copied out upon the other?

2 Macc. 15. 12. it is related that *Judas Maccabeus* saw in a dream *Onias* the Priest, and *Jeremiah* the Prophet, dead long before, praying and interceding for the people of the Jews, and watching for their defence. Of *Jeremiah* particularly it is said that he was of a wonderfull and excellent Majesty, and that he gave to *Judas* a sword to fight for the people of the Jews. Nevertheless for all this neither *Judas* nor any of the people called upon *Jeremiah* or *Onias.* An evident proof (if that history be not fabulous) that the Jews of that time believed that the Saints in heaven intercede for men living on earth, but yet that they must not be invoked. For if one prayeth for me, it follows not that I must pray to him or defer to him a religious service. Note also, that if the relation be true, *Jeremiah* and *Onias* were not in an underground prison, which they call the *Limbus* of the Fathers.

In the 12th chapter of the same book, v. 43, 44. *Judas Maccabeus* makes offerings and sacrifices for the dead that had defiled themselves with idolatry; and the reason is added why he prayed for the dead, that he was *mindfull of the resurrection.* For (saith the Author) if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead. Thereby it appears that *Judas* prayed for those dead men that they should rise unto salvation, and besought God that though they were dead polluted with Idolatry, and (as our Adversaries speak) dead in mortal sin, that God would nevertheless save them in the day of resurrection. It is then (by this Authors judgement) a vain and superfluous thing to pray, not for the resurrection, but to deliver souls out of Purgatory, as the Roman Church doth. Which also approveth not the action of *Judas Maccabeus* to have made prayers, and offerings for persons dead in mortal sin.

In

In *ver. 14.* of the sixteenth chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, there is in the Greek, which is the Original, *ἐκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐκρίνηται.* Every one shall find according to his works. Which text being not favourable to the doctrine of merits, because it is one thing to find according to his works, another thing to find according to the merit of his works, the Bible of the Roman Church doth corrupt it with an horrible falsification; for instead of according to his works, it saith, according to the merit of his works.

So I make no doubt but that the most clear-sighted among our Adversaries wish these books abolished; And that the Council of *Trent* by the same authority whereby they cut off the third and the fourth book of *Ezra* from the Canon of the Bible, could willingly have done the same to *Tobit*, *Judith*, and the other Apocrypha's.

We do not then reject these books out of fear that our Adversaries use them against us, but because we are obliged to maintain the authority and purity of holy Scripture, which is lost (as far as in us lieth) when it is mingled with fables, and impious or absurd doctrines, of which these books are full. That shaketh the faith of the weak; and gives occasion of triumph and insultation to the enemies of the Christian name; for they reproach us that we receive fables for the word of God.

CHAP. 64.

Belief of the Ancient Greek Church about the Canonical Books.

Let us hear the Verdict of the Ancients upon this matter, beginning at the Greek and Eastern Church, as more ancient then the Latine and Western.

The Council of *Laodicea* more ancient then that of *Nice*, (a) *Can. 58.* speaks thus, *We must not say in the Church particular Psalms, nor Books not Canonical, but only the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament.* Then they add a list of the Canonical Books, where they put not *Tobit*, nor *Judith*, nor *Wisdom*, nor *Ecclesiasticus*, nor *Susanna*, nor the *History of Bel and the Dragon*, nor the *Maccabees*.

It will not serve to answer, that this was a particular Council, and that it consisted only of two and thirty Bishops, since several Universal Councils have approved it, especially the Council of *Trull*, *Can. 2.* in these words, (b) *We ratify the Canons of Laodicea, of Phrygia.* Wherefore the Ancient Church and all that have laboured about that Code, as *Balsamon*, *Zonaras*, *Harmenopolus*, have inserted it in that Council of *Trull*.

(c) The Jesuite *Regourd* answereth, that the decisions of the Church are not made all at one time. For he confesseth that at that time, that is, above three hundred years after the birth of Christ, those Books were not yet received as Canonical. And he saith, that they were received soon after. How much he is mistaken in that, we shall shew hereafter. In the mean while the Reader is desired to remember this Confession, that the Apostles, and the Church of their times did not acknowledge those Books for Canonical. Will these men be wiser then the Apostles?

Melito Bishop of *Sardis*, that lived near the time of the Apostles, as *Ensebinus* relates it, in the first Book of his History, chap. 26. in an Epistle to *Onesimus* makes the enumeration of the Canonical Books, but makes no mention of *Tobit*, nor of *Judith*, nor of *Wisdom*, nor of *Ecclesiasticus*, nor of *Maccabees*. Being (saith he) returned into the East, and having stayed in the place where these things have been preached and done; I have diligently set in order the Books of the Old Testament, and have sent them to thee; Of which these are the names; Five Books of Moses, *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Jesus son of Nave*, the Judges, *Ruth*, four Books of Kings, two of *Paralipomenon*, the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiastes*, The Song of Songs, Job: the

C c

Prophets,

(a) ἐν τῇ δὲ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἐκαστος κατὰ
τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ
ἐκρίνηται.
(b) ἐπεὶ οὖν
καὶ τὰ
ἐκκλησιαστικά
καὶ τὰ
ἐκκλησιαστικά
καὶ τὰ
ἐκκλησιαστικά
καὶ τὰ
ἐκκλησιαστικά
(c) Regourd
4. Demonst.
P. 327.

(d) Melito ex
Canone He-
braeorum tan-
tum quos re-
citavit libros
recensuit.

(e) Multi
veterum in
Canone expo-
nendo Testa-
menti Veteris,
aperte secuti
sunt Hebraeos.

(f) Quae non
habentur apud
illos [Hebraeos]
nec de viginti
quatuor
seculis sunt,
procul abjici-
enda.

(g) Apocrypha
nescit
Ecclesia. Ad
Hebraeos igitur
recurrendum
est, unde
& Dominus
loquitur.

(h) ἔξω
δὲ τῶν
βιβλίων τῆς
ἁγίας.

(i) Maccabe-
orum historia
Hebraea hic
Graecorum
supplet reg-
num. Verum
hi libri inter
divinas scrip-
turas non re-
cipiuntur.

(k) In codice
Graeco Scali-
geri, pag. 44.

Εὐς αὖν ἐν
Ἑβραῖοις
Νεμιά αὖ
ἐνδραβῆτι

Ἐξ ἐνὶ
ῥαφαὶ ἐκ-
κλησιᾷ ἐδω-
κεν δὲ τὸν

μακαρίων
Ἀποστόλων
&c. τὰ δὲ

μετὰ ταῦτα
ἢ συμβαίνοντα
ἢ παραδόν-
τας πρὸς

θείας συγκα-
ταστάσεις τοῖς
Ἰουδαίοις ἰσ-
τορίαις ἐν

τοῖς ἑβραϊο-
γράφοις
ἰστέον.

(1) Demonstr. 4. p. 349. (m) Bellar. l. 1. de verbo Dei 4c. 5. ex Graecis. (n) ἔκτος δὲ τῶν
βιβλίων τῆς ἁγίας παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ἡ κανονικὰ μὲν, ἀναγνωσκόμενα δὲ μόνον
τοῖς κατηχημένοις. Ταῦτα σοφία Σολομῶντος σοφία, Ἰσοφύς τὸ Ἑσπερίον, Ἑδερ, Ἰσθίον, Τάβη, &c.

Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah; A Book of twelve Prophets, Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra. He follows altogether the Canon of the Hebrews, but that he inserteth in it the Book of Wisdom. Whereupon Baronius, An. 172. Sect. 5. speaks thus. (d) Melito tells only the books that are in the Canon of the Hebrews. And Bellarmine in the 1. Book of the Word of God, chap. 20. saith. (e) Many Ancients, as Melito, Epiphanius, Hilarius, Hieronymus, Ruffinus, expounding the Canon of the Old Testament, have altogether followed the Canon of the Hebrews, that is, they have rejected the Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, &c. It would be very strange if the Fathers had left the Canon of the Christians to adhere unto that of the Jews. For why should they follow the Canon of the Jews, that is, that which is found in the Hebrew Bible which is the Original, but that they believed that there was none other? We have seen above, how Hierom, the most learned of all the Fathers, in his Preface upon Daniel, saith that the Fables of Susanna and of Bel and the Dragon have not the authority of Holy Scriptures, because they are not in the Hebrew; wherefore he saith, that he hath given them the black mark of a spear [obelus prae-notavimus] as it were to cut their throat. And more clearly yet in his Preface upon Ezra and Nehemiah. (f) We must cast away very far, all that is not received among the Hebrews, and which is none of the four and twenty Elders. He makes an allusion to the four and twenty Elders mentioned, Rev. 4. according to which number some of them reckoned the Books of the Old Testament, as he saith himself in his Prologus galeatus, and in his Preface upon the Book of Kings. (g) The Church acknowledgeth not the Apocrypha; we must then return to the Hebrew after which also Jesus speaketh. This Father holds all to be Apocrypha which is not found in the Hebrew of the Old Testament.

Origen upon the first Psalm, according to the Testimony of Eusebius in the sixth Book of his History, chap. 24. speaks thus, We must not be ignorant, that there are (as the Hebrews teach) two and twenty Books of the Old Testament, which among them is the number of their Letters. Then he makes an enumeration of those two and twenty Books conformable unto the Hebrew Bible, which is the Original Text; and to give a particular brand to the Maccabees, he saith (h) With-
out are the Maccabees.

Eusebius in his Chronicle translated by Hierom upon the 116. Olympiad. (i) The History of the Maccabees doth from hence reckon the reign of the Grecians, but these Books are not received among the Divine Scriptures. And in the first Book of the same Chronicles, being come to the time of Nehemiah and Ezra, and having related their History, he addeth, (k) As far as Ezra and Nehemiah the Hebrew Scriptures have been delivered by the blessed Apostles, the Disciples of the Lord Jesus, to be preached. But that which is happened and done to the Jews since, untill the Incarnation of the Lord, Josephus relates it in his Writings of the Maccabees, and Africanus after him. He acknowledgeth that such Writings as are posterious to Ezra, were not given to the Church by the Apostles, and that the Church did not receive them to preach them, and that they are grounded only upon the testimony of Josephus, whom he holds to be the Author of the Maccabees.

(l) The Jesuite Regourd answereth according to his custom, that if Eusebius had known the determination of the third Council of Carthage, he would have altered his language, that is, he wanted so much to be well instructed in that matter. But how could Eusebius know the determination of the third Council of Carthage which fate many years after his death? That Jesuite hath little knowledge of History.

Among the works of Athanasius, there is a Book entituled Synopsis, which M. du Perron holds to be none of the works of Athanasius. Both (m) Bellarmine, and Baronius on the year 342. §. 41. receive it as genuine and true. In that book there is an enumeration of the Canonical books of the Old Testament, and the Author saith that they are two and twenty in number according to the letters of the Hebrew Alphabet. Then he addeth, (n) Besides these, there are

others

others also of the Old Testament, not Canonical, which are read only to the Catechumens; the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobit, &c. Perhaps by Esther he means the rest of Esther. Of the Maccabees particularly he saith, Among these books [not Canonical] are reckoned the four Pseudepigraphical books of the Maccabees.

Whether that book be of Athanasius, or of some other Author, we care not, since we have an Epistle of Athanasius where that holy mans opinion is set down in express terms. All the books of the Old Testament (saith he) are two and twenty in number. Then he addeth. (o) Besides these books there are others also which are not put in the Canon, but are propounded by the Fathers to be read by the new comers, and such as will instruct themselves in the word of piety; namely, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach, Esther, Judith, &c. As for the Maccabees he doth not so much as name them among the Apocrypha.

The Jesuite Regourd flieeth to his ordinary shift, saying in his fourth Demonstration, p. 347. that then the Church had determined nothing about that matter. By speaking so he confesseth that the Apostles did not hold the books of Tobit, Judith and the Maccabees for Canonical, and that they have determined nothing about it, which is as much as saying that the Roman Church of this time is better instructed then the Apostles. So much the Jesuite Stapleton intimateth, (p) In the time of the Apostles (saith he) Tobit, Judith, and other books of the Old Testament were not confirmed, having been received into the Canon by the posterious Councils. God forbid that we should presume to be more clear-sighted then the Apostles.

Cyrillus Bishop of Jerusalem in his 4. Catechesis in the chapter of holy Scriptures, makes a list of the books of the Old Testament; and saith that they are but twenty two. All the others, (saith he, speaking of the Apocrypha) are cast out, and are of a second rank. In that Catalogue he puts neither Tobit, nor Judith, nor Ecclesiasticus, nor Wisdom, nor Susanna, nor the Maccabees. He wholly follows the Canon of the Hebrews, and declares why he doth so.

Read (saith he) these two and twenty books, and have nothing common with the Apocrypha. Again, Meditate carefully those only, whom also we read in the Church safely (q). The Apostles and the ancient Bishops, leaders of the Church, who have taught them, were far wiser then thou. Cyrillus then hath followed the Canon of the Hebrews to obey the command of the Apostles.

Gregory Nazianzen, called by excellency the Divine, hath made verses purposely of that matter, which begin thus, (r)

As many books to th' Old Covenant belong
As there are letters in the Holy tongue.

Then he makes an enumeration of those two and twenty books, without Tobit, Judith, Bel, Susanna, Ecclesiasticus, and the Maccabees. It is too much peremptoriness to affirm without proof, as M. du Perron doth, that these verses are none of Gregories, seeing that they relish the vein of his other verses, and are inserted among them. (s) Bellarmine receiveth them without difficulty.

Other verses we have of the same time in Iambick meeters, made by Amphilochoius Bishop of Iconium, which are found among those of Gregory, and are set down by Balsamon. In those verses he makes a Catalogue of the divine books, among which neither Judith, nor Tobit, nor Ecclesiasticus, nor Wisdom, nor the Maccabees are found.

Epiphanius Bishop of Salamin in Cyprus, who is almost their contemporary, saith the same, in the book of weights and measures: where after he hath restrained the Canonical books to the number of twenty two, he addeth: For the two books written in rows of sentences, namely, that which is called the Panaretus of Solomon, and that of Jesus son of Sirach, are indeed usefull and profitable, but (t) are not put in the number of the Oracles. Wherefore also they were not put in the Ark of the Covenant. The same he saith in the herefie of the Epicureans, which is the VIII; and in that of the Anomæans or Ætians, which is

(o) Athana-
si Epist.
ἐπερ. τ. 2. p.
920. ἐπὶ τῇ
ἐν νεα βιβλία
τῶν ἐξ-
δῶν, ποτὶ
σωτηρίαν τῶν
ἐκ γένου
&c.
Hunc eun-
dem locum
invenies apud
Balsamonem,
edit. nova
Parisiensi p.
921 & 922.
(p) Stapl. de
Authorit.
Scripturæ,
l. 2. c. 8. §. 14.
p. 360.
Cui (inquam)
Sapientiam,
Ecclesiasti-
cum, Tobiam,
Judith, &
alios Veteris
Testamenti li-
bros Apo-
stolorum tempo-
ribus non
confirmatos,
sed à posteri-
oribus Conci-
liis in Cano-
nem receptos,
eo nomine
reiciendos
affirmas?
(q) πολλὰ σὺ
θερμῶς περὶ
ἡσὺν οἱ ἀπὸ-
στολοι.
(r) ἐρχομαι
μὲν ἐξ ἡμῶν
δύο καὶ
εἰκοσι βί-
βλαι τοῖς
τῶν Ἐβραίων
καὶ ἡμετέ-
ρων ἀνθρώ-
πων.
(s) Lib. 1. de
verbo Dei,
cap. 4. §.
Ex Græcis.
(t) οἱς ἐπει-
μὲν ἡσὺν
καὶ ἀναγι-
γνωται

the 76. It is true that there he makes a Catalogue of the divine Scriptures, among which he puts *Ecclesiasticus* and *Wisdom*, but he sets them after the *Revelation*, removing them from the *Old Testament*, which he would not have done, had he not found some difficulty in receiving them. As also in the heresie of the *Epiphanians* he saith that there is doubt made of those books. Howsoever he omits all the other books that are in question, the *Maccabees*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, &c. They that say that *Epiphanius* followed the Canon of the Jews, say true; for he acknowledged no other. And they that speak so, ought to produce some other place of *Epiphanius* where he speaks of two sorts of Canons, and distinguisheth the Canon of the Jews from that of the Christians.

To these I add *Chrysostome* in the fourth Homily upon *Genesis*, speaking of the books of the *Old Testament*. (u) *All the divine Scriptures* (saith he) of the *Old Testament* were first written in *Hebrew*. How comes it to pass then that the books contended about, as *Judith*, *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Maccabees*, are not found in the *Hebrew*, if they be divine Scriptures?

Damasceus, (x) though much posteriour in time, must not be omitted, because our Adversaries value him much as a great Patron of the adoration of images. In the fourth book of the orthodox faith, chap. 18. he saith that there are two and twenty books in the *Old Testament* according to the number of the *Hebrew* letters. Then he makes a whole Catalogue of those books wherein he puts neither *Tobit*, nor *Judith*, nor the *Maccabees*, nor *Wisdom*, nor *Ecclesiasticus*. Of these two last he speaks thus, *The Panaret, that is the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus* (y) are books full of vertue, and good; but they are not put in this number, and were not put in the *Ark*. An error which he borrowed from *Epiphanius*, to believe that the sacred books were inclosed in the *Ark*. See 1 Kings 8. 9. 2 Chron. 5. 10.

(u) Pag. 32.
παισαι α
θειας βιβλια
της παλαιας
διαθκης τη
εβραϊων
γλωσση ε
εχουσιν
συντηρημε
να.
(x) An. 750.
(y) παρετι
μεν η κα
τα, αν η
αρετηνται,
εδεξαντο
εν τη κιβω
τω.

CHAP. LXV.

Belief of the Fathers of the Latine or Western Church about the Canonical books. And that the Cardinal doth not truly represent it.

(a) Sicut er
go Judith &
Tobie &
Maccabæo
rum libros
legit quidem
Ecclesiastice
eos inter Ca
nonicas Scrip
turas non re
cipit; sic &
hec duo volu
mina, Sapien
tiam Solo
monis &
Jesu filii Si
rach, legat
ad edificatio
nem plebis,
non ad autho
ritatem Ec
clesiasticorum
dogmatum
confirman
dam.

Cardinal du Perron being cast by the judgement of the Greek Church, hath recourse to the Western Church, saying that there was never any Latine Author that had taken the licence of overthrowing the authority of the book of *Maccabees*, before *St. Hierom*, and *Ruffinus* after him. The same he saith of the other books that are in question. If he saith true, and if the Greek Church in such an important point did differ from the Roman, it sheweth that the Greek Church was not subject unto the Roman.

The Reader may also observe the Cardinals subtilty, to have recourse to the Latin Church against the Greek, in a matter of which he knows that few Latin Fathers have written. Yet let us see what their sense was.

Hierom in his Preface upon the *Proverbs* of *Solomon* speaks thus. (a) *As the Church reads indeed the books of Judith, of Tobit, and of the Maccabees, but receiveth them not among the Canonical Scriptures: So let her read these two volumes for the edification of the Church, not to confirm the authority of the doctrines of the Church.* Note that he sets forth the belief of the Church of his time as well as his own. In the same place he saith that the inscription of the book of the *Wisdom of Solomon* is false. And in his *Prologus Galeatus*, (b) *The book of Wisdom and that of Jesus son of Sirach, and Judith, and Tobit, and the Pastor are not Canonical.*

Ruffinus in the Exposition of the *Symbols* speaks thus, (c) *It must be known* Solomonis inscribitur & Iesu filii Sirach liber, & Judith & Tobias & Pastor non sunt in Canone. (c) Sciendum tamen est quod & alii libri sunt qui non Canonici sed Ecclesiastici à maioribus appellati sunt, ut est Sapiencia Solomonis, & illa Sapiencia que dicitur filii Sirach. Eiusdem ordinis est libellus Tobie, & Judith, & Maccabæorum libri, &c.

that

that there are other books which the Antients have not called Canonical but Ecclesiastical, as the Wisdom of Solomon, and the other Wisdom, which is said to be of Jesus son of Sirach. Of the same rank are the book of Tobit, Judith, and the books of the Maccabees. And in the New Testament the book that is called Pastoral or Hermes, the Judgement of Peter. All which they would have to be read in the Church, but not to be alledged to confirm the authority of the faith. He speaks as of a thing established by the Antients, herein contradicting our Cardinal, who will persuade us that Hierom and Ruffin are the first that have spoken so.

In vain should one object here that Ruffinus is accused of heresie by Hierom, who calls him a Scorpion; for there was a mortall hatred between Hierom and Ruffinus, and they have written grievous invectives the one against the other. Yet suppose that he was an heretick. It is enough that in this point he is with Hierom, and that none of the enemies of Ruffinus did ever tax him for putting Tobias, Judith, and the Maccabees out of the rank of the Canonical books. That which grieveth most our Adversaries, is, that Ruffinus puts the Maccabees and Judith in the same row as the book called Pastor, which is a fabulous and ridiculous book.

Our adversaries give us eight books of Apostolical Constitutions, which they say to be of Clement Bishop of Rome, the next successor to St. Peter: There in (d) the second book, chap. 61. there is a Catalogue of Canonical books, where neither Tobit, nor Judith, nor Ecclesiasticus, nor Wisdom, nor the Maccabees are found.

(d) In editio-
ne Latina
Boni Toma
Concil. I.

Tertullian is a hundred and fourscore years more antient then Hierom. He saith in the fourth book of his verses against Marcion, in the seventh chapter, that (e) by the twenty four wings of the animals mentioned in the Revelation the twenty four antient volumes are designed. Others reckon but twenty two: for Hierom in his above mentioned Prologue saith that some did reckon four and twenty books of the Old Testament, because they reckoned separately the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and the History of Ruth; saying that they represent the twenty four wings of the animals. It is clear that Tertullian did not acknowledge the books of the Maccabees for Canonical Scriptures, since in the third chapter of his book de corona militis, he puts prayers and offerings for the dead among the unwritten Traditions. For in the twelfth chapter of the second of the Maccabees there is an example of it.

(e) Alarum
numerus an-
tiqua volu-
mina signat,
Esse satis
circa viginti
quatuor ista:

Hilary Bishop of Poitiers writ some fifty or sixty years before Hierom. In his Prologue of the Psalms he saith, The Law of the Old Testament is reduced to two and twenty books, that they may fit the number of the Hebrew letters. Then he makes the Catalogue of those books where he puts none of those that are questioned between us and our Adversaries, and saith that this doctrine (f) comes from the Tradition of the Antients. Here Regourd doth contradict himself, choler having disjointed his memory. (g) He saith that Hilary receiving Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah, comprehends under Daniel the hymn of the three children, Susanna, and the history of Bel; and under Esther the six last chapters; forgetting that he had said in the page before that Hilary makes the Catalogue of the books of the Old Testament according to the Canon of the Jews, who never received the book of Susanna, nor the history of Bel, as also they never received more of the book of Esther then is in the Hebrew.

(f) Ita se-
cundum tra-
ditiones vete-
rum.

(g) In the
fourth de-
monstration,
p. 354. &
355.

Philastrinus Bishop of Brixia in Italy writ a little before Hierom about the year 380. In his book of heresies, in the chapter of the Apocrypha he saith that it was commanded by the Apostles that nothing should be read in the Church but the Law and the Prophets, and the Gospels, &c. comprehending all the Old Testament under the Law and the Prophets. Now it was never heard that Judith, or Susanna or the Maccabees should be either the Law or the Prophets.

(h) Et hanc
quidem Scri-
pturam que
appellatur
Maccabæo-
rum, non ha-
bere Iudæi,
sicut Legem,
Prophetas &
Psalms qui-
bus Deus te-
stimonium
perhibet.

Austin is expresse to this purpose in his second book against Gaudentius, ch. 23. where he puts the Maccabees out of the rank of the Law and the Prophets, saying, (h) The Jews receive not that Scripture which is called the Maccabees as the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms to which the Lord beareth testimony. Austin saith

saith

saith plainly that God beareth no testimony to the book of *Maccabees* as he beareth unto the Law and the Prophets. Then the *Maccabees* belong neither to the Law nor to the Prophets.

But the words of *Philastrinus* are the most remarkable of all in the ninth chapter, where he speaks of the hereticks *Hermiotites* and *Probianites*. Among whose heresies he puts this, (i) *That they use the book of Wisdom of that Sirach who long after Solomon writ a book of Wisdom.*

It was then a great negligence or oversight in the Cardinal to affirm that before *Hierom* none of the Latin or Occidental Church hath rejected the book of the *Maccabees*.

The Churches of *Gauls*, a little after *Hieromes* time, are witnesses on our side. For in the seventh volume of the works of *Austin*, there is an Epistle of *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles* to *Austin*; wherein *Hilary* saith that in *Gauls* they did not approve that he had used a text of *Wisdom*, because the book is not Canonical. (k) *They define* (saith he) *that this text must be omitted, because it is not canonical.* Now although those *Gauls* dissented from *Austin* in the point of predestination, saying that God hath nor predestinated unto salvation those whom he forelaw that they should believe in Jesus Christ. *Austin* on the contrary maintaining that God hath predestinated unto salvation those unto whom he will give faith and repentance, and that the use of grace depends not from the free will of man, but from the absolute Election of God, yet those *Gauls* were accounted faithfull Christians in their countrey, and are called by *Prosper* in the precedent Epistle, *servants of Christ.* *Chrysostome* hath spoken far harder then they in that matter, and is not therefore called an heretick. These *Gauls* rejecting the book of *Wisdom*, followed the belief of the *Gallican Church*. Wherefore also *Hilary* doth not reprove them. And *Austin* speaks often as they do, as we shall see hereafter; although in the book of the predestination of Saints, disputing against these *Gauls*, he indeavoureth to exalt that book of *Wisdom*, being grieved that he had been reprov'd.

I cannot but bring here a text of *Gregory* the I. although he lived towards the end of the sixth age; That *Gregory*, or all the Bishops of *Rome* the most esteemed, in the nineteenth of his *Morals*, chap. 17. before he alledged a text of the *Maccabees*, made a preface of excuses for using a text that was not Canonical.

(l) *Of which thing* (saith he) *we do not treat without order and reason, if we bring a testimony from books that are not Canonical, but have been publish'd for the edification of the Church.* Then he adds the text of the *Maccabees*, where *Eleazar* put himself to death, going under an Elephant, to destroy those that rid upon him. Upon which place *Ambrosius Catharinus*, a man of great learning and reputation among our Adversaries, speaks in this manner, (m) *St. Gregory moved* (as I think) *by the authority of St. Hierom, seems to grant that these books are not Canonical.*

Cardinal *du Perron* bends here all his wit to avoid that blow. He saith that *Gregory* was yet but a Deacon when he writ that book. But if herein he spake amiss, why did he not correct that fault when he was made a Bishop? Why would he suffer that to remain among his works?

He saith (n) also that the first draught of that Comment was made in the East, intimating that he perfected it, and writ it fair when he was returned to *Rome*. But what is that to the purpose? Was *Gregory* an hypocrite, writing among the Grecians against the sense of the Roman Church? (o) And if he writ there but the rough draught of the book, it is like that the *Grecians* did not see it.

But acknowledging that these two answers have but little colour, he finds out a third shift, which overthrows the two former. He saith that *Gregories* words must be expounded, as supposing, not granting; as if he said; Suppose that the books were not Canonical, yet they have been written for the edification of the Church. There is in the Latin, *Si ex libris licet non Canonicis, sed tamen ad edificationem Ecclesie editis testimonium proferamus.* One would think that the Cardinal had more skill in the Latin tongue, then to translate *licet non Canonicis,*

(i) Hi Sapientie libro utuntur Sirach illius qui scripsit post Solomonem, id est post multa tempora librum unum Sapientie. (k) Illud etiam testimonium quod posuisti Raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus, tanquam non Canonicum definiunt omittendum.

(l) Qua de re non inordinate agimus si ex libris licet non Canonicis, sed tamen ad edificationem Ecclesie editis, testimonium proferamus.

(m) Cathar. Opusc. de lib. Canonicis, col. 302. B. Gregorius auctoritate aut opinor Hieronymi motus videtur concedere illos non esse Canonicos. (n) Du Perron. p. 441.

(o) Baron. an. 586. §. 25. & An. 592. §. 72. Greg. l. 4. Ep. 46. ladic. 13.

Canonicis, suppose that they were not Canonical: for licet signifieth although, not suppose. Besides the Cardinal adds the word *were*, which is not in the Latin. Then by that exposition he overthroweth the sense of *Gregory*: For, if *Gregory* declareth by these words that he holds the books of *Maccabees* to be Canonical (as the Cardinal will have it) to what purpose should he make excuses for alledging them?

Here (p) *Regourd* rejecteth the Cardinals opinion, and finds another solution (p) *Demon-* which is no better. He saith that *Gregory* understands that the *Maccabees* are str. 4-p:350. not Canonical according to the Canon of the Jews, although they be Canonical according to the Canon of the Christian Church.

But that is speaking against conscience; for why should *Gregory* forsake the Canon of the Christians to comply with the Canon of the Jews? Would he have made excuses before he alledged a text of the *Maccabees*, if the Christians received that book for Canonical? Would he excuse himself to the Christians for believing as they do? Or would he excuse himself to the Jews whom he did not fear? Doth he make any mention of the Jews or of their Canon? Nay, doth he not directly say that the *Maccabees* are not Canonical? Who seeth not that he makes excuses to the Christians for using a book which they approved not? As indeed to mitigate them, he addeth, that *although the book be not Canonical, yet it was written for the edification of the Church*: which may be said of many books which are not Canonical.

The book of the wonders of Scripture which is found in the third Tome of *St. Austin* in the second book, chap. 33. speaks thus, (q) *That which is related the second time of the [Lions] den, and of the transportation of Habacuk, in the fable of Bel and the dragon, is not put in this rank, because it is not held to have the authority of divine Scripture.*

(q) *De lacu vero & Abacac translati in Belis & Draconis fabula in hoc ordine non ponitur, quod in auctoritate divine Scripture non habetur.*

CHAP. 66.

Confutation of the Cardinals shifts.

ALL that the Cardinal opposeth to all that was said before, is so weak that it may be thrown down with blowing upon it.

Page: 441:

He saith that *Cyprian* calls the *Maccabees* divine Scriptures. That *Ambrose* alledging the *Maccabees* crieth out, *Moses saith as it is written in the book of the Maccabees*. That *Lucifer* Bishop of *Sardinia* calls the *Maccabees* the holy Scripture. But none of these calls the *Maccabees* Canonical. He saith also that the Fathers often alledge these books saying, *It is written*. But who knows not that the same Fathers often alledge books as sacred which never were held Canonical? *Irenaeus* in the fourth book chap. 37. alledging the book of *Pastor*, otherwise called *Hermes*, saith, *Bene pronuntiavit Scriptura, Scripture hath well pronounced*. *Clement Alexandrinus* i. *Stromaton*, towards the end of the book, alledging the same book, brings forth a place of the same, which he saith to be divinely revealed. The like is found in *Athanasius* in the book of the Incarnation of the Word. Among the Popes Decretals, the first of Pope *Pius* the first speaks thus, (a) *In that time Hermes a Doctor of the faith and of the Scriptures did shine among us*. And upon that he relates the fable of an Angel appearing to *Hermes* in a Shepherds habit. Yet he calls that Scripture. Pope *Gelasius* (b) puts that book of *Hermes* among the *Apocrypha*. (c) The Fathers of *Nice* in full Council alledging the book of the Assumption of *Moses*, say, *We shall propound that which is in Scripture*. *Ambrose* in his book of the good of death, chap. 10. alledgeth the third book of *Ezra*; and so doth *Austin* in the sixth chapter of the fourth book to *Bonifacius*. Yet the Roman Church puts that book among the *Apocrypha*.

(a) *In temporibus Hermes Doctor fidei & Scripturarum effulsi.*
(b) *Dist. 15. Can. Sancta Romana.*
(c) *Gelas. Concilii Niceni l. 2. c. 18. p. 546. το ον τος γεαφης λεξουμεν.*

Then he saith that *Hierom* hath also doubted of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But

But though it were so (for we could prove the contrary) what doth that to invalid that which he saith that the Church did not receive *Tobit*, *Judith*, the *Maccabees*, &c. among the Canonical books? Our dispute is only of the books of the Old Testament.

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He adds that *Hierom* hath been induced to do this, by the Jews among whom he dwelt, which is a conjecture without proof, and a crime of disloyalty and prevarication against the Christian Church, charged upon St. *Hierom*. Yea he goeth so far as to say that *Hierom* had given money to the Jews to be helped by them in the Edition of his Bible. Whence he will infer that *Hierom* endeavoured to please the Jews, sworn enemies to Christ, because he had need of their help in his labour.

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He saith also that *Hierom* being since more exactly instructed of the true sense of the Church, changed his opinion, and retracted both in general and in particular what he had said in three Prologues. And thereupon he brings some places of *Hierom*, which he will have us rather to regard. But there is nothing so authentical in all his works, as his Prefaces prefixed before the holy Scripture, where he declareth that such is the sense of the Church. Yet let us see these places.

(d) *Susanne*
Belis que ac
dragonis fa-
bulas non
contineri in
Hebraico.

Hierom having said in his Prefaces before *Daniel*, that the (d) fables of *Susanne*, and *Bell*, and the *Dragon*, are not in the Hebrew, and that these books have not the authority of holy Scriptures, and being reproved for it by *Ruffinus*, he excuseth it in his second Apology against *Ruffinus*, saying, that he did not speak his sense, but what the Jews said. But he doth not retract what he had said in his *Prologus Galeatus*, that all that is besides the two and twenty books of the Hebrew Bible must be accounted *Apocrypha*. Nor what he had said in the Preface before the books of *Solomon*, that the Church receiveth not the books of *Tobit*, *Judith* and the *Maccabees* for Canonical.

He brings a second testimony of *Hierom's* Preface upon *Tobit*, That the Hebrews cut off the book of *Tobit* from the divine Scriptures. But I see not in that any retraction. There is none of us but may say as much.

The Cardinal adds a third place maliciously clipped and corrupted. He alledgeth these words out of the same Preface, *The jealousie of the Hebrews doth accuse us, and imputes to us that against their Canon we transferr the book of Tobit to Latine ears. But I judge it better to be displeasing to the judgement of the Pharisees, and to be obedient to the commandment of Bishps.* By these words so clipped, one may understand *Hierom's* meaning to be that by receiving the book of *Tobit* into the Canon, he would displease the Jews to obey the Bishops: But *Hierom* had said a little before that the Bishops prest him earnestly to translate the book of *Tobit* into Latin. Then he addeth, that the Jews were displeased at that translation, but that it was better to displease them, obeying the Bishops who had desired him to bestow his labour upon it. That those Bishops should hold that book of *Tobit* for Canonical, he doth not mention at all.

(c) *Apud*
Hebraeos liber
Judith inter
hagiographa
legitur, cujus
authoritas ad
robora illa
que in con-
tentionem
veniunt mi-
nus idonea
judicantur,
&c. Sed quia
hunc librum
Synodus
Nicens in
numero san-
ctarum Scrip-
turarum legi-
tur compu-
tasse, acquievi
postulationi
vestra.

He brings two places more of *Hierom*, whereby he sets *Judith* among the sacred books, and saith that the Council of *Nice* hath received it among the Holy Scriptures.

For answer I have already proved by exprels texts that the Fathers will often attribute the title of sacred books to books not Canonical, and such as the Roman Church holds for *Apocrypha*. And as for that he saith that *Hierom* in his Preface upon *Judith* saith that the Council of *Nice* received the book of *Judith* among the Canonical books, he makes *Hierom* say more then he doth; for he doth not directly affirm that, but only relates it upon the faith of another; thereby acknowledging that himself had read no such thing, nor found it in the Council of *Nice*. These are his words, (c) *Among the Hebrews the book of Judith is read among the Hagiographa, a book whose authority is judged not to be very fit to confirm the things that are in controversie. Yet being written in Chaldean, it is put among the histories. But because it is read that the Council of Nic. hath counted it among the holy Scriptures, I have condescended to your request.* He had read some Author that related

related that this had been said in the Council. But how little credence he gives to that Author, it appeareth in that he saith that this book is held to be of small authority to decide controversies. When *Hierom* writ so many times that the book of *Judith* was not Canonical, had he not read the Council of *Nice*? I could produce a multitude of antient witnesses that say that the Council of *Nice* made but twenty Canons, whom we have entire to this day; in which there is not one word of *Judith*. The Reader may ponder these words of *Hierom* upon the first of *Haggai*. (f) *As it is written in Judith, yet if any will receive the book of a woman.* And in the eleventh Epistle to *Furia*. (g) *We read in Judith (if any will receive that volume) that a widow, &c.* Which is more, in the said preface upon *Judith* he saith that (h) *the authority of the book of Judith is judged not to be very meet for confirming the emergent doubts, &c.*

Finally the Cardinal alledgeth a place of *Hierom* in the last chapter of the book of the Ecclesiastical writers, that saith that *Scripture relateth how Alexander came out of the land of Kittim*, That taken out of the beginning of the *Maccabees*. But *Hierom* saith not that the *Maccabees* are Canonical. Pope *Nicolas* the first in his Epistle to the Emperour *Lewis* speaks thus: (i) *In the Scriptures it is related that the Emperour Constantine hath said, &c.* He takes the word of Scripture for writings & histories.

(k) The Jesuite *Regourd* is storming about that question with much impatience; But in the end, truth fetcheth that confession from him, That *St. Hierom* deemed not that in his time the Church had as yet inserted those books in the rank of the Canonical books. But it is not credible that *Hierom* was deceived in that point, and that he should be ignorant what Books were at that time received in the Church for Canonical. And if he was overseen in this matter, at least he ought to have given order that his Preface set in the front of the Bible, (where he declareth all these books to be *Apocrypha*) should be corrected. The same Jesuite to make the Reader merry, saith that *Hierom* having omitted the book of *Judith*, received it since after the decision of the Council of *Nice*: as if *Hierom* had written his first works before the Council of *Nice*, which sate before *Hierom* was born, or at least when *Hierom* was in his first infancy; so ignorant is that Jesuite in history. Besides, the Council of *Nice* made no decision upon that.

From *Hierom* the Cardinal passeth to *Hilary*, who in his Prologue upon the *Psalms* excludeth the *Maccabees*, *Judith*, &c. from the Catalogue of the Canonical books. He upbraids *Hilary* that he hath taken that from *Origen*, and hath translated it. But it is all one, since he approveth the doctrine of *Origen*. He saith also that when *Hilary* said that herein he followed the doctrine of the Antients, by the Antients he understands the Jews. That shift is ridiculous, and of that there is no trace in *Hilary*. The Christians never speak so, and acknowledge not the Jews in the time of the *Maccabees* for their Fathers or Elders. If *Hilary* hath taken that from *Origen*, is it not evident that *Origen* is one of those Elders whom he hath followed?

Finally the Cardinal shuts up his discourse with four warnings. The first is, that the Synopsis is not of *Athanasius*. To which we have already answered. Page 441. & seq.

The second warning is, that many Fathers of the Greek Church make Catalogues of the Canonical books, in which *Judith*, *Tobit*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Wisdom* (which he calls posthumous books) are omitted; And that nevertheless there is not one of those books but was used by the Fathers in quality of a sacred book. And upon that he brings many places of Greek Fathers who alledge those books, and yet call them not sacred. All that is to no purpose; for alledging a book is not receiving it for Canonical. For then we should say that *Menander*, *Aratus* and *Epimenides* alledged by *St. Paul* are Canonical Authors. We have shewed also that Fathers will alledge the book of *Pastor*, and the third and fourth of *Ezra* with the like respect, although they be *Apocrypha*. We have shewed also that this Elogie of *sacred books* is taken sometimes largely, and is attributed also unto books not Canonical. And what reason or sincerity is in this, after a Father hath expressly declared that such and such books are not Canonical (of which we have brought many testimonies) to go about to overthrow that

(f) Et in Judith, si quis tamen librum vult recipere mulieris.

(g) Legimus in Judith (si cui tamen placet voluminem recipere) viduam confectam jejunis, &c.

(h) Libri Judith auctoritas ad roboranda illa que in contentione nem veniunt, minus idonea judicatur.

(i) In Scripturis narratur Constantinus Imperator dixisse.

(k) Pag. 345.

affirmation by some other places where those books are only alledged, but not called Canonical?

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The Cardinal hath an especial lie trick about the book of the *Maccabees*. For that word of *Maccabees* is taken three wayes; sometimes for the *Maccabees*, sometimes for *Judas Maccabeus* and his brothers, sometimes for the seven children martyred by *Antiochus*; *Josephus* calls them so, and hath made an expresse book of them, that bears that title. M. du Perron makes use of that ambiguity to deceive. *Origen* in the eighth book against *Celsus* saith that the History of the *Maccabees* is attested by the testimony of two whole Nations, where by the history of the *Maccabees* he understands, not the books intituled the *Maccabees*, as M. du Perron takes it, but the things happened in the time of *Judas Maccabeus* and his brethren. He adds that *Chrysostome* upon *Psal.* 43. saith, that *David* in that *Psal.* hath prophesied the things that were to happen in the time of the *Maccabees*.

And *Theodoret* saith the like upon *Romans* 8. Those places say only that God had foretold the afflictions of the Church that were to come in the time of the *Maccabees*, that is of *Judas* and his brethren, but speak not of the books of *Maccabees*, nor of their authority.

His third warning, is that the Fathers followed according to the exigence of their purpose, sometimes the primitive supputation of the Jews which is the Canon of the Hebrews, sometimes the accessory supputation of the Christians. But he confirms this with no example, but that of *Origen* (whom he useth to revile as a Father of errors, and an Author of no authority) and *Epiphanius*; Of the testimonies of these two Authors we have spoken before, and we need not repeat them here. After all, what is following the Canon of the Hebrews, but following the truth of the Hebrew Bible, and about the number of the books of the Old Testament following the Church of the Old Testament, to which the Oracles of God have been committed! How can it be that a book that was not divine nor Canonical under the Old Testament, should become such under the New Testament?

But that shift is clearly confuted by *Hierom* in his Preface upon *Daniel*, where he saith that *Porphyrus*, the capital enemy of Jesus Christ, to invalid the certainty of the Prophecies of *Daniel*, objecteth that *Daniel* by the Greek clinches upon names of trees, falsely presupposeth that they spoke Greek in *Babylon*. To which *Hierom* answers, that the book of *Susanna* and the history of *Bel* are fables, and have not *Daniel* for their Author, but a certain *Habacuk* a Levite, and that he had cut off that book long before from the Canon, setting a black mark upon it, joining himself with the Greek Doctors, who think not themselves obliged to answer *Porphyrus* for those books, because they are not in the Hebrew, and have not the authority of holy Scriptures: openly declaring that the books that are not in the Hebrew, are none of the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament.

The text of *Hierom* we have before set in the Margent, chap. 65.

Page 446. of the first Edition.

By the way we will observe a notorious ignorance of the Cardinal. In the fiftieth chapter of the first book, he saith that the same Greek Authors speaking of the books of the Old Testament, would follow according to the exigence of their purpose, sometimes the primitive supputation of the Jews and the Rabbinical tradition of the Canon of *Ezra*, and of the books inclosed in the Ark, &c. sometimes the accessory supputation of the Christians. His calling the enumeration of the Canonical books a supputation, is a light fault. But it is intolerable that he should call it in contempt, a Rabbinical supputation, and would make us believe that the books of the Canon of *Ezra* (so he calls in contempt the books of the Hebrew Bible) were inclosed in the Ark of the Covenant. For not only that Ark was no more in the time of *Ezra*, but even while the Ark was, and in all the time from *Moses* to the destruction of the Temple, it will not be found that ever the sacred books were put within the Ark. Scripture is expresse upon that *1 Kings* 8. 9. There was nothing within the Ark but the two Tables of stone which *Moses* put there at *Horeb*. The same is said, *2 Chron.* 5. 10. That which the Apostle saith, *Heb.* 9. 4. that in the Ark there was a pot of gold which had Manna, and the rod

rod of *Aaron*, doth not contradict this: For the Apostle speaks of the time of *Moses*. But in the time of *Solomon* that Manna and that rod were no more in the Ark, nor neer it, being (as is likely) corrupted by the length of time. The Cardinal putting the books of the Canon of *Ezra* in the Ark was deceived by *Epiphanius*, who saith so much in the book of measures and weights. How could the books of the Canon of *Ezra* have been put in the Ark, seeing that in *Ezra's* time the Ark was no more?

The Cardinal sheweth how little his skill was in Hebrew, alledging a place of *Origen* taken out of *Ensebius* in the sixth book of his history, chap. 19. where *Origen* saith that the Hebrews called the books of *Maccabees*, *Sarbit Sarbanceel*, that is, the Scepter of the Prince of Gods children. He that at the least occasions strives to set out proofs of his great learning, ought to have redrest that wronged place, and given notice to the Reader that he must read *Sar bene el*, and not make of three words one, and not put *bane* for *bene*.

His fourth and last observation is, that of those very Fathers that make a Canon or Catalogue of the books of the Old Testament where the *Maccabees* are past over in silence, there is not one that giveth a perfect Canon or Catalogue, and that there is alwayes some defect, even by the judgement of the Minifters of *Geneva*. That *Melito* omits the book of *Hester*; *Cyrrillus*, the *Revelation*. The *Synopsis* attributed to *Athanasius*, the book of *Esther*. *Nazianzen*, *Esther* and the *Revelation*. That *Amphilochius* questions the same two books. That *Iosephus* omitteth the book of *Job*. All these the Cardinal brings to no purpose. For as for the *Revelation*, it is a book of the New Testament: But the question is of the books of the Old. As for the book of *Esther*, I suppose that *Melito* or *Ensebius* have left it out, only out of forgetfulness; And that *Athanasius* putting *Esther* among the not Canonical, by *Esther* meant the rest of *Esther*. As for *Iosephus* he was a Jew, not a Christian; Now we have to do here only with the belief of the Antient Christians. In that the Cardinal saith that of the Fathers that follow the Canon of the Hebrews there is not one that gives a perfect Canon, and that there is alwayes some defect, his memory failed him. For in the Catalogue of the books of the Old Testament which *Hierom* gives us, no book is omitted, nor in that of *Ruffinus*, nor in that of *Hilary*, nor in that of *Cyrrillus* of *Ierusalem*, who only adds to the Canon a little Epistle of *Barnab*. The same I say of *Epiphanius* in the heresie of the *Episurians*, and of *Damasceus*; and so in many, little or no defect will be found.

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He adds that St. *John* relates that our Saviour was present at the Feast of the dedication in winter, the institution whereof is related in the only history of the *Maccabees*. For (saith he) the history of the winter dedication was necessary to salvation, because without it the ordinary sacrifices could not be lawfull, and by consequent it had need of the attestation of a Canonical writing. I answer, that St. *John* alledgeth not the *Maccabees*, and takes them not for witnesses. Only he saith that Christ was in the Temple at that Feast, without either approving or disproving the institution thereof. Besides it is somewhat a hard sentence, to pronounce that without the knowledge of the institution of a Feast a man could not be saved.

John 10.

With the like absurdity, to prove that the books of *Maccabees* are Canonical, he saith that the Apostle to the Hebrews saith, the Martyrs were *tympanized* (our English version translates it, were tortured, Heb. 11. 35.) and that he took that word of tympanizing from the second of the *Maccabees*. And that (saith he) not in matters known by natural light, or manners; but in matter of faith. I wonder at such an impertinent reason. For that certain Martyrs have been *tympanized*, is not a point of faith, but an history. If a word which St. *Luke* or St. *John* useth, is found in some Pagan Author, it followeth not that such a Pagan book is Canonical, although both should relate the same history. And if any had alledged in the margent of St. *Luke* some Pagan author, he had not thereby declared that he holds the book for Canonical.

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ἐν τρυπάνει
διώκει.

C H A P. 67.

Of the opinion of St. Austin concerning the Canonical books. And of the Canon of the third Council of Carthage, upon which the Cardinal grounds himself.

Saint *Austin* is the only of all the Fathers that speaks of this matter with so much diversity and contrariety, that it is impossible to draw any certainty from his assertions.

In the second book of the Christian Doctrine, chap. 8. he makes an enumeration of the Canonical books, where it is evident that he takes the word *Canonical* in another sense then it is taken by the other Fathers, namely for the books which the Universal Christian Church hath received for divine and sacred, and for rules of the faith. But in that place he makes many sorts of Canonical books, some of greater, some of lesser authority, which nevertheless he calls Canonical. These are his words. (a) *The industrious seeker of Canonical Scriptures must keep this rule in matter of Canonical Scriptures; to prefer the Scriptures that are received by all the Catholick Churches to them which some Churches receive not. But as for those that are received by all the Churches, let him make more of those which more Churches and more honourable receive, then of those that are received by Churches inferiour in number and authority. But if some Scriptures be found of which some be received by the more honourable Churches, and some be received by the greater number of Churches, although he cannot find that, yet I think that they must be held in the like authority.*

(a) In Canonis autem scripturis Ecclesiarum Catholicarum quamplurimum auctoritatem sequatur, &c. Te ubi igitur hunc modum in Scripturis Canonicis ut eas que ab omnibus accipiuntur Ecclesiis Catholicis preponat eis quas quedam non accipiunt. In eis vero que non accipiuntur ab omnibus preponi eas quas plures gravioresque accipiunt.

Now let any man judge in what uncertainties this Father intangleth mens understandings; if so be that to know which are the Canonical Scriptures of great or small authority, we must number and weigh the Churches. By his account, if of fifty Churches ten receive a book for Canonical, and forty reject it, the book shall be Canonical, but of small authority. But if twenty receive it, and thirty reject it, the authority thereof shall grow a little. And if a great and famous Church receives it, and ten little Churches reject it, there he leaves mens minds ballancing. At least he ought to define what number of Churches is requisite to make a book Canonical. No doubt but that discourse of *Austin* is very much displeasing to our Adversaries. For why doth he not send them in that irresolution unto the Pope and to the Roman Church, which in our dayes ascribes to herself the authority of defining the Canon of Scriptures? But in those dayes they did not speak so: And the Church of *Africa*, to which *Austin* did belong, was not subject unto the Roman. That good Bishop in his reception did not receive from the Bishop of *Rome* his letters of investiture, and did not take an oath of allegiance to him. Besides, if those books which he saith to be of less authority be received as infallible, they are of sovereign authority: but if they hold them not for infallible, they are not Canonical.

Austin having given such an uncertain rule to know the Canonical books, makes a Catalogue of them, and puts among them *Tobit*, *Jewish*, and the *Maccabees*; and no wonder, since that a book may be Canonical, it is enough in his account, that it be received by some few Churches, although the greatest number of Churches reject them. And there again he plungeth mens understandings into a greater uncertainty, for while he makes that Catalogue, he doth not specify which of them are of greater, which of lesser authority; and leaveth us to count the number, and weigh the quality of Churches.

But in other places he contradicts himself; for having said in this place that the *Wisdom of Solomon* and *Ecclesiasticus* are Canonical; in other places he saith that they are not Canonical; as in the twentieth chapter of the seventeenth book of the City of God, where he speaks thus; *It is found that Solomon hath prophesied in his books; of which there are three which are received with Canonical authority,* the

the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. But the other two, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, custome hath obtained that they should be called Solomons books, because of some likeness of stile. But the most learned hold it for certain that they are none of his. Then he addeth, that the Occidental Church hath received them; Not then the Oriental. But Hierom, Ruffin, Hilary, Philastins and the Gallican Churches contradict him, as we have seen.

In the same chapter he alledgeth *Ecclesiasticus*, then he addeth, as correcting himself, But the things that are not written in the Canon of the Jews, are not alledged with so much authority.

It is very considerable, that in that place he doth not only put the Wisdom of Solomon and *Ecclesiasticus* out of the rank of the Canonical books, against that which he had said in the second book of the Christian doctrine, chap. 8. but also by saying that the book of Wisdom is not of Solomon, he accuseth the Author of untruth, who saith himself to be Solomon: For so he speaks to God, chap. 9. ver. 7, 8. Thou hast elected me to be King of thy people. Thou hast told me that I should build thee a Temple in thy hily mountain.

He giveth the like ulage to *Ecclesiasticus*, which he puts among the Canonical books in the second book of the Christian doctrine, chap. 8. and yet in another place he fights against that book, and confutes the doctrine of the same. For whereas the said book chap. 46. 21. affirmeth that Samuel hath prophesied after his death, and lift up his voice out of the earth, though this was done by a witch and by the power of the Devil; Austin disputes against it in the second book of questions to *Simplician*, in the third question; declaring it a very improper thing to put the spirits of the Saints in the power of Devil, and maintaining that it was not Samuel that spake to Saul, but the Devil in the form of Samuel; (b) In this business (saith he) there may be a more easie intelligence, and a readier way to come out of it, which is to believe that it was not truly the spirit of Samuel that was drawn out of his rest, but rather that it was some apparition and imaginary illusion made by the Devils machinations, which the Scripture calls with the name of Samuel, because they use to call images with the name of things whereof they are images. And a little after he concludeth thus, Let us rather think that such a thing was done by the malicious ministry of the witch.

The same he saith in the sixth question of *Dulcitius* where he approveth and confirmeth that which he had said in his questions to *Simplician*. About that, see the Canon *Nec mirum*, in the fifth question of the twenty sixth Cause, where the doctrine of *Ecclesiasticus* is confuted at large: And the book of the Questions of the Old Testament in the twenty seventh question, where Austin among other things saith that (c) Saul worshipped the Devil, thinking him to be Samuel.

It is this Fathers custome when his Adversaries object unto him some place out of the *Apocrypha*, to answer with weakning their authority. As in the second book against *Gaudentius*, chap. 23. the Donatists, Circumcellions, who would kill and cast themselves headlong, defended themselves with the example of Razias who killed himself, 2 Mac. 14. Austin answereth them, (d) The Jews receive not that Scripture which they call Maccabees, as the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, to which the Lord beareth testimony. Thereby declaring that the Maccabees are books unto which the Lord doth not bear testimony. Thus in the second book of the Retractions ch. 20. retracting that which he had said after the book of Wisdom, That (e) Manna had a taste in the mouth according to every mans will, he saith this, (f) I remember not that this can be proved but by the book of Wisdom which is not received among the Jews in a Canonical authority. If Austin had received the book of Wisdom among the Canonical books, he would not have retracted that which he had alledged out of that book. And in the book of the care which must be had of the dead, chap. 15. he alledgeth *Ecclesiasticus*, which saith that Samuel prophesied after his death: then he addeth (g) This book is contradicted out of the Canon of the Hebrews, because it is not found in it. He saith not that the Hebrews contradict it, but that others contradict it by the Canon of the Hebrews, shewing that Christians contradict it, because they adhere to the Canon of the Hebrews.

Wherefore

(b) In hoc facto notest esse alius facilius & expeditior exitus; ut non recte spiritum Samuelis exitum à requie suæ credamus, sed aliquod phantasma & imaginariam illusionem Diaboli, &c.

(c) Putans Samuelem, adlocavit Diabolus.

(d) Et hanc quidem Scripturam que appellatur Maccabæorum, non habent Judæi sicut Legem, & Prophetas, & Psalmos, quibus Dominus testimonium perhibet.

(e) Wisd. 16.

(f) Non mihi occurrit unde possit probari nisi in libro Sapientiæ quem Judæi non recipiunt in authoritatem Canonice.

(g) Huic libro ex Canone Hebræorum quæ in eo non est contradi-

Wherefore in the fore-alleged place against *Gaudentius*, after he hath said that the book of the *Maccabees* is none of those to which the Lord bears testimony, he addeth, that yet it is not unprofitably received, so that it be read soberly; which is a commendation bordering upon blame, to say that the book is not altogether unprofitable, and that one hath need to read it soberly, that is, that one must not adhere too much unto it.

So much is sufficient to shew that when *Austin* in the second book of the Christian doctrine put *Judith, Wisdom*, and the *Maccabees* among the Canonical books, he meant those Canonical books which he saith to be of small authority. Observe also that *Austin* writ the books of Christian doctrine being yet young, and newly received to the Episcopal Office; as one may see by his books of *Retractions*, where he makes a review of his books according to the order of the time in which he writ them. In the second book of his *Retractions*, chap. 4. he hath put his books of Christian doctrine. But in chap. 43. he speaks of his books of the City of God as made a long time after. There he puts clearly *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* out of the number of Canonical books, correcting what he had said in the second book of the Christian doctrine. In the same fourth chapter of the second book of his *Retractions*, he retracteth himself for attributing the books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* unto *Solomon*, having since that time got better information.

I find a place of *Austin* in the thirty sixth chapter of the eighteenth book of the City of God, of which it is hard to judge. For in the same place he saith that the books of *Maccabees* are neither holy nor Canonical Scriptures, and yet he saith that the Church holds them for Canonical. *The supputation of these times* (saith he) *is not found in the holy Scriptures which they call Canonical, among which the Maccabees are not.* There can be nothing more expresse. But the following words contradict it; *which not the Jews but the Church hold for Canonical*, a sentence which hath always been unto me suspected of falsification.

We must not dissemble that the *Gallican* Churches disliked that *Austin* should use in his writings testimonies of books not Canonical, (h) as *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles* testifieth in his Epistle to *Austin*. When all is said, of what weight is *Austins* authority against the consent of so many Fathers more antient then he, whom we have produced before? and against the authority of the Church of the Old Testament? and against the word of God? and against himself, seeing that he contradicts himself as I have shewed by many proofs?

It remains now to speak of the Canon of the third Council of *Carthage*, which is the twenty fourth Canon in the Code of the *African* Church. About that Canon there is a dissent between the Greek and the Latin Copies. For in the Latin the books of the *Maccabees* are put among the Canonical books, but in the Greek they are omitted, and put out of the roll of the Canonical. Whereupon (i) *M. du Perron* goeth about to prove that the Latin copies are to be preferred before the Greek, calling in contempt the Code of the *African* Church a *Rapsody*, because it is gathered out of the Canons of several Councils of *Africa*. I could demonstrate by a multitude of proofs, that hardly shall one find a book in the whole world more swarming with falsifications and corruptions then the Latin Tomes of Councils; the first especially, where that Canon is found. Besides that (k) *M. du Perron* overthrowes with his own hand all that he alledgeth for the Latin Copies, acknowledging that there are vices in the Latin, which he imputeth to the *Copists* or transcribers, preferring the Greek Copies before the Latin, as for certain Epistles (of which we shall speak in the right place) because he holds the Greek Copies of those Epistles to be more favourable to him. But that dispute is useless, since we have those two things granted, the one that the contrariety of the Copies makes this Canon doubtful; The other, that though we would receive that Canon such as it is found in the Latin Copies, yet the authority of a Council of *Carthage* held within the fifth age is not sufficient to overthrow a Council of *Laodicea* more antient by two hundred years, and approved by

(h) See the place of *Hilary* above, chap. 56.

(i) Chap. 50. book 1. in the beginning. page 346.

(k) Pag. 436.

by the Universal Councils, or to outweigh the general consent of so many Fathers both Greek and Latin, which we have produced; Much less to be opposed to the word of God, and to make fables to become true histories.

CHAP. 68.

Of the Canon of the holy Scriptures defined by Pope Innocent the I. And of the Decretal Epistle of that Innocent to Exuperius.

THE Roman Church is like a sick body labouring with complicated Symptomes, whereof one cannot be eased without irritating another. In the first Tome of the Councils there is a Decretal Epistle attributed to *Innocent the I.* directed to *Exuperius* Bishop of *Tolosa*, in which that Pope makes a list or enumeration of the Canonical books, conformable unto that which is established by the Council of *Trent*. Our Adversaries producing that Epistle in this Cause, see not what a blow they give to the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, for thereby it appeareth that the Greek and Oriental Church was not subject unto the Roman, since that Church had another sense then the Roman. If such was the belief of the Roman Church, how comes it to pass that the Council of *Laodicea*; *Origen*, *Melito*, *Eusebius*, *Athanasius*, *Cyrillus of Jerusalem*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, *Epiphanius*, and generally all the Greek Fathers, have held those books for *Apocrypha*, which the Roman Church held for Canonical? Why did even the Occidental Church differ from the Sea of *Rome* in that important point; which we have shewed by testimonies, of *Ruffinus*, *Hilarinus*, *Philastrinus* and the *Gallican* Churches? Or if the belief of the Bishops of *Rome* that went before, that *Innocent* was conformable unto that of *Innocent*, how cometh it to pass that *Hierom* who was Secretary to *Damasus* a Roman Bishop, and out-lived that *Innocent*, was so bold as to depart from his Masters opinion? Could that man, so eminent in learning, be ignorant of the belief of the Roman Church? Here is more. For *Gregory* the first Bishop of *Rome* who writ well nigh two hundred years after that *Innocent*, is of contrary opinion, and holds that the *Maccabees* are not Canonical. And Pope (a) *Gelasius* holds *Susanna* for *Apocrypha*. These Gentlemen by producing that Epistle of *Innocent*, shew that the decisions of the Bishops of *Rome* were in those dayes of very small account among strangers, and that those that belonged to the Popes family, and his very successors, did little regard them.

(a) Can. Sancti Rom. Dist. 15.

But to come to that Epistle, who so shall but look upon it neer hand, will acknowledge that it is an absurd and ridiculous piece, which abuseth Scripture with a profane licentiousness. It is that Decretal which proveth that married persons must not be admitted to Ecclesiastical charges, because it is written, *Be ye holy, for I am holy*: and because the Apostle said, *To the clean all things are clean, but to the defiled and the unbelievers nothing is clean*. As though marriage were a pollution and infidelity. Also because the same Apostle said, *They that are in the flesh, cannot please God*. Now you are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit. As if the Apostle by them that are in the flesh meant married persons, and by them that are in the Spirit, the unmarried. Are these Apostolical Oracles? Nay, is it not a manifest impiety and profanation of the Word of God?

(b) Lib. de Clericis, c. 18. §. Ac Thomas.

In the same Epistle it is said that the Law of God prohibiteth the admitting of married persons into Ecclesiastical honours; Of which nevertheless the word of God speaks not, neither is there one word of that to be found in the whole Scripture. Wherefore also (b) *Bellarmin*, after *Thomas*, acknowledgeth that the Celibate of Clerks is but of humane right.

Nunc breviter probandum est non jure divino sed humano duntaxat prohibitum esse conjugium. Thomas 2.2. qu. 38. Art. 11.

The same Epistle saith that of all antiquity, and from the beginning, Priests were

were commanded to abide in the Temple during the year of their service (supposing that there was no women in the houses of the Temple) and that the Priests were forbidden to come near their wives all the year of their ministring. For (saith the Author of the Decretal) *those ought not to be admitted to the sacrifices that use a carnal conjunction with their wives; because it is written, Be ye holy, for I am holy.* How many untruths and ignorances in few words? It is false that the Priests did serve by years. For as for the High Priest there was never a year but he did officiate in his Priesthood. But under him he had four and twenty courses or divisions of chief Priests that served by turns, each one a fortnight every year. It is a great error to think that each of these chief Priests was three and twenty years without officiating. It is false also that those courses or divisions of Priests serving by turn were so from the beginning, as that Decretal saith. David instituted that order about four hundred and fifty years after the first institution of the legal Priesthood, as it may be seen, *1 Chron. 24.* It is false also that the Priest was separated from his wife during the time of his ministring, and that there was no woman dwelling in the Temple. We have an example of the contrary, *2 Kings 11.* where it is said that *Jehosheba* daughter to King *Joram* kept *Joash* hid for the space of six years, with his Nurse in the Temple in the bedchamber. And of *Anna*, *Luke* saith in the first chapter, that *she departed not from the Temple.* *1 Sam. 2.* the Priests sons of *Eli* lay with the women that assembled at the door of the Tabernacle. And the High Priest and his children having their ordinary dwelling in the lodgings of the Court, which made part of the Temple, we must not doubt but that their wives dwelt in the same house.

By all these it appeareth what authority that Decretal can have which is attributed unto *Innocent*. For I can hardly believe that it is his, both because of the absurdity of the Epistle, and because the first Tome of the Councils is full of false Epistles of Popes, as it is acknowledged by the most learned of our Adversaries, of which we shall hereafter give evident proofs.

Yet if it be of *Innocent*, we are no more obliged to believe him then *Hierom*, and *Ruffinus*, and *Gregory* the first, successor to that *Innocent*, or then the Churches both Oriental and Occidental of *Innocents* time, who held *Judith*, *Wisdom*, *Macabees*, &c. for *Apocrypha*, as we have proved.

It is no wonder if that *Innocent* was a man of little learning, for the Roman Sea was alwayes barren in learned men. In the three first ages that Sea had good Bishops and faithfull Martyrs, whose power did not reach much beyond the walls of *Rome*. Since that time, some ages past in which we find in that Sea prudent Bishops, industrious in their temporal businesses, labouring to raise their authority which was but small. But we find not one among them of exquisite learning. And alwayes that Sea was inferiour in that point to the Churches of *Greece*, *Asia* and *Africa*, which have had Bishops of far higher learning.

CHAP. 69.

That the Popes have put their Canons and Decrees not only in the same rank as Canonical Scriptures, but above.

BEcause nothing hinders so much the progress of the Kingdom of *Satan* as the word of God contained in the holy Scriptures, the enemy of our salvation hath bent all his strength to put it out, and used all his craft to corrupt it, and bring down its authority. He made use sometimes of the impiety of the Kings of *Juda*, and of the prophane negligence of the High Priests to abolish the books of the Law; so that in the beginning of the reign of *Josiah* it was an unknown book, which would have been lost, had not the High Priest, looking not for it, found a copy of it hid in a corner of the Temple. Since that time he raised

Antiochus

Antiochus Epiphanes, who spared no endeavours to abolish all the copies of the same. We read in a hundred places of *Austin*, that before *Constantine's* time the persecutors constrained the Christians to deliver to them the holy Scriptures to suppress them. Whence arose the schism of the Donatists, who denied that *Cecilian* was the lawfull Bishop of *Carthage*, because he had been ordained (as they say) by Bishops that had delivered the sacred books to the Persecutors.

If the Popes had undertaken to abolish the holy Scriptures, they could never have compassed it, because the Jews have carefully kept for us the Old Testament in Hebrew, and the Greek Churches have faithfully preserved the New Testament in Greek: And over them the Pope hath no power.

All that the Popes could do, was to forbid the reading of them unto the Nations subject unto them, and to hinder the translation of that holy book into the vulgar tongues. In *Italy* and *Spain* and all the Countreys where the Inquisition reigneth, it is a crime punishable with the fire, to have an Italian or a Spanish Bible. To which the Popes and his instruments have added all the possible means and arts to weaken the authority of the holy Scripture, teaching that it contains not all things necessary to salvation; that it is obscure, and that the reading of it is dangerous: Also that there is another word not written; and that the tradition of the Roman Church is more antient, more perfect, and of greater authority then the holy Scripture; And that the Church is not subject to Scripture, but Scripture to the Church, that is, to the Pope. That Scripture is not the Sovereign Judge of the points of faith, but that unto the Roman Catholick Church that judgement belongs. That from the authority of that Church the authority of Scripture depends, which is a dumb rule, and to be received only because the Church commands it.

But one of the subtlest wiles of Satan to weaken the authority of Holy Scripture, was to foist into Scripture fabulous and erroneous books, that the evident untruth and absurdity of those books might bring in question the truth of the other books divinely inspired, and that by mingling of false coyn the good gold might be suspected, and the whole Scripture lose credence in mens minds.

The malice and rash profaneness of those whom Satan hath employed in that work, is come so far as to go about to put the Decretal Epistles of the Popes among the Canonical books, which if they could have compassed, we should have the Scriptures increased by one half and above, and the sacred books indited by the Spirit of God, should have been matcht with ridiculous pieces, which many times want common sense.

In the Roman Decree in the nineteenth Distinction, the Canon *In Canonicis*, beareth this inscription, *Inter Canonicas Scripturas Decretales Epistola connumerantur*, that is, *The Decretal Epistles of the Popes are reckoned among the Canonical Scriptures*. And that proved by a testimony of (a) *Austin* wickedly falsified.

About the year of our Lord 865. *Hinckmarus* Archbishop of *Rhemes* made difficulty to obey Pope *Nicolas* the I. and spake of the Decretals of the Popes with contempt, saying that they are not inserted in the Code of the Canons of the Church, as not being of the like authority. Against that *Hinckmarus*, Pope *Nicolas* in the time of King *Charles* the Bald disputes with a proud language, in an Epistle to the Bishops of the *Gallican* Church; where he saith that (b) *there is a Chapter of Pope Innocent, by whose authority it is taught that the Old and the New Testament ought to be received, although they be not inserted within the Canons of the Fathers*. Whence he inferreth, that if the Old and the New Testament must be received, not because they are annexed to the Code of the Canons, but because the holy Pope Innocent hath pronounced his sentence that they must be received, by the same reason the Popes Decretals ought to be received, though they be not inserted in the Code of the Canons, because among them there is a Chapter of the holy Pope Leon, who commands us so to keep in force the Decretals of the Apostolical Sea, that if any sin against them, he may know that he shall not be pardoned. What is all that but a company of blasphemies heaped up with a

(a) Ex August. l. 2. de Doctrina Christi. c. 8. ubi pro-

pter Apostolicas sedes habere & Epistolas accipere meruerunt, Gratianus legit, quas Apostolicas sedes habere & ab eo accipere meruerunt.

(b) Can. Si Romanorum Dist. 19.

Capitulum sancti Innocentii Papae cujus auctoritate docetur a nobis utramque Testamentum esse recipiendum, quamquam in ipsis paternis Canonibus nolum eorum ex toto continetur insertum, &c. Si Vetus Novumque Testamentum sunt recipienda, non quod codici Canonum ex toto videantur annexa, sed quod de his recipiendi sancti Papae Innocentii prolata videatur esse sententia, &c.

bestial stupidity, and destitute of common sense? For what can be more absurd then that Decree of *Innocent*, which commands that the Old and the New Testament be received, as if it had been a doubtfull thing whether they must be received, unless he had pronounced his sentence in their favour? Or can there be a greater impiety, then to conclude that the Old and the New Testament must be received, because such is the Popes sentence? And that must be, although the books of the Old and the New Testament be not annex unto the Canons of these Roman Church, which presupposeth that the conjunction of Scripture with those Canons was able to add unto Scripture some authority. A thing so far from truth, that rather, if any thing could take authority from Scripture, it should be that association of the Canons of the Roman Church with the sacred books. Was there no stronger reason then the Popes authority to oblige us to receive Scripture? But what, They could speak no better for their end, which is to equal the Popes Decretals unto the word of God: for so they ground both upon the same authority. Finally, to fill up the measure of impiety, that Pope saith that if any disobey the Popes Canons, it shall not be forgiven him. For the offences against God Laws are pardoned, but the offences against the Popes Laws are not pardoned, as being far more grievous sins, and committed against a greater Master; the reason whereof is given by Pope *Damasus*, *Causa 15. Qu. I. Can. Violatores*: The inscription of that Canon is, *In Spiritum Sanctum blasphemant qui sacros Canones violant. They that transgress the holy Canons, blaspheme against the Holy Ghost.* Wherefore that sin is unpardonable.

To this language is conformable that of *Gregory* the first in his Epistle to *Antoninus* Subdeacon, wherein he complains of a certain *Honoratus*, (c) who (saith he) not only hath neglected Gods commandments, but hath despised our writings. Here is the language of the servant of servants. Here is the Apostolical humility.

Bellarmin in the second book of the Councils, chap. 12. maintains that the Popes Canons are Canonical Scriptures. (d) *The Popes Canons* (saith he) in their way, are and may be called holy and Canonical Scriptures. And truly if it be so that the Decrees of Popes give authority to Scripture, and that the Pope is Judge of Controversies, not the Scripture; we must grant that the Popes decrees have more authority then the Canonical Scriptures, and must be inserted in the Bible rather then the Epistles of the Apostle *St. Paul*. For (if these men must be believed) the Pope is the only head of the Universal Church, which *St. Paul* was not.

Hinckmarus Archbishop of *Rhemes* in his book of fifty five chapters, alledgeth very often this sentence of Pope *Hilary*, who saith, that (e) the sin committed against the Ordinances of the holy Traditions, is not a lesser sin then rashly presuming to outrage the Lord himself. Again, (f) It is not lawfull to any to violate the divine constitutions, and the Decrees of the Apostolick See.

(c) Lib. 2.
Epist. 16.
Non solum
mandata Dei
negligens, sed
& scripta
nostra con-
temnens.
(d) S. Dico
Duo Canones
Pontificum
suo modo
sunt & dici
possunt Scrip-
ta sacra &
Canonica.
(e) Cap. 18.
& 36.
Non minus
in sanctarum
traditionum
sanctiones
quam in ip-
sus Domini
injuriarum de-
linquitur.
(f) Cap. 27.



BOOK II.

Wherein is

TREATED

OF

St. Peters Primacy,

And of his Abode at

ROME.

CHAP. I.

That the Government of the Universal Church cannot, and must not be Monarchical.

State of the Question.



Although in civil matters several Nations follow not the same form of Government, there being in the world, some Monarchical, some Aristocratical, some popular States, and some mingled of all three; yet the whole mankind taken together is but a Monarchy, of which God is the Monarch and the Sovereign head.

Thus in the question about Church-government, although several Churches have several forms of Ecclesiastical policy: Yet taking the whole Orthodox Church together, it is a Monarchy, whereof Jesus Christ is the Head. About that we do not dissent with our Adversaries. But the question between us is, whether under Jesus Christ there must be a visible Head over the whole Universal visible Church? Also whether that power belong to the Pope of Rome?

In this question we must carefully distinguish the Universal Church from the Churches of one Town, or one Countrey. For as in civil things, if one hath

proved that the Monarchical State is the best of all, he hath not therefore proved that there must be one Monarch over the whole world. Likewise if it be expedient that each particular Church be governed by one head, not by many, it follows not that there must be one head over the Church of the whole world. Thus God hath given that instinct unto Bees, that every hive, or every swarm hath its King, but there is no King over the whole kind. Wherefore out of that Policy of the Church of *Israel*, that they had one High Priest, one cannot infer that the like must be in the Christian Universal Church; because that Policy was inclosed within one Nation, but this extends to all Nations, of whom none is excluded from the Covenant of God in Jesus Christ, and that Covenant is presented unto all by the Gospel. One Head might be sufficient to govern the Church of *Israel*: But to govern the Church of the whole world, no head is strong enough, and no shoulders are able to bear such a heavy burden. A man raised to that height should soon become giddy; pride would puff him up, and the distance of places would keep him from having his eye everywhere, and giving order to all. Besides, the form of the Church-government of *Israel* was a figure of the Christian Church, and of Jesus Christ and his graces, and by consequent, there was need in that government of one High Priest that should be a figure of Christ our High Priest.

For this cause our Adversaries who will needs have it granted that St. *Peter* was head and Monarch of the Christian Universal Church, yet acknowledge that the other Apostles were also Heads of the Universal Church, as we shall see hereafter, tacitely acknowledging that such a power could not be proper for one man alone.

Wherefore also the Apostle *Eph. 4.* making an enumeration of the charges which Jesus Christ going up to heaven left unto his Church, saith, that he gave *some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, and some Pastors, and Doctors.* Of Pope or Monarch of the Universal Church, he speaks neither there nor in any other place. In that text it is especially to be noted that *Paul* speaks of the union of the Universal Church in one body, and of the compact communion of the Saints and faithful; Which necessarily required that he should speak of the Head which joyns and keeps that body in union, if God had appointed such a head in his Church.

The book of Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, attributed to *Dionysius Areopagita*, makes an enumeration of Ecclesiastical Offices, and an exact description of the order and constitutions of the Christian Church; but he speaks of no higher degree than Bishops of every particular Church. To compose a book of Hierarchy without speaking of the chief Hierarch, it is as if one spoke of Monarchy without speaking of a Monarch, and of Kingship without mentioning a King.

If the Church of the Apostles time had acknowledged an Universal Head under Christ, No doubt but that upon the decease of St. *Peter* (who is now held to be the first Pope) the Apostles that out-lived him would have met to choose a successor; and would have chosen one of the Apostles, and would not have left the Creation of a head for the Universal Church, to the discretion of the people and Clergy of *Rome*; for the Christian people of the City of *Rome* had no right to give a Head to the Churches of *Persia, Syria, Armenia, and Egypt*, without their concurrence.

And if after St. *Peters* death there had been need of one that should succeed him in that Primacy, without question the Apostle St. *John*, the Disciple whom Jesus loved, and his near Kinsman, should have succeeded him in that power, before *Linus*, of whom we have no record of any action worthy of memory, or (a) *Clement*, to whom certain Epistles are ascribed that give Constitutions about mice-dung, and would have possessions and women to be common; To whom also the Apostolical (b) Constitutions are ascribed, which say to marry above three times is plain fornication.

The principal power is, that if that Sovereign power over the Church of all the world must be received, it must have been established by Christ, and the succession

(a) *Causa*
12. qu. 1.
Can. dile-
ctissimis.
(b) *Constitu-*
tur. l. 3. c. 2.

cession in that Office must be grounded upon his ordinance. Suppose then that Christ hath given unto St. Peter alone the Primacy over the Church of the whole world: Yet that Office cannot be perpetual in the Church, and continued by a thred of succession, unless Christ hath constituted that succession. Thus Moses had been constituted by God a Prince, and Lawgiver, and Priest in Israel, but he had no successor in all these Offices, because God had not commanded it. Thus John the Baptist had no successor. And the Apostles, John, James, Philip, Paul, &c. had no successors in their Apostleship. This indeed is the point which we insist upon, and upon which our Adversaries are gruelled. We desire them to bring forth some declaration of Christ upon that subject, or some text of the word of God whereby a succession is assigned unto St. Peters Apostleship, or to his primacy over the Church, or whereby it is declared that the Office of Head of the Universal Church must be perpetual, or a constitution of St. Peter, that the Bishop of Rome ought to succeed him in that dignity. He hath writ to the Church two Epistles full of doctrine, the last of them written (c) a little before his death. Reason required that he should have charged the Church to obey the Bishop of Rome after his decease, as to his successor in his Apostleship, and he to whom he resigned before his death, the conduct of the Universal Church. But not a word of that. So that this point which is the chief of all the controversies, and the main hinge upon which the whole Roman Religion is turning, and that which is made in our dayes the main ground of the Christian faith; that point, I say, is found to have no ground in the word of God, and is but an unwritten Tradition.

Bellarmin (d) acknowledgeth that the Scripture speaks not of the succession of the Pope in the Primacy of St. Peter, and that it is not a point of divine right, no more (saith he) that it is not a point of divine right to believe that St. Paul had a cloak. But there is inequality in that comparison; For we find in Scripture that St. Paul had a cloak, but we find not in Scripture that God hath established the Bishop of Rome successor of St. Peters Primacy. Observe then that the whole Romish Religion is founded upon a tradition which is not of divine right, about which we have not any Ordinance of God, and of which, by the confession of our very Adversaries, the word of God speaks not.

We acknowledge that St. Peter, as also the other Apostles planting the Gospel and setting up Churches in those places, where they passed, established in those Churches Pastors, which therefore had a good right to call themselves successors of such an Apostle: Not successors in the Apostleship, but in the charge of Bishop over that particular Church. In that sense many Fathers called the Bishop of Rome successor of St. Peter, not in the Apostleship, but in the Bishoprick of the Roman Church, which in the first age did not extend much beyond the walls of the City of Rome; In the same manner as Simon was the successor of St. James in the Bishoprick of Jerusalem, and Titus successor of St. Paul in the Ile of Candia, and Timothy in the Church of Ephesus.

Although this be the main difficulty about which our Adversaries are plunged, having nothing firm for proving that succession of the Pope in St. Peters primacy, without which evidence of succession in vain do they labour to prove St. Peters primacy: Yet because the Cardinal following the steps of his Majesty of great Brittain, falls upon that discourse in the fifty sixth chapter of the first book, we will give also some chapters to the examination of the reasons and testimonies which he brings for it.

(c) 2 Pet. 1.
13. & 14.

(d) Lib. 2.
de Pontif.
Rom. c. 12.
Observandum est tertio, licet forte non sit de jure divino Romanum Pontificem ut Romanum Pontificem Petro succedere, tamen id ad fidem Catholicam pertinere. Non enim est idem aliquid esse de fide & esse de jure divino. Nec enim de jure divino fuit ut Paulus haberet penulam, est tamen hoc ipsum de fide Paulum habuisse penulam. Est autem Romanum Pontificem succedere Petro non habeatur expresse in Scripturis, &c.

CHAP. II.

That St. Peter had no jurisdiction over the other Apostles, and was not Monarch of the Universal Church.

Answer to the Lord Cardinal.

WEE deny not that St. Peter was Head and Pastor of the Universal Church; for the same power belonged also to every one of the Apostles, as St. Paul saith of himself, that he had the care of all the Churches, 2 Cor. II. 28.

Wherefore also Christ being neer his death, resigneth the care of his Church to all his Apostles alike; *I dispose unto you the Kingdom, as my Father disposed it unto me.* For their Apostleship was not affected to one particular Church.

(a) *Cyprian* doth acknowledge it. *Christ* (saith he) *after his resurrection gave an equal power unto his Apostles.* And in the same place, *The Apostles were the same thing as Peter, having an equal fellowship in honour and power.* And (b) *Hierom* after him saith the same.

Neither would we deny that St. Peter was the first and the most honourable among the Apostles, having the precedence among his brethren; and that as among the Kings of *Christendom* there is some order of sitting, and the Embassadours of the one march before the Embassadours of the other; so St. Peter was the first in the order of sitting among the Apostles, who deferred that honour to his excellent vertues, to his zeal, to his miracles, or to his age (although *Epiphanius* affirmeth that his brother *Andrew* was the eldest) or to some other consideration. Wherefore also the Ancients call often *Peter* the Prince of the Apostles, and in the list of the twelve Apostles he is alwayes placed the first by the Evangelists.

But to think that *Peter* had a power of jurisdiction over the other Apostles, the word of God alloweth it not, seeing that himself hath written two Epistles, wherein the highest titles which he assumeth, are the titles of *Apostle*, and *Presbyter*, or *Elder*. Now Monarchs will never write to their subjects (especially when it is question of prescribing them their duty) but they will take the titles of Sovereign authority, which give weight to their words.

In the celebration of the holy Communion, the Apostle St. *John* was sitting in the most honourable place, being the nearest unto Christ, and resting his head in the Lords bosome.

In the ninth chapter of *Luke*, Christ sends his Apostles to preach the Gospel, without money, without provision, without horse; St. *Peter* was sent like the rest and in equal condition.

Acts 15. the Apostles meet to decide a question raised among the Disciples. Now in such Assemblies he that presideth or moderateth, must speak the first, to make the overture of the Action, and the last also, to pronounce the conclusion. But St. *Peter* doth neither, in that place: For before he spake, the question (c) had been long agitated; And St. *James* speaketh the last, and pronounceth the final decision; adding several things to that which St. *Peter* had propounded, as the abstinence from blood, and from things strangled. Wherefore also *Chrysostome* in his Homily upon that place, saith (d) that the principality was deferred unto *James*.

Luke 22. the day before our Saviours passion the Apostles dispute among them about the preheminance: Which they would not have done, if they had believed that Christ had given the primacy to *Peter*. Then or never Christ would have told them, Why will ye overthrow the order which I have established? Since I have given the primacy to *Peter*, why do you resist my will? But he tels them no such thing: Nay, he tels them, *The Kings of the Nations exercise dominion over them, but it shall not be so among you.* And Mat. 20. 25. *Ye know that the Princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great, exercise authority*

(a) Cypr. 1. de unitate Ecclesie, c. 3. Christus Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem pariter potestatem tribuit. Et paulo post. Hoc etiam utique ceteri Apostoli quod Petrus, pari consortio honoris & potestatis. (b) Hieron. lib. 2. in Jovinianum. In alio loco super omnes Apostolos fundantur Ecclesia, & cunctis claves regni caelorum accipiunt, & ex aequo super eos Ecclesie fortitudo solidatur.

(c) Act. 15. 7. τινὲς τῶν υἱῶν τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐβάνον. (d) Iacobus ἀνέγνω, καὶ ἐκείνους ἀνέκρινεν. ἔπειτα τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀνέκραγον λέγοντες ὅτι ἀγαπᾷται.

authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant. Cardinal du Perron seeks to elude this text, saying that Christ forbids them, not primacy, but only the desire and affectation of primacy; and to aspire to a superiority over their fellows. But it is clear that Christ forbids both to his Apostles. For he tells not them only, *Whosoever will be great among you, but also, Whosoever shall be great.* Again, *the Kings of Nations exercise dominion over them. But it shall not be so among you.* It is clear that he forbids the Apostles that any of them exercise dominion over his fellows. For the primacy of a Pastor in a particular Church is not subject to the same inconveniencies as the domination of one over the Universal Church. It is also an error to think that Christ forbids his Apostles only, to use a tyrannical domination over their fellows. For it is not credible that any of them had such a perverse inclination. Besides, Christ forbids them to use authority, which is far less than domination. The same thing he forbids them, *Matth. 23. 8. Be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren.* That word Rabbi did not import any domination or tyranny, but such an authority and respect as was deferred unto the Scribes and Pharisees, out of the opinion that the people had of their holiness.

Acts 8. the Apostles send Peter and John to preach in Samaria. Would the Pope now accept of such a Commission, to be sent to preach into Switzerland or into Denmark? In vain the Cardinal affirms that St. Peter was sent by intreaties; for Peter and John are here set together in the same mission, and are not sent in several manners. In our dayes the Pope would take such an intreaty as an injury or a scorn. Neither doth the text speak of intreaties. To affirm, that without proof, is a rash part.

If Peter had had the power of jurisdiction over the other Apostles, he should be always named the first. And St. Paul, *Gal. 2.* would not say, that James, Cephas, and John were held to be the pillars; for so it is set down in all the copies, and even in the vulgar version, the only approved by the Council of Trent. The only edition of *Compluto* set out by Cardinal Ximenes hath corrupted that Text.

Among the Corinthians, some said I am of Cephas, others said I am of Paul, preferring Paul before Peter. But they would never have preferred Paul before Peter, had Paul taught them that Peter was the Master and Superiour of Paul, and the only visible Head of the Universal Church.

2 Cor. 11. 5. St. Paul saith, I suppose I was not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostles; By saying not a whit, or, in nothing, he doth not except any thing. Wherefore Hierom in his Comment upon *Gal. 2.* brings in Paul comparing himself unto St. Peter in these words, *I am in nothing inferiour to him, for we are established in the Ministry by the same God.* And in the Council of Ephesus there is an Epistle inserted of the Council of Alexandria, which saith that (e) Peter and John are of the same dignity one towards another; wherefore also they are Apostles and holy Disciples. And Cyprian speaks thus (f) The other Apostles were the same thing as St. Peter, associate in the same society of honour and power. And Hierom (g) They all receive the keyes of the Kingdom of heaven, and the stability of the Church is equally founded upon them all.

Wherefore also Paul, *Gal. 2. 9.* saith that James, Peter and John gave him the hand of association, receiving him for their fellow-worker. It is more then the Pope doth to any man.

(e) Petrus & Johannes equalis sunt ad alterutrum dignitatis, propter quod Apostoli & sancti discipuli esse monstrantur. lib. de unitate Ecclesie.
(f) Hoc erant utique ceteri Apostoli quod Petrus, pari consortio & honoris & potestatis. lib. 2. contra Iovinian.
(g) Cuncti claves regni caelorum accipiunt, & ex quo super nos Ecclesie fortitudo solidatur.

CHAP. 3.

Testimonies of Fathers upon this subject. An excellent place of St. Ambrose falsified by the Cardinal: And a text of the Apostle falsified likewise.

(a) Paulus
mibi viam
novi hominis
et audii iu-
neris osten-
dit. Ipse ergo
Apostolorum
maximus, &c.

(b) Epist.
Conc. Alex-
andriani.

Aequalis sunt
ad alterutrum
dignitatis,
&c.

(c) ὃ τὸ κή-
ρυγμα πάν-
τες τὰ ἀπο-
στολικά τῆς
ἐκκλησίας
ἐνεπίστευσαν,
καὶ τὰ μυστή-
ρια πάντα
καὶ τὴν ἐκκο-
νομένην ὁλὴν.

(d) Παῦλος
ἐπεὶ ἐκ
ἐμοῦ ἰσχυρὸς
καλεῖσθαι
ἠρώμεθα,
ὅτι τὸ το-
σοῦτον
πατρὶν ἐγί-
νετο, &c.

(e) ὅτι δὲ
Paulus ἔδωκε
πρώτως
σύσταται πρὸς
παντὶ δῆλον.

(f) Μετὰ
τοιαῦτα καὶ
τοιαῦτα κα-
ταβολώματα
μὴδὲν Πέτρος
δίδουσι

μὴδὲ τῆς
ἐκείνου φωνῆς,
ἀλλ' ἰσχυρί-
σθαι αὐτῶν,
πλεονάζει
ἔσθ' ἐρω-
τῶν, &c.

(g) δεικνύει
αὐτοῖς ἐμύ-
νηται ὅτι
λοιπὸν καὶ

(h) Πρώτος
καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῶν καθεδρῶν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὡς παρὰ τοὺς Κύριον τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
πρώτος.

ORigen in the third Homily upon the third of Numbers, saith (a) *Let Paul go before me, and shew me the path of that new man, and that difficult way: He the greatest among the Apostles, who knew that there were many Churches not only in earth but in heaven also.*

Eusebius in the second book of his history, cap. i. alledgeth *Clement* in the sixth of his hypotyposes, saying, *Peter, James and John having been preferred by the Lord, had no contention about the honour, but chose James the just Bishop of Jerusalem.* If *St. Peter* had been the Head of the Universal Church, it had been a small thing to him to be Bishop of Jerusalem; and there had been for him no occasion of dispute about the degree. A certain proof that the Bishop of Jerusalem was honourable above all others, and was not inferiour in dignity to any. And the same *Clement* in the seventh of the Hypotyposes, alledged by *Eusebius* in the same place, *The Lord after the resurrection gave to James, John and Peter, &c. giving to James the first place.*

Cyprian was of opinion that before the resurrection of the Lord, *Peter* had the primacy over the other Apostles, but that after the resurrection he made them equall in power and authority: Having begun by one, to shew that the Church is one. In the book of the unity of the Church he speaks thus, *Although the Lord after his resurrection give to all his Apostles an equal power, and say, As the Father hath sent me, so I send you, Receive the holy Ghost. Whose sins ye remit, they shall be remitted.* Yet to shew the unity, he hath established a chair, and hath disposed by his authority the origine of that same unity, beginning by one. All the Apostles were in effect that very thing which *St. Peter* was, having the same society of honour and power. But that place shall be examined hereafter.

We have alledged before a notable expression of the Council of Alexandria, that (b) *Peter and John are of equal authority one towards another.*

Chrysostome (c) Hom. 18. upon the Epistle to the Romans, *God hath committed unto Paul the whole preaching, and all the affairs of the habitable world, and all the mysteries, and the whole administration.* And Hom. 3. upon the first of *Matthew*, (d) *Paul saith, I am not worthy to be called an Apostle; Therefore was he made the first of all.* And Hom. 66. (e) *It is manifest to all, that none shall be set before Paul.* And upon *Gal. 1. 18.* (f) *Paul after such great and good actions, having no need of Peter, nor of his word, but equal in honour to him (for I will say nothing more) yet goeth up to him, as to a greater and elder.* And upon *Gal. 1. 19.* (g) *Paul sheweth that for the rest he was equall unto them, and compareth himself not to the others, but to the first of the Apostles, shewing that each of them enjoyeth the same dignity.*

Epiphanius, who in other places calls *Peter* the first and the Prince of the Apostles, nevertheless in the Heresie of the Nazarites, which is the twenty ninth, asketh how the Prophecy was fulfilled, which foretelleth that the Christ shall sit for ever upon the throne of *David*; and answereth, that it was fulfilled in the Bishops. For (saith he) *James* succeeded Christ in the Pontificat and principality over the Church, because *James* was of the race of *David*. And in the heresie against the Antidicomarianites which is the fifty eighth, he saith that (h) *James was the first that received the Episcopal chair; and that to him first*

Christ

Christ did commit the throne which he had on earth. Indeed to say that James was the sole successor of Christs throne over the Church, is acknowledging him the first and the chief of the Apostles.

The same in the heresie of the *Marcofians*, which is the 34. puts Paul before Peter. No man (saith he) can be equalled unto them in greatness of knowledge (i) neither Paul nor Peter, nor any other Apostle.

Gregory Nazianzen doth the same in the twenty sixth Oration, Paul, or Cephas, or Apollo, or such a planter, or such a waterer. And a little after; The Paul's, the Cephas'es, the Apollo's.

Ambrose in the sixty sixth Sermon of the nativity of Peter, and that of Paul, (k). Then (saith he) Peter and Paul are eminent among all, and excellent by a particular prerogative. But it is uncertain which of the two must be preferred before the other. I think they are equall in merit, since they are equall in passion or sufferings. And upon Psalm 38. *Quod Petro dicitur, Apostolis dicitur.* That which is said to Peter, is said to the Apostles; speaking of these words of Christ to Peter, I will give thee the keyes of the kingdom of heaven.

The same in the book of the incarnation, chap. 4. (a) Peter not forgetfull of his place, made use of his primacy; I mean of his primacy in confession, not in honour; of the primacy of faith, not of order. Which text the Cardinal dippeth and falsifieth in his 526. page, putting these words only, Peter not forgetting his place, made use of his primacy. The rest he hath suppress.

The same Ambrose upon Gal. 2. (b) Paul nameth Peter alone, and compareth him with himself, because he had received the primacy to lay the foundation of the Church. He saith that he was chosen in the same manner to lay the foundation of the Churches of the Gentiles.

And in the same place (c) Which of them durst resist Peter the first Apostle, to whom the Lord hath given the keyes of the kingdom of heaven, unless it was some other like him, who grounding himself upon his election, and knowing that he was not inferiour unto him, constantly reproveth that which he had done without counsell?

The same in the second book of the Holy Ghost, chap. 12. (d) Paul was not inferiour to Peter. And a little after (e) Paul was not unworthy of the Colledge of the Apostles, and may be compared with the first whosoever he be, and must not be put in the second rank after any.

Hieron upon the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians personateth Paul speaking thus (f): I am in nothing inferiour to Peter, for we have been establist in the Ministry by the same God. And in the first book against Jovinian, Although the Church be founded upon all the Apostles, and all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and that the stability of the Church be equally founded upon them all; yet one is chosen among twelve, that by the establisshing of one head, the occasion of Schism be taken away. Himself upon Isaiah 54. calleth Peter and Paul, *duos Apostolorum Principes, the two Princes of the Apostles.*

Leo the first in the Sermon of the Nativity of the Apostles, comparing Peter with Paul, Of whose vertues and merits (saith he) we must have no diverse or separate conceit; for the choyce hath made them even, and the labour alike, and the end equals.

Victor of Carthage (g) The most blessed Apostles, endowed with the like honour and fellowship of power, have converted the Nations unto the Church.

That I may not be tedious in heaping up a multitude of allegations, the strength of truth is so great, that the Cardinals Bellarmin and Du Perron acknowledge that all the Apostles were heads of the Universal Church. Bellarmin makes them equals. The Sovereign Ecclesiastical power (saith he) was not only given to Peter, but also to the other Apostles. And a little after, It was necessary that to the first

(i) ὁ μὲν δὲ ἀν-
τιπαύλον ἀν-
τιπῆτρον
ἐπιτιμᾷ
τὸν ἐν δα-
λάτῃ ἐν-
ταξίαν.

(k) Ergo be-
atus Petrus
& Paulus
eminent inter
universos
Apostolos, &
peculiari qua-
dam preroga-
tiva præcel-
lunt; verum
inter ipsos
quis cui præ-
ponatur in-
certum est.

(a) Petrus
loci non im-
merito sui,
primum
egit. Prima-
tum utique
confessionis
non honoris,
primum fi-
dei non ordi-
nis.

(b) Petrum
solum nomi-
nat, & sibi
comparat,
quia prima-
tum ipse ac-
cepit ad fun-
dandam Ec-
clesiam; Se-
quoque pari
modo electum
ut primum
habet in fun-
dandis Ecce-
lesiis gentium.

(c) Quis co-
rum auderet
Petro primo
Apostolo, cui
claves regni
caelorum Do-
minus dedit,
resistere, nisi
alius talis qui
fiducia electi-
onis suæ,
sciens se non

(d) Nec Paulus inferior Petro, quam-
vis ille Ecclesie fundamentum. (e) Nec Paulus unquam indignus Apostolorum Collegio, cum primo quoque
facile conferendus, & nulli secundus. (f) Hieron. secundo & breviori commentario in Galatas, In nullo
sum illo inferior, quia ab uno Deo sumus in Ministerio ordinati. (g) Baro. com. 8. an. 646. §. 22.

(h) Bellar. lib. 1. c. 9. de Pontif. Romano § Respondeo. Summa potestas Ecclesiastica non solum data est
Petro sed etiam aliis Apostolis.

imparem, constanter improbare quod ille sine consilio fecerat? (d) Nec Paulus inferior Petro, quam-
vis ille Ecclesie fundamentum. (e) Nec Paulus unquam indignus Apostolorum Collegio, cum primo quoque
facile conferendus, & nulli secundus. (f) Hieron. secundo & breviori commentario in Galatas, In nullo
sum illo inferior, quia ab uno Deo sumus in Ministerio ordinati. (g) Baro. com. 8. an. 646. §. 22.

(h) Bellar. lib. 1. c. 9. de Pontif. Romano § Respondeo. Summa potestas Ecclesiastica non solum data est
Petro sed etiam aliis Apostolis.

(i) cap. 12.
quidem libri.

(k) cap. 56.
pag. 526.

ὁ δὲ ἀποστόλος

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cation of the
Cardinal.

preachers and founders of Churches a sovereign power and liberty should be granted. And in another place (i) *We confess that the Apostles were equal in Apostolical power, and had altogether the same authority over the Christian people.* Yet he puts this difference, that the sovereign power was given to Peter as to an ordinary Pastor that should leave behind him a perpetual succession, but to the others as to subdelegate persons that were not to leave any successor. But this he saith without proof, and without any word of God; and it is absurd and impossible. For the power of a subdelegate is never equal to that of the Sovereign who hath delegated him, and to whom he is to give account of his charge, and who can take it from him at any time.

M. Du Perron (k) acknowledgeth that to the other Apostles the authority of governing the Church was conferred in common, and jointly with St. Peter. Yet he adds that they had not the power of exercising that authority, but in as much as they were associated and aggregated with Peter, and as it were grafted and inserted upon him. This he saith (as Bellarmine) without proof, and without Scripture, and contrary to the Apostles saying, *Gal. 1. 1.* of himself, that he is an Apostle, not of men, nor by man. And *Gal. 2. 6.* that they who seemed to be somewhat added nothing to him. A text which the Cardinal hath falsified to break the strength of it, alledging it thus, *They that seem to be somewhat have taught me nothing.* Having put this word [taught] of his own, to make the world believe that St. Paul compareth himself to the chief Apostles only for learning and doctrine, not for the charge and authority of Apostle. But how doth he prove that? For God doth not set Peter as the source and the origine of the Apostleship. And Peter was as much obliged to adhere to the other Apostles, as the other Apostles to Peter. Wherefore when Peter returned from the house of Cornelius he gives account of his actions, *Act. 11.* that none should believe that he was departed from the union with his brethren. And St. Paul *Gal. 1. 1.* saith himself to be an Apostle, not by man but by Jesus Christ only. As indeed he was many years in his Apostleship before he spake to Peter, or had any communication with him.

CHAP. 4.

Examination of the text of Matth. 16. 18. Thou art Peter and upon this rock. &c.

Shifts of the Cardinal.

TO all that we have said before, our Adversaries oppose the words of Christ, *Matth. 16. 18.* that after Peter had made that confession whereby he acknowledgeth Jesus to be the Christ the Son of the living God, Jesus said to him, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, &c.* By which words they pretend that Christ sets Peter to be the foundation and the Head of the Universal Church.

But since that by this text Christ puts not Peter in actual possession of any power over the Church, but only doth promise it to him, saying to him in the future, *I will give thee the Keys, &c.* we cannot understand wherein consisteth that power, but by the text whereby Christ fulfilleth the promise made in this place. That text is found, *Joh. 20. v. 21. & 23.* where Christ doth actually confer that power to all his apostles: *As my Father hath me, even so send I you. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.* There all the Apostles receive equal power. So that the power promised *Matth. 16.* unto Peter, after the resurrection, is equally conferred upon all. As also the same promise is made equally to all *Matth. 18. 18.* *Whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven &c.* Had the Apostles understood that by that text *Thou art*

Peter,

Peter, &c. Christ had conferred the primacy upon *Peter*; after that they would never have disputed about the superiority. And the Greek text, as also the Latine version puts a clear difference between the person of *Peter*, and the stone upon which the Church is founded. οὗ τῆς Πέτρας, ἢ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ Πέτρᾳ &c. *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram.* Upon that Stone and ground which thou hast now laid, namely that *Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the Living God*, the Church is founded. For the Church is not founded upon a mortal man, but upon the Son of the eternal God. The Church was before *Peter*, and at the coming of *Peter* hath not got a new ground; If it had, we should also say that *Peter* being dead, the ground of the Church should have been changed again, and another put in his room. And the faith of *Peter* should have been grounded upon his own self.

That which is the ground of the Church, is also the ground of our faith. Now our faith is not grounded upon the person of *Peter*, but upon his doctrine, which is the same as that of the other Apostles, who also are equally called foundations by the Apostle, Eph. 2. 20. *being built upon the foundation of the Prophets and the Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.* Observe that the Church is grounded upon the Prophets as well as upon the Apostles: Now it is not grounded upon the persons of the Prophets, who were dead long before St. Paul writ this; No more then upon the persons of the Apostles, but upon their doctrine, and upon Jesus Christ whom they have laid for the foundation of faith. And Rev. 21. *The wall of the City (which is the Church) had twelve foundations and in them the names of the twelve Apostles.* This is a peremptory truth, 1 Cor. 3. 11. *Other foundation can no man lay then that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.* Wherefore also the Apostle, Jude v. 20. will have us to *build up our selves on our most holy faith*, that is, upon Jesus Christ apprehended by faith: For our faith is not grounded upon men. A truth not contradicted by those texts that call the Apostles foundations; for by the Apostles the same is understood, which layeth Christ for the foundation of the Church.

Wherefore we conclude that the stone upon which Christ said that he would build his Church, is Christ himself confessed by *Peter*, or the faith and confession which *Peter* had newly made. Or if by that stone we understand the person of St. *Peter*, it is a Metonymical expression; wherein by St. *Peter* we understand his doctrine and preaching: In the same manner as we say *Tully* and *Virgil* for the works of *Tully* and *Virgil*; And as the Apostle saith Eph. 2. 20. that we are built upon the Prophets, and Apostles, that is, upon their doctrine.

The Fathers very often by that rock upon which Christ would build his Church, understand the faith and confession that *Peter* had exprest. *Cyrillus lib. 4. de Trinitate*; I think (saith he) that by that rock he understands nothing else but the unshaken and most firm faith of the Disciple. *Hilary* in his second book of the Trinity; (a) *It is the blessed only rock of faith confessed by the mouth of Peter.* And in the sixth book (b) *Upon that stone of confession the Church is built.* And in the same place, *That faith is the foundation of the Church.*

Hierom in his first book upon Mat. 7. *The Lord (c) hath founded his Church upon that rock.* From that rock the Apostle *Peter* hath got his name. *Chrysostome Hom. 55.* upon Matthew, (d) *Upon that stone I will build my Church, that is, upon the faith of the confession.*

Ambrose upon Ephes. 2. (e) *Upon that rock I shall build the Church, that is, upon the confession of the Catholick faith; I establish the faithfull unto life.* And in the book of the Sacrament of the Incarnation, chap. 5. (f) *The faith then is the foundation of the Church; for it is not of the flesh but of the faith of Peter that it is said that the gates of death shall not prevail against it. It was the confession that overcame hell.*

(a) unum igitur hoc est immobile fundamentum, una hec est fidei Petri ore confessa.
(b) Super hac confessionis Petram Ecclesie edificatio est.
(c) Hier. in Matth. Super hanc Petram Dominus fundavit Ecclesiam.

Ab hac Petra Apostolus Petrus sortitus est nomen. (d) ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πτρᾷ οικοδομήσω τὴν ἐκκλῆσίαν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν, μετὰ τῆς ἐμολογίας. (e) Unde dicit Dominus ad Petrum, Super istam Petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam, hoc est in hac Catholice fidei confessione statuo fideles ad vitam. (f) Fides est Ecclesie fundamentum; Non enim de carne Petri sed de fide dictum est, quia porte mortis ei non prevalebunt, sed confessio vicit infernum.

(g) Τὸν
 τῶν ἀποστο-
 λῶν πέτραν
 καλεῖται ὁ
 Χριστός. Πί-
 στειν ὁμοιωθεὶς
 τὸν ἀπὸ τὸν
 ταύτῃ δι-
 λογησάμενον.
 (h) Concil.
 Chalcedon,
 in scripto
 Synodica-
 rum litera-
 rum Juvena-
 lis Hieroso-
 lynitani ad
 Palestinos.
 (i) Quid est
 Super hanc
 Petram ædi-
 ficabo Ecce-
 lesiam meam?
 Super hanc
 fidem, super
 hoc quod æ-
 dum est, Tu
 es Christus.
 (k) Super
 hanc ego Pe-
 tram quam
 confessus es,
 ædificabo Ec-
 clesiam meam.
 Petra enim
 erat Christus.
 (l) Super mo-
 ipsum filium
 Dei vivi ædi-
 ficabo Ecce-
 lesiam meam.
 Super me
 ædificabo te,
 non me super
 te.
 (m) Bellar.
 l. 2. de Sum-
 mo Pontific.
 cap. 10.
 (n) Et ego
 dico tibi pro
 te & pro so-
 cist tuis quod
 tu es Petrus,
 id est confes-
 sor Petre
 vere que
 Christus est
 factus, &
 super hanc
 Petram
 quam confes-
 sus es; id est
 super Chri-
 stum ædifica-
 bo Ecclesiam
 meam.
 (o) Tu es
 Petrus, & super hanc Petram id est super hanc firmam & solidam fidei confessionem quam tu es confessus, ædificabo
 Ecclesiam meam. (p) Pag. 323. & 324.

Basilius of Seleucia in the Homily upon this place, (g) Christ having called that confession [Petram] the rock, giveth that name to Peter, who had first made that confession.

The Council of *Chalcedon*, (h) *The Church is fastened upon that confession, and upon the faith which the Apostles have given us.*

Austin upon the tenth Treatise upon the first Epistle of John, (i) *What mean these words, I will build my Church upon that rock? Upon that faith, upon that which is said, Thou art the Christ, &c.*

And in the 142. Treatise upon *John*, (k) *Upon that rock which thou hast confessed, I will build my Church, for Christ was the stone.*

And in the 13 Sermon of the words of the Lord in *St. Matthew*, *Thou art Peter, and upon that rock which thou hast confessed, upon that stone which thou hast known, saying, Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God, I will build my Church;*

(l) *I will build my Church upon my self who am the Son of the living God. I will build thee upon me, not me upon thee.* The same he saith in the fiftieth Treatise upon *John*. And whereas it had happened to him sometimes to call *Peter* the rock of the Church, he corrects himself for it in the book of *Retractions*, chap.

21. *I have said in some place (saith he) that upon Peter, as upon the rock, the Church is founded: But I know also that since I have so expounded it, that it may be understood that by that stone, I meant the stone which Peter confessed. For it was not said to him, Tu es petra, sed tu es Petrus; Thou art the stone, but thou art Peter: Now the stone was Christ.*

Upon this, two Cardinals, (m) *Bellarmino* and *Du Perron*, accuse *Austin* of ignorance, and that he understood not the language in which the Lord spake; It is (saith Cardinal *du Perron*, pag. 545.) a Grammatical error, arising in part for want of knowledge of the Hebrew and Syriack tongues, &c. And pag. 546. he saith that *Austin* is fallen into an oversight.

Nicolas de Lyra is excellent in this text. The Lord said unto *Peter*, (n) *I tell thee, that is, for thee and thy fellows, that thou art the stone, that is, the confessor of the true stone which was made the Christ, And upon that stone which thou hast confessed, that is, upon the Christ, I will build my Church.*

The ordinary Gloss saith the same?

Anselmus whom the Pope hath made a Saint, upon *Matth. 16.* saith, *Super hanc petram id est super me ædificabo Ecclesiam meam. I will build my Church upon this stone, that is upon my self.*

Hincmarus Arch-Bishop of *Rhemes*, who writ about the year of our Lord 865. in the work of 55 Chapters, Chap. 45. (o) *Thou art Peter and upon that stone, that is, upon the firm and solid confession of faith which thou hast confessed, I will build my Church.*

To the places of Fathers, which say that this stone is not the person of *Peter*, but *Jesus Christ* confessed by *Peter*, the Cardinal saith (p) that the Fathers before *Constantines* time, in whose reign the Arians rised, have understood by this stone the person of *St. Peter*; But since *Arius* began to deny the Godhead of *Christ*, the Fathers have licensed themselves to call that confession the foundation of the Church, and to change the litterall sense into a moral and tropical, that they might thence take occasion to declaim against the Arians, who by denying the Godhead of *Christ*, destroyed the foundation of the Church. This is worth observing; For thereby he accuseth the Fathers of wresting the Scripture to their advantage, and to give diverse expositions to Scripture according to the times and persons they had to do with. Thereby also he saith, that the Fathers used this text against the Arians to prove the Godhead of *Christ*, because the Church cannot be founded upon a man. If their reason be good it is impossible that by the stone upon which the Church is founded, the person of *Peter* should be understood. Note that the Fathers in the texts which we have alledged, say not only that by the stone we must understand *Christ*, or the faith and confession of *Christ*, but

also formally deny that the person of *Peter* can be understood. Whence it appeareth that not only they bring a different exposition, but also that they impugn and overthrow the other.

He saith also that these two expositions agree very well, and that the Church is formally founded upon the person of St. *Peter*, but causally upon his confession: That is, that the Church is really founded upon the person of *Peter*, but that the confession which he made, is the cause that the Church is founded upon his person. So that he will have these words, *The Church is grounded upon the person of Peter*, to be proper; but these, *The Church is grounded upon the person of Christ confessed by Peter*, to be figurate. He saith that this expression, that *the Church is founded upon the faith or confession which Peter made*, is like unto this, that *the faith of Peter marched upon the waters*, which is a very improper locution, and literally false.

Pag. 522.
Of this text
and the ma-
nifest impie-
ry, see the
Preface of
this Book.

Herein the Cardinal speaks clean contrary to truth, and there is blasphemy in his doctrine; whereby he teacheth that he that saith that the Church is founded upon Jesus Christ, or upon the faith in him, speaks improperly; but he that saith that it is founded upon the person of *Peter* speaks properly, and without figure. For Christ and his doctrine is the foundation of the Church truly, properly, and really: But the person of *Peter* is figuratively and Metonymically the foundation of the Church, taking *Peter* for his doctrine, as we say *Homer* for the book of *Homer*, and the *Prophets* for the writings of the Prophets. It is false that the faith of *Peter* is the cause that his person was made a foundation of the Church; as if the excellency of his faith and confession had deserved to receive that honour from Christ. For *Peter* had not that faith by his virtue, but by Gods inspiration: Now there is no merit in receiving the graces of God, to whom alone the praise for them is due. Besides, many before *Peter* have made the like confession; as *Nathanael*, John 1. *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel*; and the Samaritans, John 4. *We know that this is the Christ the Saviour of the world*. And the fall of *Peter* denying his Master, which hapened since, shewed what the merit of his faith could then be, and how steadfast it was.

No more truth is there in the Cardinals affirmation, that when *Peter* said to Christ, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God*, he had already been made Head of the other Apostles. That is confuted by Christs words in the same place, where he saith to *Peter*, *I will give thee the keyes of the Kingdom of heaven*. By speaking in the future, and promising to give him the keyes of the Kingdom of heaven, that is the government of the Church, he sheweth that he had not given them to him before.

Chap. 36. p.
411. of the
second Edi-
tion.

It is false also that *Peter* answered, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God*, the other Apostles holding their peace, and not knowing what to answer, as the Cardinal will have it. Is it credible that the Apostles knew not that Jesus was the son of God? having heard the Father bearing that testimony unto him from heaven, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased*? Having already preached the Gospell, the summary whereof is that sentence. Were they worse instructed then the Samaritans who long before had made that confession? or then *Nathanael*, who the very next day after *Peter* was called to the Apostleship had made that notable confession, John 1. 49. That then *Peter* set himself forth to answer the first, came out of his zeal and his wonted forwardness, not out of the ignorance of his fellows.

Pag. 523.

John 4. 42.

With the like error the Cardinal saith in the same place, that of those two expositions the one is immediate, the other mediate; the one direct, the other collateral; the one literal, the other moral; the one original, the other accessory; the one perpetual, the other temporal; the one from the beginning the other by occasion. An impious Philosophy! For can one say without impiety that this proposition that *the Church is founded upon Jesus confessed by Peter*, is an indirect and not perpetual proposition, and is not from the beginning? Certainly this was and is, and shall be for ever true. That exposition is true, not occasionally

Pag. 523.

Pag. 525.

casional but by a perpetual necessity. One would think that this Cardinal hath undertaken to make war against the Son of God.

After these so impious and so extravagant conceits he brings more of the like subtilty. He saith that the diverse uses of this word *foundation of the Church*, must be distinguished. That it is one thing to be a foundation of the faith of the Church, another thing to be a foundation of the Ministry of the Church. And of that foundation of the Ministry of the Church he makes three kinds; the first an *objective* foundation, the second a *suggestive* foundation, the third an *instrumental and organical* foundation. So he stretcheth his wit about vain and senseless conceits. For there is no objective foundation, there being no relation or proportion between being the foundation of a building, and being the object of a faculty or action. And these words, a suggestive foundation signifie nothing at all, never did any man speak so. This Cardinal pleaseth himself with his own conceits, and as Apes hold their young ones to be of excellent beauty, so doth this Prelate admire his own mishapen fancies, which he hideth in obscurity as it were with a cloud of dust, that they may be suffered to pass.

It is false also that *Peter* or the Apostles be ministerial foundations, unless by the Apostles their doctrine be understood. The authority of the Ministry is founded upon him who is the author of the same, the Lord Jesus. Otherwise the authority of *Peters* Ministry should be founded upon *Peter* himself. Which is both absurd and impossible.

CHAP. 5.

Six reasons of the Cardinal to prove that by this Stone the Person of Peter is understood.

Pag. 541.
& 542.

TO perswade that by these words *Thou art Peter, &c.* Christ foundeth his Church upon the person of St. *Peter*, the Cardinal brings six reasons, but all to no purpose. For we easily suffer that exposition, so that by the person of *Peter* his doctrine be understood, as they say the *Prophets*, to signifie the writings or the doctrine of the *Prophets*. Yet let us examine his reasons.

The first is that our Lord having foretold to *Peter* that he would change his name, puts him now in possession of that promise. And that this text cannot expound the sense of the word *Peter*, unless in the second part of the text the word *Peter* be taken in the same sense, and for the same subject, as it is taken in the first. And by consequent that sentence, Upon this stone I will build my Church, cannot be interpreted of the person of Christ, but of the only person of *Peter*.

I answer that the sense is both natural and fluent, by expounding it thus, *Thou shalt be called Peter by reason of the stone which thou hast confessed, upon which the Church is founded.* Besides, before that Christ had spoken so to *Peter*, he was already named *Peter*. So St. *Matthew* calls him in ch. 10. That name is given him by Christ in the first chapter of *John* v. 41. *Thou art Simon the son of Jona, thou shalt be called Cephas or Peter.* Which is not a prediction nor a promise, but an actual imposing of the name. As when the Angel said to *Jacob*, Gen. 32. *Thou shalt no more be called Jacob but Israel*, although he speak in the future, yet *Jacob* did at that time receive the name of *Israel*. Thus *Luke* 1. 60. *Elizabeth* naming her son said, *His name shall be John.*

The second reason is, that our Saviour intends in this place to return to *Peter* that which *Peter* had done for him in his discourse. Now *Peter* had done two things, the one to declare the appellative name of our Lord, which is Christ, the other to expound the sense and the energy of the same word Christ, saying thou art the Christ the son of the living God. Wherefore the law of the antithesis required that not only the Lord should declare a name unto him, saying, *Thou art Peter*, but also should expound unto him the energy of that name, saying, *I shall build my Church,*

which

which could not take place, unless by the word Peter in this second sentence the person of Peter be understood, &c.

But here the Cardinal is out, to think that these words, *Thou art the Son of the living God*, be the exposition of the word *Christ*. For *Christ* is a name of office; but to be the son of the living God, belongs to his nature, and is an exposition of the same.

The third reason is, that it had been altogether out of purpose to make mention of the name of Peter, considering the nature of the discourse that *Christ* was to use with him, if by these words, and upon this stone, he had not meant the person of Peter. For this word Peter had no relation to the keys, but to building.

But that reason is without reason. The word *stone* or *rock* hath relation to the next sentence, *I will build my Church*: And that relation stands alike whether by the word *stone* the person of Peter be understood, or the *stone* confessed by Peter.

The fourth reason is that it would have been an ill Grammatical coherence to say, *I declare unto thee that thou art Peter, and that upon that stone which is my self, I will build my Church, and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven*.

But the coherence is very good, taking thus the words of our Saviour, *I tell thee that thy name is Peter, and that upon the stone which thou hast taken for thy foundation, namely that I am Christ the son of God, I will build my Church*.

The fifth reason is, that the Pronoun *this* is relative, which must be referred to the Antecedent already express'd.

I answer that the text of *Matthew* sheweth that the pronoun *this*, is not the relative of Peter: For the relative must agree in gender with the antecedent. But there is in *Matthew* οὗ ἐστὶν Πέτρος, *Tu es Petrus*, and then in the feminine ἧ ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν πέτραν *super hanc petram*.

Finally, he saith that our Saviour would make such an allusion to the name of Peter, as would seem to confirm and approve the imposed surname. Which I grant, For it is as if *Christ* had told him, *Thou art with good reason called Peter, because by calling me the Christ the son of the living God, thou layest the fundamental stone upon which I shall build my Church*.

CHAP. 6.

Other proofs brought by the Cardinal out of Scripture.

HE heapeth up more proofs for St. Peters primacy. He alledgeth that to him it was said, *I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of heaven*. By the keys of the kingdom of heaven nothing else is understood but the government of the Church, which often in Scripture is called the Kingdom of heaven, and the Kingdom of God. It is the style of Scripture to understand by the keys, the government of the house. Thus *Isa.* 22. 21. God promiseth to *Eliakim* the charge of High Steward in the Kings house, *The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder, so he shall open and none shall shut, and he shall shut and none shall open*. And *Rev.* 3. it is written that *Christ* hath the key of *David*, that is, the government of the Church. That key was given not only to Peter, but also to all the Apostles. For *Christ* having asked all his Apostles, *Whom say ye that I am*, and Peter having answered for all, hath received also the keys of the Kingdom of heaven for all, as (a) *Austin* saith in the fiftieth and one hundred and eighteenth Treatise upon St. *John*, and *Hierom* in the first book against *Jovinian*. They all receive the keys of the Kingdom of heaven, and upon them the steadfastness of the

Pag. 529.
(a) Aug.
Tract. 50. in
Joh. Si hoc
Petro tantum
dictum est
non facit hoc
Ecclesia. Et
paulo post;
Petrus quan-
do claves ac-
cepit, Ecclesi-
am sanctam
significavit.
Idem Tract.
118. Petro
dicitur, Tibi
dabo claves,
&c. tanquam

ligandi & solvendi solus acciperet potestatem; cum & illud pro omnibus dixerit, & hoc cum omnibus tanquam per-
sonam gerens ipsius unitatis accepit.

Church

The Cardinal is not ashamed to use for *Peters* primacy, that which is said in *Matthews* Gospel, that *Jesus* Christ commanded *Peter* to pay tribute for him and for himself, which is a proof unworthy to be confuted.

CHAP. VII.

Of Cyprians opinion about Peters primacy, and that the Cardinal hath not understood it. And how all the Apostles have been heads of the Universal Church.

Cyprian in the book of the unity of the Church, held, that before the resurrection of Christ *Peter* alone had the primacy, but that after the resurrection all the Apostles were made equal, so that by his reckoning, his Primacy continued but two or three years at the most. He saith that Christ would have that primacy to be at the first, in one man only, before it was communicated to many, that the dignity should begin by one, to shew the unity of the Church, and that all Bishops, though in several Countries, make but one chair, and one succession. His words are these, (a) *Although the Lord after his resurrection give to his Apostles an equal power, and say, As my Father hath sent me, so do I send you, Receive the Holy Ghost: Whose sins soever ye remit, they shall be remitted. Yet to shew the unity, he hath established one chair, and hath by his authority disposed the origine of the unity, beginning by one. The other Apostles indeed were the same thing as Peter was, endowed with the like honour and power; but the beginning proceeds from unity, to shew that the Church is one.*

The Cardinal is not far from that opinion. (b) Only he addeth one thing of his own, which *Cyprian* saith not, That Christ gave to other Apostles part in the authority which he had given to St. *Peter*. And that this privilege to be the foundation of the Church was originally in *Peter*, but in the others by association and aggregation. Wherein he differs from *Cyprians* doctrine, who saith that *Peter* was the head of the Church before the other Apostles only in time, not in degree; and saith not that the dignity of the other Apostles was grounded upon that of *Peter*, and makes it not depend from his primacy. He saith indeed that he that abandoneth *Peters* chair, cannot be in the Church. But by *Peters* chair he understands not that of the Roman Bishop only, but (c) the whole body of Bishops, whom he holds to be all sitting in that chair, and to have a solid and joint part in that succession. Herein also the Cardinal contradicteth St. *Paul*, who in the beginning of the Epistle to the *Galatians*, saith himself to be an Apostle not of men, nor by man, but by *Jesus Christ*. And chap. 2. ver. 6. he saith that they that seemed to be somewhat (he speaketh of the most excellent Apostles) added nothing to him: Which should be false if his Apostleship had been grounded upon *Peter*, and had taken origine from him. And really he had exercised his Apostleship many years before he spake with *Peter*, and before he had any communication with him.

To the words of *Cyprian*, which say that Christ gave to his Apostles an equal power after his resurrection, and that they were all endowed with the like honour and authority, the Cardinal brings a distinction; saying that *Cyprian* speaketh of the inward and essential power of the Apostleship, not of that which is external and accidental to the Apostleship. And that they were equal as for the power, not as for the order of the exercise of the power. He casteth those dark words, as a black smock before the eyes of the Reader, for fear of being perceived. He meaneth that they were equal in that which is essential to the Apostleship, but not in the primacy, which is accidental and not essential to the Apostleship. But *Cyprian* clearly confutes that distinction, making them equal in honour: Now the chief honour which our Adversaries attribute unto *Peter*, is the honour of the primacy. Besides, *Cyprian* saith that the Lord, *Mat. 16.* established *Peter* to be the head of the Church, but that after his resurrection he made them equal; which is saying clearly enough, that after the resurrection he

are not found in the other copies. (b) Pag. 529. (c) *Cyprian*, l. de unitate Ecclesiae, §. Episcopatus unus est cuius à singulis in solidum pars tenetur.

(a) *Quamvis Apostolus omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat, & dicat, Sicut misit me Pater, & ego mitto vos, Accipite Spiritum Sanctum. Si cui remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi; Si cui tenueritis, tenebuntur: Tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unam ecclesiam constituit & unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique ceteri Apostoli quod Petrus, pari consorcio praediti & honoris & potestatis: Sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur ut Ecclesia una monstretur. Pamelius hath corrupted that place, and hath added this, Supra Petrum unum Christus edificat Ecclesiam suam: Alfo Primatus Petro datur. Which words*

made them all heads, and that *Peter* had no more that primacy. Our Adversaries say that (*Mat. 16.*) *Peter* was established head of the Universal Church, which is a thing accidental to the Apostleship. Now it is in that very thing that *Cyprian* saith that Christ made the other Apostles equal unto *Peter*; that is, in the prerogative which he had before his resurrection; making them all after the resurrection of Christ equal both in honour and power. How equall in power, if *Peter* had power over them? And how equall in honour, if *Peter* had alone the primacy over the Universal Church?

Because the Fathers say very often that all Bishops are successors of the Apostles, and of *St. Peter*: the Cardinal saith that the Bishop of *Rome* alone is successor of *St. Peter* by a direct succession, but that the others Bishop are sitting in *St. Peters* chair, and are in some sort his successors by an oblique and indirect succession. But the most esteemed among the Popes, *Gregory* the I. firnamed the Great, did not know that distinction. For in the 37. Epistle of the first book, he excolleth the dignity of the three Sees of *St. Peter*, which are *Rome*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria*. Then he addeth, (d) *Whereas then the See is one, and of one man, over which See three Bishops preside now by divine authority, all the good which I hear of you, I attribute unto my self; and if you hear any good of me, impute it to your merit.* And in the fifth book, Epist. 66. he writes thus to the Bishop of *Alexandria* (e). *We are tyed together by the union between the Master and the Disciple [St. Peter and St. Mark.] so that it seems that I preside over the See of the Disciple, because of the Master; and that you preside over the Masters See, because of the Disciple.* There not only he makes the Bishops of *Alexandria* equally successors of *St. Peter* with him, but also he saith that they preside over the Roman See in some sort. And he equalleth the Bishops of *Antioch* and *Alexandria* to that of *Rome*, as sitting in the same chair, and having the same succession. And truly if *Peter* hath been Bishop of *Antioch*, and the Bishops of *Antioch* are descended from him in a direct line; I see not why the Cardinal makes them his successors in a collateral and indirect line. That he affirmeth with his own meer authority, and brings no other authority for it.

(d) Cum ergo unus atque una sit sedes cui ex auctoritate divina tres nunc Episcopi president.
(e) Huius nos Magistri & Discipuli auctoritate constringimur ut & ego sedi Discipuli presidere videar propter Magistrum & vos sedi Magistri propter Discipulum.

CHAP. VIII.

of *St. Peters* being at *Rome*.

Examination of the Cardinals reasons.

VV Hether *St. Peter* hath been at *Rome* or not, and whether he suffered Martyrdom there, is a question of no use for the establishing the primacy of the Bishop of *Rome*. For it is not necessary that he hath given preeminences to all the places where he made some stay. If he was put to death at *Rome*, it is rather a disgrace to the City of *Rome* then an honour, to have murdered such an excellent Apostle. Thus our Saviour marketh *Jerusalem* with a note of infamy for killing the Prophets. Or if the abode and martyrdom of *Peter* at *Rome* is considerable for conferring the primacy upon the Bishop of *Rome*, much rather ought the Bishop of *Jerusalem* have the Primacy, since Christ was crucified at *Jerusalem*; and that it was for a good while the dwelling place of all the Apostles. Had *St. Peter* died at *Milan*, or at *Capua*, or in *Caper-naum*, none would for that defer to the Bishops of those places the government of the Universal Church. Nevertheless *M. du Perron*, after others, thinking thereby to confirm powerfully the Popes primacy, treats that question at large, and giveth to that matter the 31. chapter of his first book.

Luke 13.

I do acknowledge freely, in the very beginning of this controversie, that this opinion hath been received among the Fathers, that *St. Peter* was at *Rome* and there died; yet the most antient of them that speak of it are (a) *Irenaeus* and

(a) Irenaeus lib. 3. cap. 3.

and (b) *Tertullian* who writ about a hundred and thirty years after St. *Peters* death, which is a sufficient time to give course to a false opinion.

(b) *Tertull.*
d. præscrip-
tionibus.
cap. 36.

I purpose not to oppose the testimony of the Antients, nor to deny absolutely that St. *Peter* was at *Rome*. Only I say that this matter is so involved with fables, that the untruths added to it, are sufficient to bring all the truths in question. It is easie to shew that the Traditions about that, received by our Adversaries, that St. *Peter* after he had been seven years Bishop of *Antioch*, transported his See to *Rome*, where he was Bishop and first Pope five and twenty years together, are things inconsistent, and whereof the untruth is evident.

The Cardinal in the forealledged chap. 31. begins by our objections, which he sets forth neither in the manner nor in the order that we propound them, and brings weak reasons for us, such as we would not insist upon. Here then I will insist only upon that which I think to be solid, and set down our reasons, such as they are indeed, not such as he makes them.

I. We say then that if St. *Peter* had been Pope at *Rome* so long, some traces should be extant in the *Acts of the Apostles*, or in some Antient Author of good credit, of a thing so notable; some description, or some mention of his journey, and of the places where he past going from *Syria* to *Rome*. The first that described St. *Peters* journey was *Simcon Metaphrastes*, about eight hundred and fifty years after Christs birth; an Author notoriously fabulous, whom (c) *Baronius* very often accuseth of untruth. In vain the Cardinal answereth that St. *Luke* in the *Acts* follows especially the actions of St. *Paul* his Master. For besides that *Luke* speaks often of St. *Peter*, even since the conversion of *Paul*, that action of transporting the seat of the Ecclesiastical Monarchy from the East to the West, is such an important and publick thing, that it should not have been buried in silence, but made known to all the Churches of the world. That man should be strangely negligent, who writing the Roman History of *Constantines* time, should say nothing of the removing of the Roman Empire to *Constantinople*.

(c) *Ann. 44.*
Sect. 17.

II. But who will believe that such an excellent Apostle hath been so long in the first City of the world, upon such a high stage, among so many combats, and left behind him no Sermon, and no record of his miracles and of his combats against the enemies of the Gospel? Doubtless not only the Christian Authors, but even the Pagan Historians, of which that age was so fertile, had not been silent of him; seeing that the miracles of *Apollonius Thyaneus*, who lived near about the same time have been recorded, and the Apophthegmes of one *Demetrius* a Cynick who lived then at *Rome*, and of *Florus* a begging Philosopher, have been recorded.

It is true that some Antients say that St. *Peter* fought at *Rome* in the sight of all the people against *Simon Magus*, who being carried up in the air in a fiery Chariot fell down at the prayers of St. *Peter*, and brake his neck. But such a publike and wonderfull accident had not been forgotten by the Pagan Authors of that age, as *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny* and others. *Aufine* in his Epistle to *Casulanus*, which is the 86. saith that many Romans hold that narration to be false: Where *Aufin* speaks not only of the fact whereby *Peter* prepared himself for that combat (as M. du Perron will have it) but of the whole story. There being no likelihood of ground for thinking it false, that *Peter* prepared himself by fasting for so great a combat. St. *Aufin* was too prudent to make that fact to be suspected as fabulous.

(d) *Justin.*
Mar. Apol. 2.
Σίμων ἀρ-
είων παρ
ὧν ὡς
θεὸς τῶν
ὡ ἀνδρῶν
ἀνδρῶν
ἐν τῷ Τίβερει
ποταμῷ
μεταξὺ τοῦ
ἁγίου Πέτρου
ἐστὶν ὁμοῦ
Σίμωνος
Σάργου.

The same appears also in that (d) *Justin Martyr* in his second Apology, and *Tertullian* in the Apologetick, say that the Romans had honoured *Simon Magus* with a Statue inscribed *To Simon the Holy God*. For if the Romans had seen him thus cast headlong at St. *Peters* prayer, they had rather erected a Statue to *Peter*, instead of crucifying him. *Baronius* on the year 44. §. 55. saith, that under *Gregory X III.* in the Isle of *Tiber* was found a stone with this inscription, *Semoni Sango Deo*. It is that God whom the antient Romans called *Sanctas & Diespiter*, which *Varro* mentions in his fourth book of the Latin tongue. And *Ovid. Fastor. 4.*

*Quarebam Nonas Sancto Fidione referrem,
Antibi Semo pater, &c.*

It is credible that the ancient Christians little skilled in the Roman antiquity, seeing that inscription in the basis of a statue, thought it was the statue of *Simon Magnus*.

Pag. 183.

III. It is very considerable also that *St. Paul*, in the last chapter of the Epistle which he writ to the Church of *Rome*, saluteth a great number of persons; among others, some whom he calls his helpers in Christ, and his work-fellows; but he makes no mention of *Peter*, who (if he had been at *Rome*) should have been saluted the first. *M. du Perron* answereth, that the Epistle to the *Romans* was written while the Jews were out of *Rome*, and that *St. Peter* was relegated into the East. A thing evidently false and convinced of untruth, by the names of the persons that then were at *Rome* whom *St. Paul* saluteth. For he saluteth *Priscilla* and *Aquila* which were Jews, as it appeareth, *Acts* 18. 2. who being banisht out of *Rome* by the Emperour *Claudius*, like the other Jews retired to *Corinth*, but since returned to *Rome*, and there continued; for when *Paul* came to *Rome*, he conferred with the Jews that lived there, *Acts* 28. 17.

As for *Peter*, if he was banisht out of *Rome* with the other Jews, I see no reason why he was rather relegated into the East (as *M. du Perron* saith) then his Countrey-men that went to *Corinth* and other places. Besides, *St. Peter* was a Jew, and therefore of the East. Now none is relegated into his own Countrey. A Jew cannot be banisht into *Judea*.

The Cardinal adds that if this argument take place, we must conclude also that *Timothy* was not Bishop of *Ephesus*, because *St. Paul* writing to the Ephesians salutes not *Timothy*; And that *St. James* was not Bishop of *Jerusalem*, because *St. Paul* writing to the Hebrews, doth not salute *St. James*, and makes not any mention of him. But this Cardinal is short here, and apprehends not that the strength of our argument lyeth not, in that *Paul* writing to the Romans salutes not *Peter*, but in that he saluting many persons of the Church of *Rome*, and naming them, and saluting especially his helpers in Christ, and work-fellows in the Gospel, he nameth not *Peter*, and salutes him not. If *St. Paul* writing to the Ephesians while he was there had saluted many persons making no mention of *Timothy*, there had been reason to find it strange. Note by the way the Cardinals ignorance, who thinks that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written particularly to the Church of *Jerusalem*, seeing that it is written to the Jews scattered over all the world. If it had been addressed in particular to the Church of *Jerusalem*, the Apostle would rather have written to them in the Jewish language, and would not have alledged Scripture unto them according to the version of the Septuagint, but as it was read in the Synagogues of *Jerusalem*.

IV. Moreover, it is not likely, that *St. Paul* would have written such a long Epistle unto the Church of *Rome* to instruct them in the Christian religion, if they had then enjoyed the daily instruction of *Peter* the Apostle. At least he would have given some reason in that Epistle why he would instruct the Church of *Rome*, which having such an excellent Pastor as *St. Peter*, did not want instruction. And he would have exhorted the *Romans* to value very highly that singular grace of God, to have provided for them such an holy and excellent Apostle.

V. Observe also that *St. Paul* writ to the *Romans*, being at *Corinth*, two years and above before his journey to *Rome*, which he took in the second year of *Nero*, when *Festus* was sent to succeed *Felix* Governour of *Judea*. Now the five first years of *Nero* past with all lenity, neither did *Nero* then oppress or persecute any; so that no persecution could constrain *Peter* to absent himself from *Rome*, if he had been Bishop of *Rome* at that time. And *Pauls* coming to *Rome* at that time shews sufficiently that *Peter* was not then at *Rome*; for *St. Luke*, *Acts* 28. 15. & seq. relateth how some of the brethren came to meet him, and how being come

come to the City, he visited the chief of the Jews; Of visiting *Peter*, or any communication with him, no mention is made, and yet he should have begun his visits there.

VI. While *Paul* sojourned at *Rome* he writ many Epistles; to the *Galatians*, to the *Ephesians*, to the *Philippians*, to the *Colossians*, to *Philemon*, and the second to *Timothy*, as it appears by the subscription of the Epistles, which (though not Canonical) are not to be contemned. In the Epistle to the *Galatians* he defends the honour of his Apostleship, against those that would abase it, making him much inferiour unto other Apostles. To that end he saith that the most eminent (meaning *James*, *Peter* and *John*) having perceived the grace that was given unto him, gave him the right hand of fellowship, receiving him in the society of the Apostles. Had the Apostle *Paul* lost memory or common sense, that he should omit his present condition, which would have served more then any other thing to raise the dignity of his Apostleship? For he could have said that *Peter* had received him for his associate in the conduct of the first Church of the world, where was the seat of the Primacy over the Universal Church. To say that the Epistle to the *Galatians* was written before that to the *Romans*, (as the Cardinal deemeth) is contradicting the subscription of the Epistle to the *Galatians*, which saith expressly, that it was written from *Rome*, and by consequent after the Epistle to the *Romans*, which was written from *Corinth*, long before *Paul* came to *Rome*. Gal. 2. 6, 7, 8.

VII. In the Epistle to the *Colossians*, written also from *Rome*, chap. 4. v. 10, 11. He saith that *Aristarchus* and *Marcus*, and *Iesus* which is called *Iustus*, were his only fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, which had been a comfort unto him. Where was *St. Peter* then? Is it credible that he was not joined with *St. Paul* to help him in the work of the Gospel, and to be a comfort unto him? Or shall we say that *Paul* envied him that praise? Note also that he speaks not of those that served him at home, but of those that were his coadjutors in the Kingdom of God, that is, in the work of the Gospel.

VIII. It is not to be omitted that Gal. 2. 7. *Paul* saith that the Gospel of the circumcision was committed unto *Peter*, that is, the charge of announcing the Gospel unto the Jews; for which it was more convenient for him to live in *Judea*, or *Syria*, or *Idumea*, or *Egypt*, or *Cyrene*, which swarmed with Jews, then at *Rome*, where there was but few Jews at that time, and those subject to banishment, and exposed to much oppression and scorn: (e) They sold matches beyond the *Tyber*, were fortune-tellers, lay in the Forest of *Aricinum*, and were in great contempt.

IX. The same Apostle, *Rom.* 15. 23. saith to the *Romans*, that he had a great desire to come to them, for he intended to advance the work of God at *Rome*. Now he had told them, ver. 20. that his custome was not to build upon another mans foundation, that is, to announce the Gospel in such places where some other Apostle had already founded the Church. He presupposeth then that *Peter* had not founded the Roman Church.

X. But that which makes the abode of *Peter* at *Rome*, and his being Bishop there more uncertain, is the dissent which is found among the Antients about that matter.

Eusebius in his Chronicle, according to *Hieroms* version, saith that *St. Peter* having been the first founder of the Church of *Antioch*, was sent to *Rome* to preach the Gospel, where he was Bishop of the said City five and twenty years together. But that place is falsified and corrupted, for in the Greek text of *Eusebius* these words where he was five and twenty years a Bishop, are not found. Yet that which *Eusebius* saith, that *Peter* was sent, sheweth that he was subject to the college of the Apostles, since he received his mission from them.

The Pontifical of *Damasus* in the life of *Linus*, saith that *Linus* was Bishop of *Rome* from the Consulate of *Saturninus* and *Scipio*, which was in the second year of *Nero*, unto the Consulate of *Capito* and *Rufus*, which fell in the thirteenth year of the same Emperour. By which reckoning *Linus* was eleven years Bishop of

(e) Martial.
Epigr. l. 1.
Hoc quod
transiberinus
ambulator
qui pallentia
sulfurata
fractis permu-
tat vitreis.
Juvenalis.
Occultam
Judæa susur-
rat in aurem.
Qualiacumq;
voles Judæi
somnia ven-
dunt.

of Rome. But in those eleven years our Adversaries say that *Peter* was Bishop of Rome. Which if it be true, there was two Bishops or Popes at Rome at the same time.

(f) *Petrus* a
Nerone af-
fixus cruci,
martyrio
coronatus est,
capite ad
terram verso,
& in sublime
pedibus ele-
vatus, afferens
se indignum
ut sic crucifi-
geretur ut
Dominus
fuit.

As for St. *Peters* death, (f) *Hierom* in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers saith, that in the last year of *Nero*, which was the fourteenth, *Peter* was crucified at Rome with his head downwards; because he held not himself worthy to be crucified in the same form as Christ his Lord was; as if the form of the punishment were at the choice of him that is punished. Also that he was buried in the Vatican neer the triumphal street. Now he could not be buried there presently after his death. For it is not credible that the Roman Magistrate would have suffered that the body of a fellow, executed with the most infamous punishment of all, should be buried in an honourable place, where none was buried before. *Eusebius* in the last chapter but one of the second book of his history, saith, & Πέτρον ἀνασκολοπιθῆναι, that *Peter* was nailed to a piece of wood, but of that turning of his head downwards he speaks never a word.

The first Decretal of *Clement* the V. giveth notice to *James* of the death of *Peter*. If we believe that Epistle, *Peter* dyed before *James*. Now *James* dyed in the seventh year of *Nero*; So the furthest time that can be assigned to *Peters* death by that account, must be the sixth year of *Nero*, in which time *Nero* had not begun yet to persecute the Christians; not the fourteenth year, as *Hierom* saith. Our Adversaries cannot accuse that Epistle of untruth, since Pope *Leo* IX. in his fourth Epistle, and *Gregory* the VII. in the thirty sixth Epistle, and the Council of *Varson* alledge it. And the Jesuite *Turrianus* made a book purposely for the defence of these Decretals.

(g) In Templo
Apollinis, in
monte aureo,
in Vaticano
palatii Nero-
niani.

In the first Tome of the Councils there is an Epistle of *Cornelius* Bishop of Rome, where he saith that he hath buried the body of St. *Peter* (g) in the Temple of *Apollo*, in the golden Mount, in the Vatican of the Pallace of *Nero*, where also he saith that the bodies of many Bishops lye; All fables and forged tales, for *Cornelius* would not have laid St. *Peters* body in a Temple of Idols: and if he had offered to do it, the Pagans would not have suffered it; Especially in a time when the Church of Rome was hidden and cruelly persecuted. And *Nero's* Pallace was not a place where any was buried; and that golden Mount is an imaginaty place. And the Pagans did not bury in their Temples.

(h) Πέτρος ὁ
δὲ & παύλος
ἑαυτῶν
κρυφθέντες,
& Παύλος
ὁ Ἀποστόλος
ἐκ σφραγῆς
χαλασθεὶς
& συζῶν,
ἀκούσας τε, εἰ
Ρώμῃ δει-
νῆμα μαρ-
τυρῆσαι, καὶ
ἀντιβάνοντο
τῷ ἀποστό-
λῳ, χαί-
ροντες δὲ
καὶ ἄλλοι
ἀπὸ λαοῦ, καὶ ὁ
μὲν [Πέτρος]
ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐκείνου ἐξάν-
τητο σὺν ὅμοι-
ν.

If any must be believed in a matter, the relation whereof is so various, it seems to be *Athanasius*, to whose authority, that of other Fathers ought not to be compared. He then in his first Apology for his flight speaks thus (h). *Peter* who hid himself for fear of the Jews, and *Paul* who was let down in a basket and fled, having heard this voice, You must suffer Martyrdom at Rome, did not shrink back from that journey, but rather went rejoicing. And *Peter* rejoiced when they cut his throat, as returning to his own kindred. Three things he saith of *Peter*. The one, that the Jews sought to put him to death. The other that *Peter* and *Paul* were not taken at Rome, but that both took their journey to Rome, there to suffer Martyrdom. (He meaneth, it seems, that the Jews having delivered them to the Romans, these Apostles were at several times brought to Rome) The third thing which he saith, is, that *Peter* had his throat cut, not then that he was crucified. Wherefore I wonder how *Eusebius*, contrary to the testimony of *Athanasius*, would say that *Peter* was nailed to a piece of wood.

Other fables are said of *Pauls* (i) death, that when he was beheaded, out of his neck issued not blood, but milk.

The like dissent is between Writers about the successors of *Peter*, and that dissent breeds a very thick darkness. *Tertullian* in the thirty second chapter of *Prescriptions*, and *Hierom* upon *Isa.* 52. and in the first book against *Jovinian*, put *Clement* immediately after St. *Peter*. *Optatus* in the first book against *Parmenian*, puts *Linus*, and then *Clement*, and next to him *Evaristus*. *Hierome* in the first book of Ecclesiastical writers, speaking of *Clement*, puts him the fourth after *Peter*. *Anastatius* the Library-keeper, and *Luisprandus* say the same. But *Eusebius* in his Chronicle, and *Irenaeus* confound *Clerus* with *Anacletus*, as being but one.

For

(i) Baron.
an 69. §. 12.

for which (k) *Epiphanius* in the twenty seventh heresie brings divers reasons, saying that the truth is not evident to him. It is no wonder then, if the succession of some particular Bishop be doubtfull, and if the Authors vary upon the names of the successors. But it is not credible that if the Bishop of *Rome* had been the Head of the Universal Church, the name and number of the first that held that Monarchy; could have been uncertain; and that in a flourishing age, where there was no want of Writers. As if there were a dispute about the next successor of *Augustus* or *Charlemagen*.

(k) *Epiph.*
contra *Car-*
pocrat.
hær. 27.

But when our Adversaries are put to find the seven years, in which they say that *St. Peter* held his See at *Antioch*, and the five and twenty in which they say that he held it at *Rome*, they find themselves in a maze, and involved with insoluble difficulties: for there being but thirty six or thirty seven years from the death of Christ to that of *Peter*, if from them you take off the seven years of his sojourning at *Antioch*, and the twenty five of his ruling the See of *Rome*, there will remain to him but four or five years to do all the things that are said of him in the *Acts* of the Apostles, and in the Epistle to the *Galatians*; which yet could not have been done in less than eighteen or twenty years.

Suppose that the conversion of *Paul* happened a year after the death of Christ, as Cardinal *Baronius* will have it, and after him Cardinal *du Perron*, which passage yet we will shew hereafter to have happened above six years later.

Gal. 1. 18. *St. Paul* saith that three years after his conversion he went up to *Jerusalem* to visit *Peter*.

Twelve years after Christs death, *St. Peter* is committed in the prisons of *Jerusalem* by *Herod Agrippa*, *Acts 12.* For that happened in the last year of that *Herod*, the second or third year of the Emperour *Claudius*. So twelve years are past already, and *Peter* is still in *Judea*, and hath not yet fixed his See at *Antioch*. Which is confirmed by *Eusebius* in the fifth book of his History, chap. 17. where he saith that a certain *Apollonius* knew by a Tradition come from the Apostles, that Christ before he ascended into heaven, had commanded his Apostles to abide at *Jerusalem* twelve whole years. Not but that it was lawfull for them to go out of the Town to visit the neighbouring Churches, but their ordinary residence was as *Jerusalem*. Thus *Peter* dwelling at *Jerusalem*, yet went to *Lydda*, *Samaria*, and *Cesarea*. Which agreeth very well with that relation, *Acts 8. 1.* that after *Stevens* death, the Church of *Jerusalem* was dissipated, and scattered in diverse places; the Apostles only excepted, who stayed at *Jerusalem*. They would not think of flying out of *Jerusalem*, notwithstanding the peril to obey Christs prohibition.

Act. 9. 10, 11.

We learn *Acts 11. 20.* that the Church of *Antioch* was founded a little before *Peters* imprisonment; not by *Peter*, but by the preaching of some *Cyprians* and *Cyrenians*, who first announced the Gospel in *Antioch* unto the Gentiles, and that for the advancing of that holy work, *Barnabas* was sent from *Jerusalem*, who joyned *Paul* with himself. And a famine being shortly after in *Judea*, the Disciples of *Antioch* sent some relief by the hands of *Barnabas* and *Saul* unto the Churches of *Judea* that were pincht with famine and poverty, *Act. 11. 29.* In all that work *Peter* had no part, whence it is evident that he was not yet Bishop of *Antioch*.

Barnabas and *Saul* being come to *Jerusalem* found *Peter* prisoner; for in the first verse of the chapter following, we read that (l) at or about the same time *Herod* stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church, and apprehended *Peter*.

(l) *ἡ*
ἐκείνη
ᾧ
ᾠκείῃ
ᾠ

Onuphrius an Augustinian Monk, the most learned in history of all our Adversaries, saith that *Peter* being come out of prison, went immediately into *Antioch* twelve years after Christs death. But that is contradicted by the history of the *Acts*; for in the beginning of the thirteenth chapter an enumeration is made of the holy men that served the Church of *Antioch*, among which *Peter* is not named. So that already thirteen years at the least are past since Christs death, and *Peter* is not yet Bishop of *Antioch*.

Let

Gal. 2. 1.

Let us follow the thread of the history. We have said that *Paul* three years after his conversion came to *Jerusalem*, and there saw *Peter*, with whom he was fifteen dayes. The same Apostle saith in the following chapter, that fourteen years after he went up again to *Jerusalem*, where he saw *James*, *Cephas* and *John*, who gave to him and *Barnabas* the right hand of fellowship. Whether you reckon those fourteen years from his conversion, or rather (as it is more likely) from his first journey to *Jerusalem*, they will be above fifteenth years since Christs death, and St. *Peter* is still in *Judea*, and hath not yet seated himself in *Antioch*.

In the fifteenth of the *Acts* a Council is kept at *Jerusalem*, where *Paul* being sent from *Antioch*, was present, and *Peter* also. Our Cardinal will have that Council to be upon the eighteenth year after the death of Christ. All which time from the death of Christ, *Peter* is still found in *Judea*, never in *Antioch*.

Suppose that presently after that Council, *Peter* set his See in *Antioch*, and there lived seven years, which yet doth not appear; yet twenty five years are already past since our Saviours death before *Peter* was at *Rome*. And yet you must find some years for him to visit the Churches of *Asia*, *Pontus*, and *Galatia*, to which he directeth his first Epistle; which Churches he visited after his residence at *Antioch*, according to *Hieromes* testimony in his Catalogue.

By that calculation some twelve years should remain for *Peter* to reside in *Rome*. But if *Pauls* conversion did not happen but seven or eight years after our Saviours death, hardly will four or five years remain, and the twenty five years of *Peters* holding his Bishops See at *Rome* shall be reduced to the sixth part.

The Cardinal to rid himself of these difficulties, doth two things. First, he makes St. *Peter* to take many journeys from *Rome* to *Judea*, and transports him in an instant from *Rome* to *Jerusalem*. Of which journeys not the least mention is made in all Antiquity. It had been a shorter course to put him in many places at the same time, as well as the body of Christ in many millions of places in the same moment. Secondly, he hastens the conversion of St. *Paul*, and will have him converted the very first year after the Lords death. A thing very unlikely. For the persecution and the martyrdom of *Steven* preceded the conversion of *Paul*, there being an intervall between, in which *Paul* did persecute many. Now that persecution about *Steven* happened many years after Christs death. In the end of the Greek Chronicle of *Eusebius*, set out by *Josephus Scaliger*, there is a little book intituled the *Epitome of times*, which saith that the martyrdom of *Steven* happen seven years after Christs Passion. *Nicephorus* in the second book, chap. 3. alledgeth *Enodius* the next successeur to *Peter* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, who saith that *Steven* died seven years after our Saviours death, and that *Paul* was converted six moneths after. To which *Enodius*, as more ancient, and contemporary to the Apostles, we must give more credence then to the Chronicle of *Eusebius*. Beside it is not credible that this persecution was raised against the Christians by the Jews in the first year after the Lords death, because *Tiberius* was then living, who would not have permitted that persecution. For *Tertullian* in the first chapter of the Apologetick, and *Eusebius* in his Chronicle, testifie that *Tiberius* favoured the Christians, and prohibited upon heavy penalties that they should be accused. It is more credible that this persecution happened in the beginning of the Empire of *Caligula*, which meets with the seventh year after the Lords death.

Moreover, if St. *Paul* was converted the first year after the Lords death, it will follow that the eight first chapters of the book of the *Acts* of the Apostles, and half the ninth, contain no more but the history of one year, and that the two following chapters contain the history of ten or eleven years. For that which is related in the eleventh and twelfth chapters happened twelve years after Christs death.

Such are our reasons, not those which M. du Perron frameth for us, to the number

number of twelve: Which having set forth such as he would, he takes after a great deal of pains to confute them.

As for reasons and proofs out of the word of God, to shew that *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome*, he brings none, but the last verse but one of the first Epistle of *Peter*, where he saith, *The Church that is at Babylon salutes you, and Marcus my son. For* (saith he) *Babylon is Rome, and the word Marcus is a Roman name. And Papias* by the relation of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, saith, that *Marcus* being desired at *Rome* by the brethren, writ a short Gospel, which *Peter* having read, approved of it.

For answer, I say that it is doubtfull whether by *Babylon* *Peter* understands the *Babylon* of *Chaldea*, or the City of *Rome*, or the whole body of the Paganism, under which the Christian Church suffered persecution. As *Rev.* 18. by these words, *Come out of Babylon my people*, God commands not his people to come out of the City of *Rome*, but out of Popery, and out of the subjection under the Roman Hierarchy. Yet let us suppose that by *Babylon* *Peter* understands *Rome*; what can be inferred thence, but that *Peter* was at *Rome*? But that proveth not that he was Bishop of *Rome*, or that he hath set there the seat of the primacy over the Church, or that he hath continued there long.

In one thing the Cardinals judgement was short, when he reprov'd *Erasmus* for saying that the *Babylon* which St. *Peter* speaks of, is the *Babylon* of (m) *Assyria*, admiring the ignorance of *Erasmus*, for not knowing that when St. *Peter* writ this Epistle, there was no more Jews in *Babylon*, as *Iosephus* testifies. To what purpose that? and what doth it against *Erasmus*? Is it not enough that *Babylon* had some Christians, though they were no Jews? for those Christians were the Church of *Babylon*.

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(m) The Cardinal should have said *Chaldea*.

And how absurd is his argument! *Marcus my son salutes you; Now Marcus is a Roman name; Ergo Peter was at Rome, when he writ this Epistle.* This is want of natural Logick. Thus *Paul* is a Roman name; may one thence infer that St. *Paul* was at *Rome* when he writ his Epistles? A man that never was at *Rome*, may have a Roman name. And suppose that *Mark* writ his Gospel at *Rome*, doth it follow that St. *Peter* approved it being at *Rome*? For his credit he should have abstained from alledging *Papias*, who is a teller of fables. It is the testimony that *Eusebius* giveth of him, in the third book of his history, in the last Chapter.

Another ignorance of the Cardinal must not be forgiven him, when he admires the ignorance of *Calvin* for saying that the journey to *Jerusalem* (which St. *Paul* speaks of *Gal.* 2. 1. when he saith, *Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem*) was not the journey for the Council, but the journey for the Alms.

Pag. 180. & 181.

For although *Pauls* journey mentioned *Gal.* 2. 1. was another then that for the Alms, *Acts* 11. 29, 30. yet the Cardinal is out, thinking that the journey that St. *Paul* speaks of, *Gal.* 2. 1. *Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem*, is the same journey as that for the Council. For it is said *Acts* 15. 2. that *Paul* was sent by deputation from the Church of *Antioch* when he went to that Council. But the voyage for the Alms, *Gal.* 2. 1, 2. was undertaken by (n) revelation. *I went up*, saith he, *by revelation.* The first journey was to get the advice of the Apostles about a controversie moved at *Antioch*. But the journey mentioned, *Gal.* 2. 1, 2. was undertaken to commune with the Apostles about the preaching of the Gospel, *lest by any means* (saith he) *I should run or had run in vain.*

(n) ἀνέβη καὶ ἀποκρίσας αὐτοῖς.

To shut up this discourse, although in the word of God no trace is extant of the voyage of St. *Peter* to *Rome*, and of his suffering there, but rather many things that give suspicion of the contrary; yet I am prone to believe that he was at *Rome*, and there suffered Martyrdom, seeing the consent of the Fathers upon that matter, although they writ long after St. *Peters* death. As for the time that he was there, it seems that the fore-alledged (o) Pontifical of *Damasus* makes it plain, and discovereth the truth, so that he points to us the spring and the origine of the error, and of the contradictions upon that subject. He saith

(o) Pontificale Damasci in Lino.

Hh

that

that *Linus* was Bishop of *Rome* under the Emperour *Nero*, from the Consulate of *Saturninus* and *Scipio*, which was on the second year of *Nero*, unto the Consulate of *Capito* and *Rufus*, in the thirteenth year of the same Emperour. I think then that *Peter* being come to *Rome* in the second year of *Nero*, placed *Linus* there to conduct that Church, and after a short stay at *Rome* he returned into *Judea*. And that eleven or twelve years after his departing from *Rome*, being apprehended by the Jews, and delivered up to the Romans, he was carried up to *Rome*, 36 or 37. years after the death of *Christ*; where after some moneths of imprisonment he was put to death, the last year of the Empire of *Nero*. But *Ensebins* hath mistaken one Emperour for another, putting the date of *Peters* coming to *Rome* on the second year of *Claudius*, instead of the second year of *Nero*. An easie mistake, since those two Emperours had the same name, the one being called *Claudius Nero*, the other *Nero Claudius*. He hath then taken one *Claudius* for another, and one *Nero* for another, and the second year of the one for the second year of the other. Making *Peter* to come to *Rome* the twelfth or thirteenth year after *Christ's* death, instead of the twenty fourth or twenty fifth, which is the same time that *Paul* also was carried up to *Rome*; where *Paul* continued longer, as having guards, though he had leave to walk in the City. But *Peter* returned into *Judea*, leaving *Linus* Pastor of the Church of *Rome*.

(p) ἔφαζεν
αὐτῷ.

As for the form of his execution, I think not that *Athanasius* spoke lightly and without good information, that he was sought by the Jews to be apprehended. That he went up to *Rome*, there to suffer death, and that he performed that journey cheerfully. That he (p) had his throat cut, or was strangled. His burial was no doubt, as of other executed persons, not in an honourable place. But long after his death, the Christians might have transported his bones, and buried them with honour.

In our dayes, an imaginary sepulcher, and supposititious relicks serve for the traffick. For the Archiepiscopal cloaks or *palls* which the Pope sells very dear, are laid upon *St. Peters* tomb, and sent to the new Archbishops that pay for them. Every year, one with another, the Pope gets by those *palls* above an hundred thousand Ducats.

CHAP. 9.

Falsifications of the Cardinal about this matter in his fifty sixth Chapter.

I Owe some notes to the falsifications, wherewith the fifty sixth chapter of the Cardinals first book is stuffed, to prove the Primacy deferred by *Christ* unto *Peter*.

In page 527. he alledgeth the words of *Cyrillus* of *Jernusalem* in the eleventh Catechesis; *All the other Apostles holding their peace (for that doctrine was above their strength) Peter the Prince of the Apostles, &c. told him, Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God.* These words, above their strength, are not in the Greek, but are added by the Cardinal to depresse the other Apostles in comparison of *Peter*, as wanting that strength and vertue which *Peter* had to make that answer. There is in the Creek of *Cyrillus* (a) *All being silent (for that doctrine was above man) Peter, &c.*

(a) Πάντων
ὁ ἀποστολῶν
σύντροφον (ὅτι
ἀνθρώπων πρὸς
τὸ μέγα ἔργον
αὐτῶν)
ὁ πρῶτος ἐλά-
λη, &c.

With the like licentiousness he corrupts a place of *Athanasius* in the fourth Oration against the *Arrians*. He maketh *Athanasius* say, *There is no doubt but that the same who inquired, as having first revealed unto Peter the things which he had known, now asketh the same things of him in an humane manner.* He alledgeth that text, to perswade that *Christ* had revealed unto *Peter*, that he is the *Christ* the son of *God*, before he had revealed it to the other Apostles. But *Athanasius* saith no such thing, but only that *Christ* had revealed that unto *Peter*, before he questioned him about it.

it. His words are (b) *There is no doubt but that the same Lord who did inquire after that he had revealed unto Peter that which he had from his Father, did afterwards put a question to him about it in an humane manner.*

These two falsifications were added to fill up the measure; for in the page before, there are two notorious ones, which I already touched before. The one whereby he makes *Paul* to say, *Gal. 2. 7.* that (c) *they that seemed to be somewhat, had taught him nothing*, whereas there is in the text, that *they had added nothing to him*. Left that it should be known that *Paul* in that text doth equal the dignity of his Apostleship, with that of the most excellent Apostles, the Cardinal hath put, *they have taught me nothing*, instead of *they have added to me nothing*, to make the world believe that *Paul* compareth himself in learning unto the other Apostles, not in the authority and dignity of the Apostleship. And yet the same Apostle saying in the same place, that *James, Cephas and John* had given him the right hand of fellowship, speaks manifestly of the society in the Apostleship, not of the equality in science.

The other falsification is an allegation of *Ambrose* in the fourth chapter of the book of the incarnation. (d) *Peter not forgetfull of his place, made the primacy; clipping the following words, the primacy indeed in the confession, not in honour; the primacy in the faith, not in order.*

In pag. 531. & 532. he turneth the words of *Chrysostome* upside down with a notorious deprivation. We object to our Adversaries these words of *Gal. 2. 9.* *James, Cephas and John, who seemed to be the pillars, gave unto me, and to Barnabas the right hand of fellowship.* So all the copies have, saving only that of Cardinal *Ximenes* the Edition of *Compluto*. And the vulgar version, the only approved by the Council of *Trent*, renders it thus, *Jacobus, & Cephas, & Johannes qui videbantur columnae esse.* Whence we infer, that if *Paul* had believed *Peter* to be the only Head of the Universal Church above all the other Apostles, he would not have set *James* before *Peter*. To weaken that Text and make it suspected, the Cardinal saith that *Chrysostome* in his Comment upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, reads *Cephas, James and John*. Whose will take the pains to look to the place of *Chrysostom*, shall find the contrary, and shall see that *Chrysostom* both alledgeth and expoundeth the text thus, *Ἰάκωβος & Κήπας, & Ἰωάννης. James, Cephas and John.* In the very same manner the Cardinal falsifieth *Hierom* in the following lines.

This is no better. In the same fifty sixth chapter in page 533. he brings *Austin* alledging a text of *Cyprian* in the second book of Baptism, chap. 1. For *Austin* alledgeth thus *Cyprian*, with whose authority the Donatists fenced themselves against the Orthodox. *Cyprians authority doth not fright me, because his humility doth recreate me. We know that the merit of Cyprian, a Bishop and a Martyr was great; but is it greater then that of Peter an Apostle and a Martyr? Of whom the same Cyprian in his Epistle to Quintus speaks thus, (e) For (saith he) neither Peter whom the Lord hath first elected, and upon whom he hath founded his Church, when Paul disputed with him of the circumcision, attributed any thing to himself insolently, nor assumed any thing with arrogance, to say that he had the primacy, and that the new [Apostles] and late comers ought rather to obey him.* By these words, *Cyprian* saith plainly, that if *Peter* had assumed the primacy, or pretended that *Paul* was to obey him, he had spoken arrogantly and insolently. For we have seen that *Cyprian* believed that *Peter* had the primacy over the Apostles, before the resurrection of the Lord, but that the Lord made them all equall after his resurrection. And that he made *Peter* the first among the Apostles, only for the priority of time, not for the Apostolical dignity. Whence it appears also that *Cyprian* believed that the Church was founded upon *Peter*, yet not upon the person of *Peter*, but upon his doctrine. Thence to cast dust into the Readers eyes, the Cardinal corrupts the whole place with a most shamefull falsification; thus alledging *Cyprians* words; *You see what Cyprian saith; that the holy Apostle Peter in whom such a great grace of the primacy was shining, being reproved by Paul, answered not that he had the primacy, and ought not to be re-*

(b) ὁ αὐτὸς
ἐρωτᾷ τὸν
ἀνδρῶν
καὶ ἐπὶ
τὸν ἀποστό-
λον λέγει τὰ
ἐν τῇ Πά-
τρί, ὅτι
ἀνδρῶν
ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνδρῶν
(c) ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ
ἀποστόλοις ἵσταν
ἀποστόλοις ἵσταν

(d) Petrus
solum loci
non immemor
sui, primum
egit; primum
confessionis
magis, non ho-
noris; prima-
rium fidei,
non ordinis.

(e) Nam nec
Petrus in-
quis, quem
primum Do-
minus elegit,
& super
quem aedifi-
cavit Ecclesi-
am suam, cum
secum Paulus
de circumcisi-
one disceptaret,
postmodum
vendicavit
sibi aliquid
insolenter, aut
arroganter
assumpsit, ut
diceret se pri-
mum tene-
re, & obtem-
perari à no-
vellis, &
posteris sibi
potius d. veri.

proved by new men and posteriour unto him. He cuts off Cyprians words, that it would have been arrogance and insolence in St. Peter, if he had attributed the primacy to himself, or if he had thought that St. Paul did owe him some obedience. Also he interprets the word *posteris*, *posteriors*, whereas he signifieth *those that are come since*. And whosoever hath any relish of the Latin tongue, knoweth that *posteris* signifieth not men *posterious in order or dignity*, but the *posterity*, and such as are *posterious in time*.

(F) *Pari con-*
sortio pradii
& honoris
& potestatis.

The following is one of the least, and yet must not be omitted. In page 534. he alledgeth Cyprian in the book of the unity of the Church, saying that the other Apostles were that which St. Peter was, (F) *endowed with an equal part of authority and power*. Cyprian doth not speak so, but saith, *The other Apostles were that which St. Peter was, endowed with the like society of honour and power*. That word *part* weakeneth this place of Cyprian, as if every Apostle had not the entire power. Then the Cardinal hath put the word *authority* instead of *honour*, that the Reader may think that Cyprian speaks of the inward authority of the Apostleship (as the Cardinal speaks) not of the honour due to the primacy.

A few lines before he doth fraudulently alledge Chrysostome upon the Epistle to the Galatians, where that Father speaks thus: *Hence cometh that Paul reproveth; and Peter bears it; to the end that while the Master holds his peace, the Disciples may change their opinion*. The end of the Cardinal is to perfwade that Chrysostome calls Peter Master in respect of Paul. But the truth is, that in that place he is called Master with a relation to his Disciples, who are mentioned in the same line, in whose presence Paul made that reprehension to Peter.

In the following page, which is the five hundred thirty fifth, he alledgeth a place out of Cyprians book of the unity of the Church, which is not found in any Copy of Cyprian; but he saith that Ivo and Gratian alledge it so; making Cyprian to say, *He that forsaketh Peters chair upon which the Church is founded, doth he trust that he is in the Church?* If the works of Cyprian were lost, it were excusable to alledge fragments related by other Authors; But since we have Cyprians works in their integrity, is it not an abuse and a kind of falsification to stand upon allegations made by new Authors, who are justly suspected, rather then upon the work extant of Cyprian? Besides, that one may not see whether he hath faithfully alledged Ivo or Gratian, he abstaineth from quoting the Canon, and the Distinction where they speak so.

I cannot call it a falsification, but a slight mingled with contempt of Gods word, that in the same chapter, page 540. after he hath proved St. Peters primacy, because Christ commanded Peter to pay the tribute for him and for himself, and because sick men were carried into the way where Peter passed, that at least his shadow might pass over them, and because he punisht Ananias and Sapphira with death (which are ingenuous and recreative proofs) he declareth that he will examine a text of Scripture alledged by his Majesty of Great Britain, *not by the Scripture, but by the Fathers*. As if there were any better interpreter of Scripture then Scripture it self. Or as if the Exposition made by men ought to be preferred before God himself speaking in his word. Devils do not fly so fast from holy water, as this Prelat from the word of God; or if sometimes he makes use of it, it is to wrest it and falsifie it.

I will bring one more of his falsifications, which is in the last line of his fifty fifth chapter, where he alledgeth Leo speaking thus in the Epistle to Martians, which is the fifty second. *None of the Patriarchal Sees but that of Rome shall remain stable and unmoved*. This place is altogether false. Here it is truly, *Nec praefer illam Petram quam Dominus in fundamentum posuit, stabilis erit ulla constructio*. That is, *No building shall stand firm besides that stone which the Lord hath laid for a foundation*. Of Rome or the Patriarchat of the same he makes no mention. And though he did, are Popes receivable witnesses when the dispute is of their authority? Must we receive Popes for Judges in their own cause?

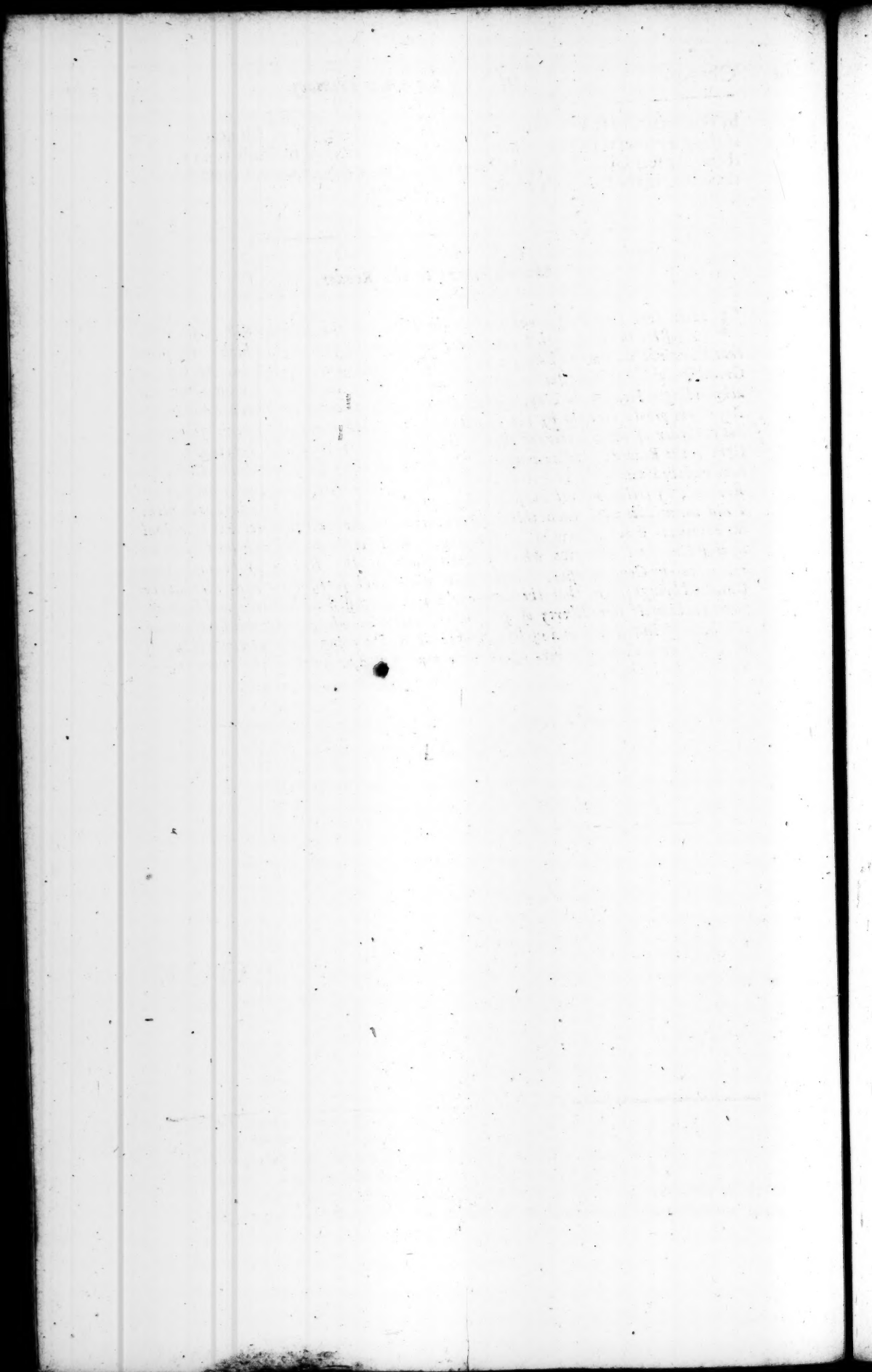
These are some of his many falsifications, that by this pattern the reader may judge of the whole piece. For if one would examine all the authorities brought by

by this Prelat, he should weary the Reader with a long list of falsifications; the reading whereof would be odious to our Adversaries, and of small edification to them that fear God. Yet hereafter according to occasions we will shew more of that kind, in the Cardinals work.

Advertisement to the Reader.

THE four following books contain the history of the Roman Bishops from the Apostles to the fourth Universal Council in the year 451. which is the term that Cardinal du Perron hath set to himself in his dispute against his Majesty of Great Britain. I shew that in all that time, and lower, the Bishop of Rome was not acknowledged Head of the Universal Church; and I discover the untruth and inutility of the proofs brought by the Cardinal. In which deduction I have followed, not the order of the Chapters of the Cardinal, but the order of the times, to give more light to the Reader, and to unravell the thred of the history which the Cardinal hath ravelled purposely to decieve with more facility: Also that I may not be constrained, by following all his steps, to go fifty times over the same things as he doth. I did not meddle with such things as are nothing to our controversies. For Cardinal du Perron to make a shew of his learning, hath inserted in his book long disputes against Cardinal Baronius, which concern us not at all. But as for the things that belong to our Controversies, I hope I have given such satisfaction upon all that the Cardinal brings forth, that the Reader who is not prepossest with hatred, and hath reserved to himself some liberty of judgement, will acknowledge that this Prelats book is a heap of impostures and useles proofs: And that going about to cover himself with the authority of Fathers against the word of God, he is cast by those very Judges whom he hath chosen.

BOOK





BOOK III.

• Which is the

FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY of PAPACY:

WHEREIN

So much of the History of the Antient Christian Church is deduced from the beginning, unto the year 300. of Christ, as will prove that then the Bishop of Rome was not acknowledged Head of the Universal Church.

CHAP. I.

That in the first Age the Bishop of Rome was not acknowledged Head of the Universal Church.



Although the Word of God decide this question sufficiently by not assigning unto St. Peter any successor in the Apostleship, or in the primacy over the Universal Church, and speak neither far nor neer of a Hierarchical Sovereign, or of the Bishop of Rome: Yet because Cardinal *du Perron* being destitute of the word of God, casts himself altogether upon the Fathers, and grounds himself upon humane testimonies, it will be expedient to search the first and the purest antiquity of the Church, and to shew how much he is mistaken, and that in vain he heaps up testimonies to no purpose, taking the preheminance which the Bishop of Rome pretended in the time of the first four Councils, over the Bishops of the Roman Empire, for a primacy and sovereign power over the Church of all the world, the precedence for a power of jurisdiction, and the prerogatives founded upon the dignity of the City, or upon

on the Ecclesiastical Canons, for divine rules: Limiting himself purposely to the time of the first four Councils, the first whereof was held in the year of Christ three hundred twenty five, because the three precedent ages are contrary to him. Wherefore the three parts of four of the testimonies which he alledgeth, are from the history of about fourscore, or a hundred years.

Because in points of history and antiquity it is necessary to begin by the things that are most antient, I am forced rather to follow the order of the times then that of the Cardinals Chapters, which overthrow the order of times, and have neither order nor coherence, and the most part whereof dispute about things of no use.

To begin then at the first Age: Among the Fathers of the first Age, I put in the first rank the Apostles and the Evangelists. In whose writings there is no trace of that imaginary Monarchy, and not one action of *Peter* that hath any relish of primacy or Sovereign power in the Church; Not one word of that holy Apostle, where he speaks like a Monarch, although we have the history of his life, and two long Epistles which he hath written to the Christian Church.

To that Apostle, (a) *Linus* a disciple of St. *Paul* hath succeeded, according to the relation of many Antients; And he succeeded him, not in the Apostleship, but in the conduct of the Church of the City of *Rome*: For of him we have no action recorded that extends beyond the limits of his particular Church. Had *Peter* needed a successour in the primacy over the Universal Church, there were some Apostles that out-lived *Peter*; among others that excellent Apostle St. *John*, to whom that dignity rather belonged then to a Disciple of *Paul*. At least the Apostles that out-lived *Peter* should have been called and asked their advice. A Head could not be given to the Universal Church without their consent.

After *Linus*, they put *Clement*, of whom divers Epistles are extant in the Tomes of the Councils: Whether they be true or false, it matters not for our present purpose, since our Adversaries give them to us as true. Among them there are two written to S. *James* Bishop of Jerusalem, to whom he gives these qualities; (b) *Clement* to *James* brother of the Lord, Bishop of Bishops, governing the holy Church of the Hebrews which is at Jerusalem, as also all the Churches that are founded every where by the providence of God. Thereby he acknowledgeth St. *James* his superiour, governing the Roman Church as well as the other Churches.

In the same Age lived *Dionysius*, the Areopagite converted by St. *Paul*. Which *Dionysius*, our Adversaries make the Author of the books of celestial Hierarchy, and of Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. In that book of Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, which he frames at the imitation of the celestial (where one sovereign Monarch, which is God, hath under him divers Angelical orders) this Author describes the Ecclesiastical charges and degrees: And from the least mounting to the greatest, he riseth no higher then to the charge of Bishop of each particular Church, and makes Episcopacy the highest degree. It would have been very convenient to his end, to have spoken of the charge of Sovereign Pastor, head of the universal Church, so to make the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy conformable unto the celestial. But of such a Head he speaks not, because he knew none such.

In the same Age the custom began to create the Bishop of *Rome* by the suffrages of the people and the Clergy: Which was also the custom of other Churches. A certain proof that the Bishop of *Rome* was not the Head of the Universal Church. For was it reasonable or likely that the people of the City of *Rome* should have the power to give a Head to the Churches of *Persia* or *East-Indies*? Who knows not that in elective Kingdoms, the King is elected by the States, and general Assemblies, to which Deputies are sent from all parts of the Kingdom, because all parts are alike interested in that election.

In all that Age no trace is to be seen of the power of the Bishop of *Rome* without the limits of his particular Church. No Law given by him to the Universal Church. No appeal from any Church, not so much as from the next Churches, much less from the remote. All the Churches that were founded immediately from the

(a) Vide Pontificale Damasi.

(b) Clemens Jacobo fratri Domini, Episcopo Episcoporum, regenti sanctam Hebraeorum Ecclesiam Jerosolymis, sed et omnes Ecclesias que ubique Dei providentia fundatae sunt.

through *Smyrna* writ a letter to the Romans, where he makes no mention of the Bishop of *Rome*, nor of the primacy of the Roman Church.

In the year of Christ 142. *Telſphorus* was made Bishop of *Rome*, who, as *Damasus* relateth, made an order that there should be a fast of seven weeks before *Eſter*. But he ſaith that this order was only for the Roman Church, and that the other Churches held not themselves ſubject unto it, it appeareth in that many other Churches followed another order. *Irenæus* ſhews it in the Epistle which he writ to *Viſtor* Bishop of *Rome*, which Epistle is related by *Enſebius* in the fifth book of his history, chap. 23. (a) Some (saith he) think that they must fast but one day, ſome two, ſome more. Some limit their day [of fast] to forty hours both of day and night. And that diversity of observations hath not begun in our age, but hath been long before our Ancestors. And yet they have kept peace among themselves. He speaks of the Fast before *Easter*.

In the year of the Lord 159. according to the relation of (b) *Baronius*, *Pius* Bishop of *Rome* made a Law that *Easter* should be celebrated upon the Lords day; and *Baronius* saith that this Law had been revealed unto him by Angels. So they said to shew that this Law was given by *Pius* as necessary, and come from God. And yet the Churches of *Asia* did not practice it, because they held not themselves ſubject unto the Bishop of *Rome*, who also made that Law, not for the Universal Church, but only for the Church of the City of *Rome*. This will clearly appear out of that which happened ſince. For about the year 167. *Anicetus* being Bishop of *Rome*, *Polycarpus* Bishop of *Smyrna* came to *Rome* to confer with him: And this was their communication according to the testimony of *Irenæus*, related by (c) *Enſebius*. *Polycarpus* and *Anicetus* having conferred a little about certain things wherein they differed in opinion, made their peace presently; and for the observation of that Feast, they brake not the band of charity, &c. Yet *Anicetus* could not persuade *Polycarpus* to leave his custom. Neither could *Polycarpus* persuade *Anicetus* that he should practice the custom of *Asia*. Here two things are to be observed. 1. That *Polycarpus* thought not himself bound to follow the opinion of *Anicetus* the Roman Bishop. 2. That notwithstanding the diversity of opinions, they lived in peace, *Anicetus* being not offended that the brethren of *Asia* would not hearken to him.

That controversy about *Easter* grew hot afterwards: for the Church of the West, and part of that of the East did celebrate the Feast of *Easter* upon the Lords day. But part of the Church of the East did celebrate it upon the fourteenth day of the Moon of *March*, not looking for the Lords day, grounding themselves upon *St. Johns* authority, and that of his Disciples, *Ignatius* and *Polycarpus*, and of *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, then living, a person of great authority. Towards the end of that age, *Viſtor* Bishop of *Rome* took that business in hand with eagerness; and for that subject separated the Oriental Churches from his communion. *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus* resisted him, speaking thus; (d) I then brethren, who have lived sixty five years in the Lord, who have conferred about the faith with many brethren scattered over all the earth, who have perused all the holy Scriptures, am not troubled with that which is objected unto us to fright us; for our Ancestors have said that we must rather obey God than men. The Apostle *Peter*, *Acts* 4. 19. spake thus to the Priests and Sadduces, who forbade the Apostle to speak any more in the name of Christ, saying that it was just before God rather to obey God than men. Yet the Apostles were not at all ſubject unto those Priests, whose Office was now void, and expired by the death of Christ. Which I say to shew that the Cardinal is out, (e) thinking that he that speaks so, acknowledged himself ſubject and obliged to obey those to whom he speaks in that manner.

Viſtor incensed with that resistance, excommunicateth all the Eastern Churches. An action condemned by the Roman Church, which expressly (f) forbiddeth to excommunicate an University or Colledge. How much more to excommunicate whole Countreys and Provinces? By that excommunication *Viſtor* did rather excommunicate himself by his separation from their communion,

as

(a) *Enſebius*
Græco codi-
ce, lib. 22.
c. 23. ubi dicitur
quod in illis
diebus quibus
interdicitur

(b) *Baronius*
an. 159. S. 1.
ubi dicitur
quod in illis
diebus quibus
interdicitur

(c) *Enſebius*.
1. 5. c. 23.
in Græco
cod. cc.

(d) *Enſebius*.
1. 5. c. 23.
Hier. Catal.
in *Polycrate*.

(e) *Pag. 341.*
(f) *Cap. Ro-*
mana de
ſententia ex-
communicationis
in 6.
In univerſi-
tatem vel in
collegium pro-
ferri excom-
municationis
ſententiam
prohibemus.

as *Eusebius* saith, (g) *That did not please all the Bishops, wherefore also they made him a contrary command that he should keep peace, union and charity with his neighbours.* Among other examples he brings forth the Epistle of *Irenaeus* to *Victor*, whereby he accuseth him to have violated charity, and to have departed from the example of his ancestors. *Ruffinus* relates the same. The word ἀντιπαρκαθίστασι is notable, that other Bishops, made him a contrary command. For that word imports that those Oriental men believed that they had as much power to command *Victor* as he them.

Cardinal *Du Perron* (h) answereth that *Eusebius* was an *Arian*, and *Ruffinus* an enemy of the Roman Church. So doth this Cardinal use the Fathers, when they speak things that displease him. And indeed it is most unjustly that he accuseth *Eusebius* of Arianism, seeing that in so many places he speaks so excellently of the God-head of the son of God; especially in the fourth book of the Evangelical demonstration, ch. 3. and in the 5. book, ch. 2. *Eusebius* hath subscribed to the symbole of *Nice*, and to the condemnation of the Arians. And he praiseth and exalteth *Hosius* the capital enemy of the Arians. See the first book of *Theodoret*, ch. 11, 12, and 13. where *Eusebius* is altogether purged from that suspicion, and the word ὁμοούσιον consubstantial, is defended by the authority of *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*.

Socrates in the 1 book, ch. 3. doth expressly distinguish between (i) *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, a head and a favourer of the *Arian* party, and this *Eusebius* of *Cesarea* whom he purgeth from that imputation. The same (k) *Socrates* in his 2 book, ch. 21. sheweth how vigorously this *Eusebius* of *Cesarea* resisted the Arians, and brings many very expreſs testimonies out of his books wherein he condemneth those that call the Son of God a *Creature*.

Some places indeed are found, 1. 7. and 11. of his evangelical preparation, where he calls Christ *θεωρικὸν ὄντα*, and *θεωρικὸν ὄντα*, a second essence, and a second God. But these books were written by *Eusebius* in the time of the persecutions, long before the Council of *Nice*, after which it shall not be found that ever he spake so.

Hierome meant this in his *Apology* against *Ruffinus*, saying that (l) *Eusebius* had been sometimes the standard-bearer of the *Arian* faction, namely in the time when he writ his books for the defence of *Origen*. But since that time he changed language, as we have proved. And *Nicephorus* concurs with this in the 21 ch. of the 8 book. *Eusebius* (saith he) was at the first a *Seſtary* of the *Arian* heresie; but after that he had subscribed to the Council of *Nice*, he writ to his friends, and proved that some ancient and excellent Bishops had used the word ὁμοούσιον consubstantial, to expreſs the God-head of the Father, and of the Son. Some delay that he took in the Council of *Nice* before he subscribed to the Symbole made in that Council, and some emulation between *Athanasius* and him, which appeared at the Council of *Tyr*, have increased that suspicion, of which he purgeth himself by an Epistle related by *Theodoret*.

So many ancient witnesses, and *Eusebius* himself, ought rather to be credited than the second Council of *Nice*, held above four hundred years after; A Council stuffed with impiety and the setter up of the adoration of images by a law. That Council sets upon *Eusebius* the black mark of an *Arian*, to be revenged of him for saying in the seventh book of his History, ch. 18. speaking of the Statue of Christ at *Panens* which is *Cesarea Philippi*, erected by the woman whom the Lord had healed of a bloody flux; and of the images of *Paul* and *Peter* which he affirmeth to have seen, he addeth, *That it is no wonder if the Pagans to whom Christ had done some good, did such a thing*; and a little after he saith that (n) *this was done by the Ancients by a Pagan custom to honour indifferently in that manner all those whom they held for their Saviours.*

But the true cause why the Cardinal and many of the *Roman Church* do so calumniate *Eusebius*, is, that being the only ancient Historian who hath written the History of the three first ages untill the year of Christ three hundred and thirty eight, he speaks alwayes of the Bishop of *Rome* as of another Bishop, without

(g) *Eusebius*.
5. dist. c. 24. in
Græco.

ἀντιπαρκαθίστασι
κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν
κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν
κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν
κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν
κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν
κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν
κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν

(h) cap. 44.
p. 330.

(i) Non *Ce-*
sariensis ille
sed alter.

(k) 17 ch. in
Liberis ubi
he calls him
Eusebius *Pam-*
philis, because
of the great
friendship
between *Euse-*
bius and
Pamphilus.

(l) *Eusebius*
Arianus signi-
ficat quendam
factionis.

(m) Θαν-
μαστον ἔδειξεν
τὸ πῶς
ἐγένετο δι-
εργάσαντες
πρὸς τὴν σω-
τηρίαν ἡμῶν
ταῦτα πε-
ποικίλευται.

(n) Et paulo
post.
ὡς ἔλαβε ὁ
πατριάρχης
ἀναγγελλάν-
τας ὅτι σω-
τήρας ἔθνη
συνήλθε παρ'
ἐαυτοῦ τὸν
πᾶν ἐσθλόν.
τοῦ τὸ θεοῦ.

giving him any superiority, and without relating any actions of his, which reach beyond the limits of his Bishoprick, excepting only the action of *Victor*, which he condemneth openly. Especially because in the establishment of the Christian Religion made under *Constantine*, *Eusebius* saith nothing of the Bishop of *Rome*, as of a person left behind, who was not at all employed in that great business. Yet what high esteem *Hierome* had of this History of *Eusebius*, he shewed it by taking the pains to translate it out of Greek into Latin.

As for *Ruffinus*, *M. du Perron* doth unjustly tax him to have been an enemy to the Church of *Rome*, because he had quarrels with *Hierom*.

(o) *Ruffinus*
vir religiosus
plurimos Ec-
clesiasticos op-
eris edidit
libros.

(p) *Decimus*
historie Ec-
clesiasticæ liber
Ruffini, qui in
Catalogo Apo-
stolicæ Sedis
inter recipi-
endos libros
describitur.

(q) *Ad hanc*
Ecclesiam
propter poten-
tiorum princi-
palitatem ne-
cesse est om-
nem convenire
Ecclesiam.

(r) *De rō cō-
trā us Endocē
vrbis yel
tēc rēdy-
ma rēdy-
rus.*

(s) *Ulicia &
contra Ecce-
siam Catholi-
cam fuit o-
mnationis
prudente
commoti, à
communicati-
one eos nostra
statim cōdi-
bendas esse
censuimus.*

(t) *Bayon. an.
484. sect. 34.*

(u) *Evagrius*
l. 7. c. 34.

(x) *Innocen-
tius Papa &
Orientales E-
piscopi pro
Johannis
prejudicio ab
Orientalium
se communi-
one suspen-
dunt.*

Pope *Gelasius* Dist. 15. Can. *Sancta* (o) speaks thus of him, *Ruffinus a religious man hath published many books of Ecclesiastical work*. And *Gennadius a Massilian Priest* puts him among the Orthodox Authors. *Hincmarus* Archbishop of *Rhemes* in the book of the fifty five Chapters, ch. 21. (p) *The tenth book of the Ecclesiastical History of Ruffinus, who in the Catalogue of the Apostolick See is put among the books which must be received*. And though *Ruffinus* had been a Pagan, yet the Histories written by Pagans are read and believed. It is false also that *Ruffinus* was excommunicated by Pope *Anastasius*, as the Cardinal saith. *Anastasius* indeed saith in an Epistle of his, *Ruffinus a nostris partibus est alienus*, *Ruffinus is averse from our party*; but he saith not that he hath excommunicated him.

But there is no need to quarrel about *Eusebius* or *Ruffinus*, since we have the Epistle of *Irenæus* condemning the rashness of *Victor*, as a thing without example, never heard of before. Indeed the Cardinal alleadgeth a place of *Irenæus*, twice in the fourty fourth Chapter, and twenty times in other places; but he falsifies it. The words of *Irenæus* are (q). *To that Church of Rome because of the more powerful principality every Church must resort*. For *convenire ad Ecclesiam Romæ* is not to consent with the Church of *Rome*, as the Cardinal interprets it. *Irenæus* saith that because of the Sovereign power (namely the power of the *Roman Empire*) which had its seat at *Rome*, all the Churches resorted thither and had communication with the Church of *Rome*. For all the Subjects of the Empire had businesses in the capital City, as it is said in the (r) ninth Canon of the Council of *Antioch*.

But what? although *Victor* be blamed by the Fathers for this so unjust excommunication, nevertheless *M. du Perron* thence inferreth that he had power to do so much. For he presupposeth that excommunication cannot be done but by a Superiour: Wherein he is very much mistaken; for Antiquity is full of examples to the contrary. *Cyprian* in the fourty one Epistle unto *Cornelius* saith (s) that he hath excommunicated *Novatianus* a *Roman Priest*, who by tampering and factions had caused himself to be elected Bishop of *Rome*.

John Patriark of *Antioch* in the first Council of *Ephesus* excommunicated *Cyrillus Patriarch* of *Alexandria*, who was not subject to him. *Hilary Bishop* of *Poitiers* pronounced anathema against *Liberius Bishop* of *Rome*, as it is to be seen in his fragments. *Menas Patriarch* of *Constantinople* excommunicated *Vigilius Bishop* of *Rome*, as *Nicephorus* reports it in his seventeenth Book, ch. 26. *Acacius Patriarch* of *Constantinople* blotted out of the *Diptycha* or Ecclesiastical tables, the name of *Felix Bishop* of *Rome*, commanding that his memory should be execrable.

(t) In the year of Christ five hundred and thirteen, *Severus Bishop* of *Antioch*, an *Eutyrian*, was excommunicated, and sentence of deposition was pronounced against him by *Cosmas Bishop* of *Epiphania*, and by *Severianns Bishop* of *Arcthusa*, although they were his inferiours, as (u) *Evagrius* relates it. And *Victor of Tunis* in his Chronicle Anno 549. relateth that the Bishops of *Africa* excommunicated *Vigilius Bishop* of *Rome*. Such excommunications were but simple declarations that they would have no communion with such a one, and that they would separate themselves from the communion of such a man and such a Church. Which was well apprehended by *Sigebert* who saith in his Chronicle an. 409 (x) *Innocent Pope, and the Bishops of the West suspend themselves from the communion with those of the East because of John Chrysostome*. They suspended and separated themselves from the communion with the Eastern men, but did not cut them off from

from the Communion of the Universal Church. The Nomocanon of the African Church hath many Canons which shew that evidently. Especially the (y) seventy seventh, and eighty one Canons, which speak of persons which being excommunicated in the Church of another, ought to content themselves with the communion of their own Church. I cannot make such a sinister judgement of *Victor*, as to believe that he intended to cast away into damnation, and to exclude from the Universal Church all the Churches of *Asia*, for a dispute about the observation of a day.

(y) Can 77.
οφείλει τις
πιστος τῇ
κοινωνίᾳ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν
ἐμμένειν
ἀρκεῖται.

I pass by the long discourse of the Cardinal whereby he goeth about to shew that the relation of *Nicephorus* and *Anastasius* concerning the indignities offered to *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome*, at *Constantinople*, is not true; for that is nothing to the purpose of the present question. It is enough that *Nicephorus* believeth that an equal can be excommunicated by an equal. Likewise I pass by his long discourse in the same chapter, to shew that *Victors* meaning was to excommunicate the Churches of *Asia*, and to deprive them from the communion of the Church: for it is sufficient that this excommunication pronounced by *Victor*, found no place, and took no effect. Whence it appeareth that he was not acknowledged Head of the Universal Church. Wherefore *Eusebius* in the forealledged place, saith not that *Victor* cut off, but that (z) he endeavoured to cut off the Churches that dissented from him from the common union, for he could not bring it to effect. In our dayes if the Pope pronounceth an excommunication, it is publisht with bells ringing, candles burning, and then put out. But at that time the Pope had no executors of his Decrees in the East. He spake, but nobody stirred for his speaking. And *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus* who was involved in that excommunication, did notwithstanding his resistance to the Bishop of *Rome*, end his dayes in the communion of the Church, and was very much respected. His words full of liberty against the condemnation pronounced by *Victor*, are related out of *Eusebius* by *Hierome* in the Catalogue of Writers.

Pag. 343. &
seq.

(z) ὁποῖον
ἐκκλησίαν
ὁ ἴδιος ἐπα-
ρούσεως
τῆς κοινῆς
ἐκκλησίας πα-
ρεῖν.

Yea in the West the Christians of the (a) Ile of *Brittain* did not care for the judgements given by *Victor*: for they celebrated the feast of *Easter* on the fourteenth day of the Moon of *March*.

(a) Beda in
historia An-
glosaxonum.
Galfridus
Monumeten-
sis l. 3. de
gestis Regum
Britannorum.
Polydorus
Virgilius.
Baronius an.
298. sect. 6.

That diversity of customs lasted till the first Council of *Nice*, in which the *Quartodecimani* were condemned, and the Churches were reduced to one general observation. Which was done without speaking of *Victor*, and without any regard to his authority.

So much of the second age: In which no trace appeareth of the primacy of the Bishop of *Rome*. No appeal to *Rome* from other Churches. No Laws from *Rome* given to the Universal Church. No communication of the Bishop of *Rome* with the Churches without the Roman Empire. No hereticks condemned for dissenting from the Bishop of *Rome*. In those dayes the Bishops of *Rome* were eminent only in sufferings, full of zeal, in a deep poverty, affecting no preeminence, and having no other dignity, but that which their good life, and the greatness and dignity of the City gave them. Whereupon the confession of Pope *Pius* the second is notable: who in the one hundred eighty eighth Epistle to *Martin Mayer* speaks thus of the Churches of the first ages: (b) Every one then lived for himself, and the Church of *Rome* was little regarded.

(b) Sibi quis-
que vivebat,
& ad Eccle-
siam Romanam
parvus habe-
batur respec-
tus.

CHAP. III.

That in the third Age the Bishops of Rome were not acknowledged Heads of the Universal Church.

WEE have now seen two hundred years next after the coming of Christ, before any Papal Monarchy was born. Then the Bishops of Rome governed the Church of the City, and medled not with the government of other Churches. They were respected because of the greatness of Rome, and for the holiness of their lives, and by reason of the received opinion, that St. Peter had been the founder of the Roman Church; yet all that got them no power over the other Bishops. For the Decretal Epistles of the Popes of the first Ages are supposititious, forged on purpose by one *Riculfus* Bishop of *Meutz*, in the ninth Age, to strengthen the Papal Empire, as I will shew hereafter. It seems that *M. du Perron* makes no great account of them; for I see not that in all his books he makes any use of their authority.

In the year of our Lord 204. according to *Baronius*, *Zepherinus* succeeded *Victor* in the Bishoprick of Rome. Then lived *Tertullian* an African Priest, a learned and zealous man, but cholerick, and harsh alike in his manners and style. This man was offended that *Zepherinus* admitted the adulterers repenting unto the communion: And spake thus to *Zepherinus* in the twenty first chapter of the book of chastity; (a) *If because the Lord said unto Peter, Upon this stone I shall build my Church, and I have given thee the keys of the heavenly Kingdom, or all that thou shalt bind or loose in earth shall be bound or loosed in heaven, thou thinkest that thereby the power of binding and loosing is derived unto thee, that is, unto all the Church alledged unto Peter: who art thou that overthrowest and changest the evident intention of the Lord, who conferreth that upon Peter personally?* This man did not believe that the Bishop of Rome was heir of the power given unto Peter, but took those words of Christ, whereby he conferreth the keys upon Peter, as said personally to Peter. Yet none of the Ancients reckoneth that among the errors of *Tertullian*.

(a) Si quia dixerat Petro Dominus, Super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam; Tibi dedi claves regni caelestis, vel Quaecumque alligaveris vel solveris in terra, erunt alligata vel soluta in caelis; ideo prosumus & ad te derivasse solvendi & ligandi potestatem, id est ad omnem Ecclesiam Petro propinquam; qualis es, convertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem personaliter huc Petro conferentem? (b) Sidonius l. 6. Epist. 1. Tu Pater Patrum, & Episcopus Episcoporum, & alter sacculi tui Jacobus.

In the first chapter of the same book, he calls *Zepherinus* in derision *Summum Pontificem*, as if he had been a successor of the Pagan Pontifices; for in that time Christian Bishops did not assume that title. It was then proper to the Emperours. And if any had assumed it, he had been guilty of treason. The Emperour *Gratianus* who lived about 170. years after, was the first that renounced that title, as we shall see in the proper place. He calls him also in scorn, *Bishop of Bishops*, which is the title that was given to all the Metropolitan Bishops. Thus (b) *Sidonius Apollinaris* calls *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes*, *Father of Fathers, and Bishop of Bishops*. And we have seen in the first Age that *Clement* Bishop of Rome gives that title unto *James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Yet *Cyprian* laugheth at that title as too arrogant, saying at the opening of the Council which he convoked against *Stephen* Bishop of Rome, *None of us calls himself Bishop of Bishops, or constraineth his companions to obey by a tyrannical terror.*

The same *Tertullian* in the twentieth chapter of the book of Prescriptions rejecteth all primacy among the Churches, saying that they are *omnes prima, omnes Apostolica*, all first, all Apostolical.

It will not serve to answer that it is no wonder if *Tertullian* speaks of the Bishop of Rome contemptuously, seeing that he was of the heresie of *Montanus*; and that in the reception of the adulterers penitent, *Zepherinus* was in the right. For it was ever reckoned among the errors of the *Montanists*, that they would not acknowledge the Bishop of Rome for Head of the Universal Church. And none believed then that he could not err in the faith.

In the year of our Lord 217. *Agrippinus* Bishop of *Carthage* called a Council of

of the Bishops of *Africa* and *Numidia*, where it was resolved and determined that all that had been baptized by Hereticks must be rebaptized when they are converted, and that the Baptism conferred by Hereticks is null.

That doctrine was contrary to the Roman Church which received and receiveth still the Baptism of Hereticks. Yet *Zepherinus* who then was Bishop of *Rome*, knowing that the Bishops of *Africa* were not subject to him, did not oppose himself to it, and took no knowledge of that cause.

St. *Cyprian* who after *Agrippin* was Bishop of *Carthage*, approved *Agrippin* proceeding, and defended him against the Roman Church, by the example of his predecessor, speaking thus in the seventy first Epistle; (c) *That which Agrippin of blessed memory with his fellow Bishops who then governed the Church of God in Africa and Numidia, hath ordained, and by common sent confirmed, having well weighed and examined the matter, whose judgement we have followed as religious and lawfull, and wholesome for the faith, and agreeing with the Catholick faith. That Agrippin did not fear to dissent from the Roman Church, and is praised for it by St. Cyprian, who declareth by these words that one can follow the Catholick faith, and yet dissent from the Roman Church. It is not material who was in the right, in the question of Baptism: For we bring this only to shew that the African Bishops did not hold themselves subject to the Bishop of Rome. We shall see hereafter that they were both in the wrong, and fell into contrary extremes, Steven receiving indifferently the Baptism of all Hereticks, where in the Council of Nice dissenteth from him: and Cyprian rejecting indifferently the baptism of all hereticks without any exception.*

Then to follow the third of the history; In the year of our Lord 250. *Donatus* Bishop of *Carthage* being dead, *Cyprian* was elected in his place by the suffrages of the people and Clergy. For that, he had no need of the Popes approbation or letters of investiture, as it is practised in our time. To that election a Priest called *Felicitissimus* opposed himself, who with some seditious persons withdrew himself into a mountain neer *Carthage*. A little after an *African* Bishop, called *Novatus*, came from *Carthage* to *Rome*, when the See of *Rome* was vacant. This *Novatus* joyning himself with *Novatian* a Roman Bishop, did strive by faction, to get *Novatianus* created Bishop of *Rome*. Being come short of his ends, and *Cornelius* being elected by the people, *Novatianus* caused himself to be created Bishop by a clandestine election by some Bishops of his faction, and made a schism at *Rome* against *Cornelius*, because *Cornelius* received those that were fallen, unto repentance and to the Communion.

Cyprian hearing these news, sent two Legats from *Carthage* to *Rome*, to endeavour to appease that tumult by their intervention, as *Cyprian* saith in the forty second Epistle, which is very notable. For if some trouble happened now in the Church of the City of *Rome*, it would be thought a rash and presumptuous part, or rather a mad mans deed, if the Bishop of *Rome* or *Lyons* sent Legates to *Rome* to make himself arbitrator of the difference, and to make a peace between the Bishop of *Rome* and his Clergy or people.

Upon that *Novatianus* sent Deputies from *Rome* to *Carthage*, whereby he desired (d) *Cyprian* to be judge of the difference between him and *Cornelius*, and to take knowledge of the crimes which he objected to *Cornelius*. Which sheweth evidently that the Bishop of *Rome* was not held in those dayes the Head of the Universal Church, since another Bishop might be called to judge of the cause of the Bishop of *Rome*.

To that motion what doth *Cyprian* answer? He saith not, *Far be it from me to make my self his Judge, whom I acknowledge to be my superiour, or to be so rash as to judge him, by whom I must be judged.* No such thing. But knowing that *Cornelius* had been lawfully elected, and that *Novatianus* was a factious man, He answereth, that it was not convenient to his gravity to suffer the fame of his colleague lawfully elected and created, to be longer torn by reviling tongues. And upon that he excommunicateth *Novatianus* and all the men of his faction, not expecting the will of *Cornelius*.

(c) Quod & Agrippinus bone in morie vir cum ceteris coepiscopis suis statuit, & librato consilii communis examine firmavit, quorum sententiam & religioſam & legitimam & salutare fidei, & Ecclesie Catholice congruentem, nos etiam secuti sumus.

Baron. an. 2. 4. S. 64.
(d) Cyprian. Epist. 42. ad Cornelium. Cum flagitarent ut crimina que se afferre ac probare dicebant, publice nobis & a plebe cognoscerentur, gravitati nostre negavimus convenire ut college nostri jam delecti & ordinati, & laudabili multorum sententia comprobati, ventilari ultra famam ore maledico & emulatum voce patere. In mur.

Pag. 256.

In *Cyprian's* Epistles, whensoever he speaks to *Cornelius*, or *Lucius*, or *Steven*, Bishops of *Rome*, he never calls them but brethren and colleagues, and gives them no higher title. How would that familiarity be taken in our daies by the Bishop of *Rome*, if a Bishop of *France* or *Spain* writing to him, gave him no title of honour or preheminance, but called him only brother and colleague? Mr. *Du Perron* in the 45 ch. of his first book, saith, that *Cyprian* spake so to shew that the Popes Monarchy, is gentle and brotherly, and to represent the unnyty of communion; and upon that, brings examples to no purpose. For either they are not examples of inferiours speaking to their superior, but examples of superiours, who out of humility call their inferiours brethren, which is seemly; or of inferiours speaking to their superiors of a third person: Or if any inferior calls his superior brother, other passages will be found where he gives him other and honourable titles; which *Cyprian* never doth. After M. *Du Perron* hath excused that style, he cannot but acknowledge that it would not be suffered in these daies. And the more examples he brings to that purpose, the more he condemneth the pride of the Popes of the last ages, which suffer that style no more.

Pag. 356.

(e) *Epist.* 68.
(f) Verba
Stephani sunt
in *Epist.* 74.
Cypriani.

Si quis ergo à
quacunque
heresi venerit
ad nos, nihil
inmovetur
nisi quod tra-
ditum est ut
manus illi
imponatur ad
penitentiam.

(g) *res dno
et aspersas
et yodas
epus et re-
ter et dno
et dno et dno*

(h) *Misi tibi
rescripti ejus
exemplum,
quo lecto ma-
gis ac ma-
gis errorem
ejus denotabis
qui heretico-
rum causam
contra Christi-
anos & con-
tra Ecclesiam
Dei asserere
conatur. Nam
inter cetera
vel superba
vel ad rem
non pertinen-
tiaque impe-
rite atque im-
providè
scripti, &c.*

In the year of our Lord, 258 two Bishops of *Spain*, *Basilides* Bishop of *Leon*, and *Martial* Bishop of *Astur* or *Asturga*, for divers crimes were deposed from their charges by the Bishops of *Spain*. *Basilides* made great means to be restored; and seeing he could obtain nothing of the Bishops of *Spain*, he went up to *Rome*, where having posselt *Steven* Bishop of *Rome* with many untrue suggestions, he desired him to imploy his credit for his restitution: Which *Steven* laboured to do, but could not effect it. For that which the Cardinal saith that *Steven* restored him, is false; for he was never restored. *Steven* writ to the Bishops of *Spain* in the behalf of *Basilides* and *Martial*, advising and exhorting them to restore them to their charges. Upon that the Bishops of *Spain* write to (e) *Cyprian*, asking him counsel whether they should restore them according to the counsel of the Bishop of *Rome*. *Cyprian* answereth that they should not hearken to *Stevens* advice; and that *Basilides* having given a false information to *Steven*, had rather increased then diminished his fault. They followed his counsel, and rejected that of *Steven*; for they held not themselves subject to the Bishop of *Rome*; who also did not complain that the Spaniards had rejected his counsel, and would not condescend to his will. One would think that the Spaniards could do no less then to send deputies to *Rome* to make remonstrances to *Steven*, and represent their excuses and the reasons of their disobedience: But they forgot it, as not owing so much duty to the Bishop of *Rome*.

But here is more. For the strife grew hot between *Steven* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* about the question of rebaptizing Hereticks. *Steven* (f) saying that all that were converted from any heresie whatsoever, were to be received without rebaptizing; and *Cyprian* saying that all hereticks whatsoever ought to be rebaptized. These two opinions have bin condemned since by the (g) Council of *Nice*, *Can.* 19. which makes a difference between hereticks, giving order that some of them be rebaptized, designing especially the *Samosatensians*, or *Paulianists*. And the Council of *Laodicea* in the eighth Canon giveth the same order about the *Montanists*. And the first Council of *Constantinople*, in the seventh Canon doth the like about the *Ennomians*, the *Montanists*, and the *Sabellians*. To whom *Basil* in the Epistle to *Amphilochius*, *Can.* 47. adds the *Eucratites*, the *Pepusians*, the *Saccophores*, and the *Apotacticks*: An evident proof that the Antient Church held not her self obliged to follow the decisions of the Bishop of *Rome*.

Cyprian then rebaptizing all the converted hereticks, according to the custome of his predecessors, resisted *Steven* vigorously, so far as to come to ill words. In his Epistle to *Pompeius* which is the seventy fourth, he speaks thus of *Steven*. (h) *I have sent thee a copy of Stevens writing, which when thou hast read, thou wilt more and more acknowledge that mans error, who endeavoureth to defend the cause of the hereticks against the Christians, and against the Church of God. For among other either*

proud

proud or impertinent things, and such as contradict themselves, which he ignorantly and imprudently writeth, he hath added this, to say if any person comes from any heresy whatsoever, that nothing be innovated, but that which is given by tradition, that is, that hands be laid upon him in sign of repentance. And a little after; What obstinacy and presumption is that, to prefer humane tradition before divine disposition? He addeth, that by Stevens doctrine Christians do that which Antichrists do: and after many the like discourfes he adds, (i) *Doth that man give glory to God, who being a friend to Hereticks, and enemy to Christians, thinks that Gods Priests that defend the truth of Christ, and the unity of the Church, must be excommunicated, &c.* Then speaking Ironically (k) *Let us give (saith he) to the Devil the ordination of the Gospel, the disposition of Christ, the Majesty of God. Let truth yield unto untruth, and Christ to Antichrist.* In my opinion this dealing is no flattery; but a very great and plain contempt of the authority of the Bishop of Rome. Now by these Priests which Steven judged worthy of excommunication, Cyprian meaneth himself. For Steven would gladly have excommunicated him, if he might, as that which followed shewed it.

Neither was Cyprian contented with that; but having convoked a Council of eighty seven Bishops, he caused the doctrine of Steven, and of the Roman Church to be condemned. Some person ignorant in Antiquity, may presuppose that for such an action the Pope excommunicated Cyprian immediately, struck him down with thundering anathemas, and degraded him of his Office. The Pope in our daies would incense the people to fall upon such a man, and would persecute him with fire and sword. But no such thing followed, and Steven pronounced not any condemnation against Cyprian; knowing that Cyprian would have served him in the same kind, and that his judgements were of no account in Africa. All the revenge he took of Cyprian, was, that he would not (l) speak with Cyprians Legates, and forbad the Christians of Rome to give them lodging, calling Cyprian a (m) *false Christ, and a false Apostle, and a deceitful Work-man, as Firmilianus testifies it in an Epistle of his to Cyprian, which is the seventy fith among Cyprians Epistles.*

The same Cyprian Epist. 72. representing his doctrine to Steven about the rebaptizing of hereticks, sheweth a fear that Steven should think that he would prescribe him Laws; wherefore he shuts up his Epistle in these words. (n) *Wherein we constrain no man, and give no laws, seeing that every Pastor hath the freedom of his will in the Government of the Church, of which he must give account to God.* In our daies that modesty would be both injurious and ridiculous, if one said to the Pope: *Sir Pope, I prescribe no laws to you, for you are free in the Government of your own Church.*

The same Cyprian in the Council which he convoked, exhorting every one to speak his mind, taxeth thus Steven obliquely, as Baronius acknowledgeth (o) *It remains that we speak every one his opinion concerning this point; judging no body, and cutting off no man from the communion for being of a contrary mind. For none of us calls himself Bishop of Bishops, or constraineth his colleagues to the necessity of obedience by a tyrannical terror, seeing that every Bishop hath the liberty and disposition of his own will, and can no more be judged by any, then himself can judge any. But we all expect the judgement of the Lord Jesus, &c.*

We have represented before what Cyprians opinion was concerning St. Peter, namely that Jesus Christ before his resurrection established Peter the only Head of the Universal Church, but that after his resurrection he made all his Apostles alike in honour and power; so that he makes Peters primacy to continue but two years at the most. Also that Christ would that in the beginning the conduct of the Church should belong to one only, to shew the unity of the Church: and that the office of Pastour in the Church should issue and have its origen from the unity. Cyprian also believed that St. Peter had founded the Roman Church, which he calls *principal*, because of the dignity of the City. For Cyprians actions which I have here represented, shew sufficiently, that he held not himself subject to the Bishop of Rome.

Conferit amoventes. Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcoporum se Episcopum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit.

K k

The

(i) Du benoem Leo qui hereticorum amicus & inimicus Christianorum, Sacerdotes Dio veritatem Christi & Ecclesie tuentes abstinentes putat &c. (k) Traditur Diabolo ordinatio Evangelii, &c.

(l) Epist. 75. sect. 8. Legatos acc ad sermonem saltem colloqui communis admittit vel spracipere fraternitati ne quis eos in domum suam recipiet.

(m) Sect. 22. Non pader Stephanum propter hereticos asserendos fraternitatem seindeve? Insuper Cyprianum pseudo-Christum & pseudo-Apostolum & dolosum operarium dicere?

(n) Quia in ea nec nos vim cui quam facimus, aut legem damus, cum habeat in Ecclesie administratione voluntatis sue arbitrium unusquisque prepositus.

(o) Concilium convocatum An. 258. sect. 42. Superest ut de hac ipsa re singuli quid sentiamus proferamus. Neminem judicantes aut a jure communionis aliquem si diversum

(p) Post ista
ad hoc pseu-
do-Episcopo
sibi ab hereti-
cis constituto,
navigare au-
dent ad Pe-
tri Cathedram
atq. Ecclesiam
principalem,
unde unitas
sacerdotalis
exorta est, &
a schismaticis
& profanis
litteras ferre,
nec cogitare
eos esse Roma-
nos quorum
fides Apostolo
prædicante,
laudata est, ad
quos perfidia
habere non po-
tuit accessum.
(q) Oportet
illic agere
causam suam
ubi & accu-
satores & tes-
tes habere sui
criminis pos-
sunt, nisi si
paucis despe-
ratis & per-
ditis minor
videtur esse
authoritas
Episcoporum
in Africa
constitutorum
qui jam de
illis judica-
runt.

* p. 360. Fal-
sification of
Card. du
Perron.

The above named Priest *Feliciſſimus* being excommunicated by *Cyprian*, croſt the ſeas, and came to *Rome*, hoping to find a ſupport in *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*: *Cornelius* having received *Cyprian's* letter ſomewhat late, lent his ear a little too much to the clamours of *Feliciſſimus* and his adherents againſt *Cyprian*; who in the fifty fifth Epistle to *Cornelius*, complains of it, and repreſents to him, that it belongeth not to his care to judge of the cauſes already judged in *Africa*, nor to admit thoſe whom he had excommunicated. For in that age they knew not yet the way of appealing to *Rome*.

But that he might gently inſinuate himſelf into the mind of *Cornelius*, and guild the pill which he would have him to ſwallow, he uſeth a Preface of praiſes of the Roman Church. (p) After theſe things (ſaith he) having ſet up to themſelves a Biſhop made by hereticks, yet they are ſo bold as to make voyages to *St. Peters* chair, and to the principal Church whence the ſacerdotal unity is ſprung, and to bring letters from ſchismaticks and hereticks: Not conſidering that you are Romans, whoſe faith was commended by the Apoſtle, and to which perfidiouſneſs can have no acceſs. Meaning that traytors and perfidious men, as this *Feliciſſimus*, could not get ſupport from them. Which words exalt the dignity of the Church of *Rome*, but aſcribe no power or jurisdiction to it over other Churches. As in effect he denieth to the Roman Church in the next words the knowledge of the cauſes already judged in other Churches, ſpeaking thus. Whereas it is a general order, which is juſt and equitable that the cauſe be heard where the crime was committed; and that to every Paſtor a portion of the flock is aſſigned to conduſt and govern, of the care whereof he muſt give an account unto the Lord; it is not fit that thoſe over which we preſide go up and down, making Biſhops living in a well united concord to daſh one againſt another, divided by a fraudulent and deceitful raſhneſs; But that they ſhould plead (q) their cauſe where they may have accuſers and wiſneſſes of their crimes. Unleſs it ſeem to a few deſperate and loſt men, that the authority of Biſhops eſtabliſhed in *Africa* is leſs, who have already judged of them, and by the gravity of their judgement have condemned their own conſcience, already bound with many ſnares of ſins; Already their cauſe is tried, Already their ſentence is pronounced. The effect of this diſcourſe is, that it belongs not to *Cornelius* nor to the Roman Church to take knowledge of a cauſe already judged in *Africa*; and that the authority of the African Church is no leſs then that of the Roman. For the whole drift of the diſcourſe ſheweth that this word *leſs* is comparative of the African with the Roman, and that it is not a comparative put inſtead of a poſitive, as **M. du Perron* will perſwade us: For to break the ſtrength of that place he clips it, and alleadgeth but the firſt lines, and leaveth out the laſt. He acknowledgeth alſo that the leaſt cauſes indeed were judged in *Africa* without appeal, but he ſaith that they appealed to *Rome* for the more important cauſes: Which is clearly confuted by that we have ſeen before. For the controverſie of rebaptizing hereticks, and the convocation of a Council againſt the doctrine received in the Roman Church, are important points. About which nevertheleſs *Agrippinus* Biſhop of *Carthage*, having condemned the doctrine received in the Roman Church, none of the Africans did appeal, and the Biſhops of *Rome* did not ſtir about it. *Cyprian* likewiſe and the Biſhops of *Africa* made no difficulty to condemn the Biſhop of *Rome*; ſo far were they from believing, that any could appeal from them to the Roman See. The Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, which the Cardinal alledgeth to this purpoſe, is not of the age of which we now ſpeak; being made 150. years after. We will ſhew, God willing, in its proper place, that the Cardinal did not underſtand it, or would not.

Our Adverſaries abuſe a teſtimony of *Cyprian* in the ſame Epistle. (r) Hereſies and Schiſms come from no other cauſe, but that the Priſt of God is not obeyed, and that one Priſt is not acknowledged in the Church to judge for a time in Chriſts ſtead. For *Cyprian* in that place ſpeaks not of the Univerſal Church, but of every particular Church; of that of *Carthage* eſpecially. In which he being Biſhop, he complains of the faction that would eſtabliſh another Biſhop, one *Fortunatus*. Thus in the 6 book of the hiſtory of *Euſebius* ch. 42. there is an Epistle of *Cornelius*

(r) Epistle 55.
ſect. 6.

lius Bishop of Rome, where he saith, that in a Catholick Church there must be but one Bishop. But by the Catholick Church, he means the Orthodox Church of the City of Rome; not the Universal Church, as the following words shew it, where he saith that in that Catholick Church, there was forty six Priests, &c. for the Universal Church had a thousand times more.

In the same time lived in the East St. Firmilianus Arch-bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, whose name is in the Menology or Calender of the Greeks, being remembered as a holy man, and greatly honoured by posterity. Of this man (f) Theoderet exalteth the praises, saying that he was a famous man, learned both in divine and humane sciences. Likewise Basil, chap. 29. in the book of the Holy Ghost, reckoneth him among the defenders of the truth. This Firmilianus was President of the Council of Antioch, in which Paulus Samosatensis was condemned, An. 264. Baronius also on the year 258. yields him that testimony that he was not inferiour to any in holiness of life. This holy man being of Cyprians opinion, contradicted Steven Bishop of Rome. His Epistle to Cyprian is the seventy fifth among the Epistles of Cyprian, where he speaks thus of Steven; (t) We may thank Steven for this, that by his inhumanity it is come to pass that we had an experience of your faith and wisdom. And a little after, comparing Steven unto Judas, he addeth, (u) Let us pass by the things that Steven hath done, least that by remembering his audaciousness and insolence we grieve too long for the things which he hath wickedly done: Then he addeth (x) that they that are at Rome, practise not all the things that have been given from the beginning; and in vain pretend to defend themselves with the authority of the Apostles. And that they practise not all things that are practised at Jerusalem. That holy man held not himself subject to the Roman Church, and wisht that the Roman Church would conform her self to that of Jerusalem. Then condemning Steven for troubling the peace of the Church, (y) I am (saith he) justly incensed against such an evident and manifest folly of Steven. Finally he saith that the reproaches which Stephen had applied unto Cyprian, calling him false Christ and false Apostle, and deceitfull workman, did justly belong to Steven.

Another famous man for holiness and learning in those times, was Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria in Egypt; who in the contention of Cyprian with Steven, took Cyprians part, as Hierom testifieth in the Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. (z) This man (saith he) consenting with Cyprian, and with the Synod of Africa, hath written many Epistles to divers persons, about the rebaptizing of hereticks. Yea he writ about it unto Eusebius also, as Eusebius (a) testifieth. Whence it appears that this Dionysius held not himself subject to the Bishop of Rome.

About the year of our Lord 264. this same Dionysius being suspected to incline to the opinion of those that denied Jesus Christ to be God, and being informed that he had been blamed for it before Dionysius Bishop of Rome, writ an Apology to purge himself of that imputation. That Apology had four books, and impugned the opinion of Sabellius. The book he dedicated to Sabellius Bishop of Rome, as to his friend, not his Judge or Superior; for he was not cited nor brought in question about it: and Dionysius the Roman pronounced no Judgement upon that business. The Egyptians that carried this blame to the ears of Dionysius or Denis of Rome, against Denis of Alexandria, did it because they could not complain to the Synod of Egypt, which could not assemble without the authority and consent of Denis Bishop of Alexandria, who governed the Churches of Egypt.

Briefly, in all that third Age no trace appeareth of the Primacy or Sovereign power of the Roman Bishop over the Universal Church: No appeal to Rome from the remote Churches: No Law from Rome to the Universal Church: No heretick taxed for dissenting from the Roman High Priest. For then (as we heard before Pius II. saying Ep. 88. l. 1.) the Roman Church was little regarded. Which Doctor Boulenger in his book against Causabon, pag. 21. doth freely acknowledge. If sometimes (saith he) in Eusebius or some other Authors thou seest that it is not spoken of the power of the Apostolick See, but somewhat obscurely; know that be-

(f) Theod. de hæresibus in aulo Samosateno. *ἐκκλησίαν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἔχει* E. *ἐκκλησίαν* ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ τὸν ἱερεῖον ἔχει. *ἐκκλησίαν* οὐ καὶ τὸν ἱερεῖον ἔχει. *ἐκκλησίαν* οὐ καὶ τὸν ἱερεῖον ἔχει.

(t) Gratian refert Stephano in isto posuit, quod per illius inhumanitatem effectum est: ut p. di & sapientia vestire fidem. *ape enus.*

(u) Sed hac inquit que a Stephano

gesta sunt præterantur, ne dum audacie & insolentie ejus

meminimus, de rebus ab eo improbe gestis

longiorem molestiam nobis inferamus.

(x) Eos qui Romæ sunt non in omnibus observare que sunt ab origine tradita, & frustra

Apostolorum auctoritatem prætere.

(y) Epist. 75. §. 15. Juste indignor ad hanc tam acriam &

manifestam Stephani stultitiam.

(z) Hic in Cypriani & Africana Synodi dogma

confutans de rebaptizandis hereticis, ad diversos plurimas scripsit Epistolas.

(a) Euseb. l. 7. c. 4. & 5. Idem l. 7. c. 26.

fore the happy age of Constantine, the Church of Christ the Lord was hidden in darkness, and that in the confusion of the times, and among those perpetual combats of crosses and sufferings, the Popes were not raised to that greatness, which afterwards was deferred unto them.

That reason moved M. du Perron to confine himself to the time of the four first Universal Councils; the first whereof begins but in the year 325. For in all the time before, he finds nothing that with any colour can be alledged for the Popes Primacy.

CHAP. 4.

That the Cardinal would not make use of the authority of the Decretals to prove the Popes primacy in the three first Ages. And of the authority of the said Decretals.

HERE I owe a just defence to my Lord Cardinal against some Jesuites and others of the like disposition, who being used to produce the Decretals of the Antient Bishops of Rome for the Popes primacy, may find it strange that M. du Perron makes so little account of them; having never alledged them, but in some places (a) where he speaks of them with contempt: Whence it is that in his book the proofs of the Popes Primacy in the three first Ages are so thin sown.

Yet those Decretal Epistles attributed to the Bishops of Rome of the first Age, are of great authority in the Roman Church. For they are inserted in the first Tome of the Councils; and it is above seven hundred years since they have been received in the Roman Church as divine Oracles, so far as to be equalled with the holy Scriptures, and to be put among the Canonical books. In the Roman Decree the inscription of the Canon *In Canonicis Dist.* 19. is such, (b) *The Decretal Epistles are reckoned among the Canonical Scriptures.* And Pope Nicolas the first, *Canone Si Romanorum*, maintains that (c) these Decretals must be received, because Pope Leo did so command it, although they be not inserted in the Code of the Canons of the Fathers, in the same manner as the holy Scripture is received, because Pope Innocent commanded it so, although it be not inserted in the Code of the Canons of the Fathers. Wherefore also he added according to the constitution of Pope Leo, *If any sin against these Decretals, it shall not be forgiven him.*

Wherefore they that have compiled the Canons and Decrees of the Roman Church, namely Burchardus, Yvo Carnutenfis, and Gratianus, have filled their books with Canons excerpted out of these Decretals. In the Roman Decree of Gratian there is above four hundred Canons taken from them. (d) Bellarmine makes use of them to prove the Popes Primacy. And the Jesuite Costerus in his Enchiridion in the chapter de *summo Pontifice*: (e) Which is more, Turrianus a Jesuite writ a great book purposely to defend these Decretals: And his work is exalted by Stapleton, (f) Baronius, Gretserus, and many others.

There is more yet, The Roman Decree collected by Gratian, a great part whereof is drawn from these Decretals, is the field and the study of the Canonists. And for the exposition of that Decree, Schools of Canon Law have been erected in Universities. An honour which the Roman Church never did to the holy Scriptures; for whose Exposition no Schools are erected, and no Doctorate is instituted purposely for that Science.

(a) As in the 31. chap. of the first book p. 189. where he saith that the first Epistle of Clement to James is Apocrypha, and supposititious.
(b) *Inter Canonicas Scripturas Decretales Epistole connumerantur.*
(c) *Capitulum sancti Innocentii Papae, cuius auctoritate docetur a nobis utrumq; Testamentum esse recipiendum, quantum in ipsi paternis Canonibus nullum eorum ex toto constitutum insertum, &c. Sic Vetus & Novum Testamentum sunt recipienda, non quod ex toto Canonum*

codices videantur annexa, sed quod de his recipiendis sancti Papae Innocentii prolata videatur esse sententia.

(d) L. 2. de *summo Pontifice*, c. 14. Sect. Primum. (e) Sect. Constar. Stapleton princip. doctrin. l. 6. c. 15.

(f) Baron. Annal. an. 102. Sect. 12. Gretser. defens. Bellamini Controv. lib. 3. cap. 5. col. 1290.

These

These Epistles bearing the names of the Antient Bishops of Rome, and received with so much respect so many ages, and approved by the Popes that came since, who have used them to ground their authority, could have furnished the Cardinal with a pile of proofs for the Popes primacy. For in them the Roman High Priests speak like Monarchs, and call themselves Heads of the Universal Church, by vertue of Christs words, *Thou art Peter, and upon this stone, &c.* give laws to the Churches of all the world; Pretend that the judgement of all the great and important causes must be reserved to them; Void and disannul all the judgements of other Prelates: Say that *Peter* having established the seat of the primacy at *Antioch*, hath since transported it to *Rome*: Abrogate the Laws of Emperors, though they were Pagans in those dayes: Forbid that Laymen be heard in testimony against a Bishop, though he be never so wicked. Forbid Pagans to accuse a Christian, or to sue him for any cause whatsoever, and the secular judges to judge the causes of Church-men. And certainly if these Epistles be true, they are the strongest weapons of our Adversaries, who have whereof to triumph.

For although no body ought to be judge and witness in his own cause, and though these words which exalt the Papal power, would have been more becoming in the mouth of another than the Bishops of Rome; yet the shew of a great antiquity makes these Epistles considerable, seeing that most of those Bishops have been Martyrs; and antient histories bear witness to their zeal and piety.

All these considerations did not move the Cardinal to make use of these Epistles to maintain the Papal authority, but upon occasions he speaks of them with contempt, and chooseth rather to make use of the testimony of (g) *Aurelianus* a Pagan Emperor, then of the oracles and judgements of the old Bishop of Rome. Who so knows how much this Prelat is versed in Antiquity, and how ingenious in wresting the testimonies of the Antient to his intention, shall easily judge that it was not without a great cause that he hath despised these Decretals attributed to the antient Bishops of Rome.

(g) of which more hereafter.

CHAP. 5.

The first cause why M. du Perron would not make use of the Decretal Epistles of the Bishops of Rome of the three first Ages. Even, because in many places they are contrary to the Roman Church of this time.

THE Cardinal being a learned man, hath so employed himself to maintain the Papal primacy, that he hath together avoided to defend it by waies that might impugn the other doctrines of the Roman Church, and expose the Papal See to derision. Wherefore he was afraid to give credit unto these Epistles which in many things agree not with the belief of the Church of Rome, and are indecent to the Papal dignity.

For example; the first Epistle of *Clement* is written to *James* brother of the Lord, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, whom he calls Bishop of Bishops, governing all the Churches which God by his providence hath founded everywhere. If that be, *James* governed also the Roman Church, and was Head of the Universal Church.

In the second Epistle, the same *Clement* makes bold to instruct *St. James*, who was an Apostle, about the use of the sacred vessels and clothes, where he warneth him to beware (a) *least among the pieces or fragments of the Lords body, there should be micedung seen*; thereby impugning or forgetting transubstantiation for the natural body of Christ hath no pieces, and cannot be broken. That cannot be said but of the Sacramental and figurative body, which is the consecrated bread.

In the second and third Epistle, the Stoical immobility without any passion is taught; and this doctrine is delivered, *homines per pietatem possunt esse impassibiles*, Men by piety may become impassible.

(a) ubi non
mixtum ster-
coris inter
fragmenta
Domini
portionis ap-
pareant.

The fourth Epistle doth exceedingly exalt the vertue of water to purifie and regenerate

regenerate the Souls: Which *Binius* hath observed in his Notes upon these Epistles *Clements* words contain a sublie kind of Divinity: *Images are made with iron, iron is made in the fire, fire is quenched with water, water is moved by the Spirit, who is carried upon the waters. Ergo &c.* which is a concatenation of recreative conceits.

Bellarmino in the book of Ecclesiastical writers, speaks thus of the fifth Epistle of *Clement*. In the fifth Epistle the community of all things, and the very community of wives is commended. Whence he gathers that these words have been foisted into that Epistle by some body. See in *Gratians* Decree (b) that goodly doctrine of *Clement* set down at large, where *Plato* is praised, and called the wisest of the Grecians, for teaching that women must be common.

In the first Epistle of *Anacletus*, Masses without communicants are condemned, in these words, (c) *The consecration being ended, all they must communicate that will not be cut off from the Church.* And in the second Epistle of *Clement*. (d) *Let as many offerings be offered upon the Altar as are sufficient for the people.*

In the first Decretal of *Pius* the first, *Hermes* is called *Doctor of the faith*, and of the Scriptures: and it is related how an Angel appeared upon him in a Shepherd's habit, saying to him that the Paschever must be celebrated upon the Lords day. Yet the Roman Church holds that book of *Hermes* to be fabulous. Pope *Gelasius* puts it among the Apocrypha, and *Hierome* in his *Prolegus Galeatus*, and *Eusebius* in the third book of his history, ch. 3.

To the same *Pius* a Decree (e) is attributed, which forbids upon heavy penalties to swear by the creatures. A law which the Roman Church of this time observeh not, permitting to swear by the relicks of the Saints, as it is exprefly laid in the Catechism of the Council of *Trent* upon these words of the law, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.* And Pope *Nicolas* the first in his answer to the questions of the Bulgares saith the same.

The Decretal of Pope *Urban* the first speaks of some persons *qui sine fide mortui sunt, & tamen bona opera egerunt*: who are dead without faith, and yet have done good works. How can one do good works without faith, seeing that all that is done without faith is sin? Rom. 14. 23.

The first Decretal of Pope *Eutychianus* commands that beans and grapes be offered upon the Altar Which the Roman Church practiseth no more.

The second Epistle of Pope *Sixtus* the second (f) makes humble thanksgivings to the grain of mustard seed.

The Decretal of Pope *Dionysius* begins by a false and absurd sentence. *Summum bonum est amare amantes se.* He saith, that the sovereign good is for one to love those that love him. Truly many wicked men love one another fervently.

In those Decretals Clarks are called *Spiritual* above twenty times, and Lay-men carnal, although there be Lay-men that live with a spiritual life; and many Clarks that live with a carnal life. The Apostle *St Paul*, 1 Cor. 2. by the *spiritual man* understands every man regenerated by Gods spirit.

In most of these Epistles it is forbidden to Lay-men to prefer any accusation against a Bishop or Priest for any cause whatsoever, save only in case of heresie. So that if a Bishop hath killed a Lay-mans Father, or lyen with his Wife, it is not lawful for the wronged party to frame any complaint for it.

The Decretal of *Telephorus* appoints Lent only for Clarks.

The second Epistle of *Clement* forbids to (g) keep any part of the consecrated bread till the next day: But prescribes that the remnant be diligently eaten by the Clarks with fear and trembling. In those daies they reserved no consecrated hosts.

(b) *Causa*
12. *Can. Di-*
lectissimis.

(c) *Peracta*
consecratione
omnes com-
municant qui
voluerint Ec-
clesiasticis ca-
veretiaminibus.
(d) *Tanta in*
altario holo-
causta offe-
rantur,
quantum populo
sufficere de-
beant.

(e) *Causa.*
21. qu. 1.
Can. Si quis.
Sc. quis per
creaturas ju-
rauerit, acer-
time castige-
tur.

(f) *Magis*
gratias ofe-
remus illi
grano sinapis.

(g) *Tanta in*
altario holo-
causta offe-
rantur, quan-
ta populo
sufficere debe-
ant. Quod si
remanerint
in crastinum,
non reserven-
tur, sed cum
timore &
tremore cleri-
corum dili-
gentia consu-
mantur.

CHAP. 6.

Other causes why the Cardinal would make no use of the Decretals of the three first Ages. Of the barbarousness of those Decretals, and how Scripture is prophaned in them.

IT is very like that M. du Perron disgusted the style of the Decretals, which is ridiculous, full of incongruities, and of an absurd barbarousness: A thing altogether intolerable in the first and second age after the Apostles, in which the Latin tongue was yet in its purity. Besides, the same incongruities and barbarisms are found in the Epistles of several Popes, and the style is so like, that it is evident that all these Epistles come out of the same shop, and belong to the same Author.

These are some of the flowres of elegancy which are found in these Decretals. (a) *Altario*. (b) *Odientes*. (c) *Consolari & venerari*, for being comforted and respected. (d) *Calumniari*, for being calumniated. (e) *Titulandus aurbem honorabilem*. In a hundred places the words of *taliter & qualiter* are repeated. And these phrases, (f) *Episcopi sunt obediendi & non detrahendi, nec injuriandi, sed portandi & supportandi. Et* (g) *confessio debet profiteri*, that is, must be freely pronounced. In the second Epistle of Sixtus the first, *Ab hac sancta sede à sanctis Apostolis Episcopi tueri & defendi jussi sunt. Et sicut egerit ita recipiet, si bene bene, si grave grave, si pessime pessime*. Also *se cavere*, for take heed, & *Paires sunt venerandi non infidiandi*. And it is ordinary with those Epistles to say *persequi* for being persecuted. The first Decretal of Victor saith *tantum Christiana confessione credulias clarificata baptizentur*. And in the second, *Nocere fratres* instead of *fratribus*. And in the second Epistle of Calixtus, *illum nocere*, for, be hurtful to any. And Zepherinus Epist. 2. *presentem fraternam syllabam exposuimus*. These words *Detrahere aliquem*, for detraiting of one; and (h) *modernus* for new: and (i) *exhibet*; and (k) *suspicius*, for suspect; and *rigorosus*, and *charitativus*, and *perseverabilis*, and *injuriare*, and *prælibatus*, and *pretexatus*, and a thousand of the like are frequent there. Steven in the second Decretal comes out with his Latin elegancy, *Nullus anathema suscipiatur*, Never poor Priscian was so kickt and boxed. It seems that the forger of these Epistles believed that barbarousness and incongruities are decent in Oracles.

Also the novelty of these Decretals appears, in that they are full of the terms of the Capitularies of Charlemayn, and Lewis the Meek, and of the Councils held in France and Germany in their time.

In those Decretals some impious sentences are found, as that which is said in the third Epistle of Clement; That (l) *they that obey their Bishops, seem to confer some grace unto God*, as if God were much obliged to them for it. And that which Calixtus the first saith in his first Decretal, *As the Son of God is come to do the Will of his Father, so you must fulfil the will of the Roman Church your mother*; where, by the Roman Church, the Pope must be understood, for all is ruled by his will. Who is able to suffer the ugly words of the second Decretal of the same Calixtus, who having called the Bishop husband of the Church, calls also the ordination or installing of the Bishop (m) *concubitus cum sua uxore*? This is no better. Alexander the first, in his first Decretal speaks thus; *We bless water unto the people with the consperision of salt, that all they that are besprinkled with it may be sanctified and purified*. For if (as the Apottle saith, Heb. 9.) *the ashes of the heifer sprinkled over with blood did sanctifie and cleanse the people, how much more doth the water aspersed with salt, sanctifie the people?* &c. And if we doubt not but that the sick were healed by touching the hemm of our Saviours garment; how much more by the vertue of his sacred words are the elements consecrated, whereby humane frailty receiveth the health of body and soul? By these elements he understands water and salt, which he will have to be effectual to the healing of the soul.

It is ordinary with these Decretals to play with Scripture, and to wrest it to an absurd

(a) Clem. ep. 2.

(b) Anacleti ep. 1.

(c) Eiusdem ep. 2.

(d) Eiusdem ep. 3.

(e) Gaii Papæ & Evaristi secundi.

(f) Alex. ep. 1.

(g) Telephori ep.

(h) Urbani Decretalis.

(i) Bontiani Ep.

(k) Fab. Ep. 3.

(l) Quicumque obediunt Episcopis suis videntur aliquod gratie conferre Deo.

(m) Eius concubitus frui, id est ordinatione.

(n) Steph.
Ep. 2.

furd sense, contrary to the right meaning. *Clement* in the first Decretal, and *Anacletus*, and *Alexander* after him, prove that *Clarks* must not be offended, because it is written, *He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye, Zech. 2. 8.* But there *Zechariah* speaks of the care that *God* hath of his people in general, not of the *Priests* alone. And (n) *Steven* proveth the same, because *Christ* said, *Matth. 18. 6. If any offend one of these little ones, it were better for him to have a mil-stone hanged about his neck, &c.* as if by these little ones the *Clergy* only were meant.

The first Decretal of *Anacletus* saith, *We prohibit strangers judgements*; intending thereby to prohibit *Laymen* to be *Judges* of *Clergy* men. For (saith he) *the Lord* speaking of *Lot* by the mouth of *Moses*, saith, *Thou art come in as a stranger; didst thou come to be our Judge?* He makes *God* say that which was said by the *Sodomites*.

With the like depravation the second Decretal saith, that *God* hath reserved unto himself the judgement of the sins of *Priests* and *Bishops*, and would not have men to judge them. For, saith he, *the Lord himself hath given an example of it, when himself, not by another, but in person, cast the sellers and buyers out of the Temple, and with his own whip overthrew the tables of the money-changers.* That *Coyner* of false Decretals believed that those buyers and sellers were *Priests*. A jolly argument! The *Lord* hath himself cast out the money-changers, *Ergo*, there is none but *God* that can judge *Priests* and *Bishops*. For he presumeth that the *Papal* chair is *God's* chair. In the same place the excellency of *Priests* and *Bishops* is proved, because it is written, *God sitteth in the assembly of the Gods, and I have said you are Gods, Psal. 82.* where there is no mention of *Priests* or *Bishops*, but of *Judges* and temporal *Princes*.

The same Decretal of *Anacletus*, proves that *Christ* dwelleth not in the calumniators of *Priests*, because it is written *Luke 9. The Foxes have holes, and the Birds of Heaven have nests, but the Son of God hath not where to lay his head.*

In the same place he labours to shew that the *Son* is not inferior to the *Father*, although it be written, *Verbum faciet Dominus abbreviatum universo orbi, The Lord shall abbreviate his word in all the world.*

The third Epistle proveth the *Popes* primacy, because *St. Peter* is call *Cephas*, that is a head; not knowing that *Cephas* signifieth a stone.

The first Decretal of *Alexander* proveth that no harm must be done to *Bishops*, because the *Lord* hath said by *Joel*, *Shall ye return vengeance unto me?* and by *Hosea 14. Who is he that is wise? let him understand these things.* And if by force some Paper or signed writing be taken from some one [of them] he declareth that it will be no prejudice to him, because *Hosea* saith, *Let the Trumpet be at thy throat, &c.* And because *Christ* said, *When thou prayest, enter into thy Closet.* And (o) there is no greater crime thento bear envy unto *Priests*, because the *Apostle* saith, *God knows them that are his.*

(o) Alexand.
Decretal.
Pejus malum
fore non est
mo quam
Christianos
suis invidere
sacerdotibus.
Novit enim
Dominus qui
sunt ejus.

Steven in the second Decretal teacheth that *Laymen* must not be heard in accusation against a *Bishop*, because *Bishops* are the throne of *God*; And that the *Prophet* speaks of them when he saith, *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy work.* And *Eutychian* in the second Epistle proveth that *Clarks* must not be offended, because it is written, that *the Angel of the Lord encampeth about them that fear him.* I bring few examples of many. For the whole stuff of these Epistles is a perpetual depravation of Scripture, compelled in a ridiculous way to the advantage of *Priests* and *Bishops*; and of the *Bishop of Rome* especially.

CHAP. 7.

Evident untruths in the Decretals of the three first Ages. The gross ignorance in history of him that coined them.

THAT these Epistles are false in their title, it appears by the falshood of their Contents, for they are all over stuffed with lyes. Many false and absurd things, which could not have been said in those dayes, and neither consonant with the time, nor with the truth, are there ascribed to the antient Bishops of Rome.

Those Decretal Epistles attributed to the Bishops of Rome of the three first ages are fifty seven, or fifty eight in number, almost all dated from the Consulat of certain Consuls, all which dates, save only five or six are false: Those Consuls are either imaginary, or not agreeing with the time of those Bishops. That is seen by the *Fasti* of *Onuphrius*, and the Chronicles of *Marcellinus*, *Cassiodorus* and *Ensebius*; but especially by (a) *Baronius*, who in his Annals carefully observeth the untruth of those dates; which he imputes to this, that the Collector or Author of these Epistles hath followed the Pontifical of *Damasus*, which is all full of error in history.

(a) *Baronius*
an. 66. §. 35,
36, 37, 38. &
an. 80. §. 3. &
saepe alibi.

These Epistles make a frequent mention of (b) Patriarchs, Primates, and Archbishops, which were unknown names in the three first Ages. The title of Arch-bishop began towards the end of the fourth Age. That word is found in the twenty fourth Oration of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and in *Epiphanius* in the sixty eighth and sixty ninth heresie, where *Peter* and *Alexander* are called Arch-bishops of *Alexandria*. It is found also in the Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*.

(b) *Clement*,
Ep. 1. *Anacletus*,
Ep. 1. & 2.

As for the word Patriarch, the Montanists had their Patriarchs, as we learn of (c) *Hierom.* Of the Patriarchs of the Jews, mention is made in the sixteenth book of the Theodosian Code. (*) For the Jews scattered in the Roman Empire, had their Patriarchs in divers Provinces.

(c) *Epist. 54.*
Montaniste
habent primos
de Pepusa
Phrygia Pa-
triarchas.

In the same Epistles frequent mention is made of Temples and of the Sanctuary; but then the Christians had no Temples. It was a great favour if sometimes the Emperours after fierce persecutions gave them leave to meet in burying places. Sometimes in certain intervals of peace, they have built Temples; but that continued but little.

(*) *Tit. 8.*
lege 1. Judeis
& majoribus
eorum &
Patriarchis
volumus inti-
uari, &c.
& lege 2.

The first Decretal of *Anacletus* takes from them that are not Christians the liberty of being witnesses or accusers in Law. In that time the Bishops of Rome were hidden, and were eminent only in martyrdom. How could they have given Laws to the Pagan Emperours, or hinder those that were of the Emperours and the Senates religion, to be received to be witnesses?

(d) *Idem*
habes Ep. 1.
Hygini Epist.
copi, & Ep. 3.
Fabiani.

In the same Epistle *Anacletus* speak thus. (d) *Peregrina judicium submoveamus.* Could that Bishop that lived under the Cross hinder the exercise of the judicial Courts of the Roman Pretor? or hinder the Christians from appearing before the ordinary Magistrates? In the same place that supposititious *Anacletus* speaks like an Emperour. *Let every Province both according to the Laws of the Church, and the civil Laws, have her own just Judges, and none from without (meaning the Pagans) unless the authority of this Apostolick See have otherwise decreed about it.*

In the same Epistle the word *Comes* is found (that is a Count or an Earl) A word which was not in use, but since the Emperour *Adrian*, who travelling through the whole Empire, carried with him an itinerant Senate. Hence it came that the Officers of his Court were called *Comites*, and his Court *Comitatus*, because they had accompanied him in his journey.

These Epistles also speak often of *Archisclamines* who were Pagans, to whom the Arch-bishops and Primates have succeeded, which is a gross error: For in *Greece*, *Asia*, *Egypt*, &c. yea in all the Provinces of the Roman Empire

there

there were no *Flamines* no *Archiflamines*, but in *Italy* only; *Rome* had her *Flamines Diales* & *Quirinales*, but they had nothing to do out of *Italy*; Neither do I believe that the word *Archiflamines* is found in any antient Author.

(c) *Sacra unctione exemplum Prophetarum & Regum capita eorum more Apostolorum & Moysis ungentes.*

The same second Decretal of *Anacletus* saith (c) that *Moses* and the *Apostles* were anointed with oyl. Thats false. The *Apostles* never received any anointing with oyle. They annointed the sick to heal them, not the *Pastors* of the Church in their Ordination.

The same Epistle speaks of those that could not have their recourse to the Court of Emperours and Kings. Who knows not that then there was no King under the Roman Empire?

(f) *Praefectus Urbis.*

The second Epistle of *Pius* the first, and that of *Urban*, speak *de praediis*, of the Lands and Possessions of the Church, and of great riches. Yet in that time the Church suffered grievous persecutions, and the *Christians* were stript of all their goods. *Laurentius* a Roman Deacon being commanded by the (f) *Praefect* of the City, to deliver unto him the treasures of the Christian Church, brought to his door a company of lame and maimed people, as *Prudentius* relates in the hymn of *Laurentius*.

(g) The same is found in Epist. 2. of *Fabianus*.

With great absurdity in the second Decretal attributed to (g) *Pius* the first, that Bishop is made to say, *That if any Priest be disobedient to his Bishop, mox Curia tradatur; let him be presently delivered to the temporal Court.* Now the Emperours were then Pagans and cruel persecutors. And those men were said *tradi Curiae*, who by a kind of punishment or disgrace were delivered to the Officers which the Emperour had in the several Cities, to be punished and employed in some sordid service. A thing which belonged neither to the knowledge, nor to the power of Bishops, who had then enough to do to hide themselves, and were far from delivering their Priests to the Magistrate: which if they had done, they had delivered them to death, not for their disobedience to the Bishop, but for Christian Religion.

(h) *Eos consanguineos dicimus quos divina & Imperatorum Romanorum atque Graecorum leges consanguineos appellant.*

The first Epistle of *Victor* is written to *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who was Bishop of that City under the Emperour *Arcadius*, and came to *Constantinople* to condemn *Chrysostome* in the year of Christ four hundred and three, two hundred years after the death of this *Victor*; for there was no other *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*.

The second Epistle of *Calixtus* saith, that by the Civil Laws it is forbidden to Laymen to conspire against Bishops. Who will believe that Pagan Emperours persecuting the Church with all their might, were carefull that the Christian people should bear respect to their Pastors?

(i) *Scimus vos non ignorare quia haftenus vita communis inter bonos Christianos viguit, & adhuc gratia Dei viget.*

In the same Epistle the forger of these Decretals discovereth himself, and sheweth in whose time he lived, namely of *Charlemagne* or his children; In which time there was two Empires, the one of the Greek Emperours, the other of the Emperours of the West, styling themselves Roman Emperours. For that Epistle saith, (h) *We call those kin whom the divine Laws, and those of the Roman Emperours, and of the Greeks, call kin.*

(k) *Quod si quis fecerit, perpetua damnatur infamia, & carceri tradatur, aut exilio perpetuae deportationis utatur.*

The Decretal of *Urban* saith falsely, that (i) to his time goods had been common among Christians, and were still, and that they had nothing proper. Now *Urban* was Bishop in the year of Christ 222. And that which is most false and absurd, is, that the same Epistle (k) condemneth to imprisonment and perpetual Exile, and brandeth with a note of infamy those that usurp the goods and the possessions of the Church. The Bishops of *Rome* being then persecuted and exposed to martyrdom, had no civil jurisdiction. Yea in time of peace the power of exiling and branding with infamy belonged not unto Bishops, but to the secular power. Before that the Popes by the liberality of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* became temporal Princes, it was not in their power to punish any man with exile.

(l) *Baron. an. 238. Sect. 9. Binus in Notis. Possessivus Appar.*

There is a plain untruth observed by (l) *Baronius*, *Binus*, and *Possessivus* in the Epistle of *Fabian*; *Fabian* is made to say that in his time *Novatus* came from *Africa* to *Rome*, and drew *Novatian* and some others to his ill doctrine.

Yet

Yet that did not happen but in the time of *Cornelius* successor to *Fabian*, as it may be seen in *Cyprians* Epistles 49, 52, & 76. and in the Chronicle of *Eusebius*.

Fabian in the third Decretal decreeth that those that are led to be executed be not barred from appealing, as if the Roman Pretor in that Age had been subject to the Laws of the Bishop of *Rome*, or as if leave had been given to appeal from Judges sitting upon life and death in the Emperours name, unto the Bishop. That *Fabian* was so far from pretending to that power, that himself after a long and hard prison was finally executed to death, by the sentence of the Judges.

With the like impudence the same Decretal makes that *Fabian* to say, *By a general ordinance we prohibit strangers judgements*, that is, that Pagans be Judges of Christians, *saving in all things the Apostolical authority*. That Law deposest the Emperour, and reverseth the judgements of the Roman Pretor. Those good Bishops did little think of a temporal power over the Emperour, being busie to avoid executions, or to prepare themselves for them. They thought of losing their lives to save their souls, not of getting an Empire in the world.

In the first Epistle of *Cornelius*, that Bishop saith, that he had taken away the bodies of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* from the *Catacombs*, and laid *St. Peters* body in *Apollo's* Temple. A fable confuted by *Baronius* in his (m) Annals, and by *Binius* in his Notes upon these Epistles. Had that *Cornelius* (who suffered Martyrdom) the Temple of *Apollo* in his power? And if he had been the owner of it, would he have put *St. Peters* body in a Temple of Idols? Neither did the Pagans suffer sepulchers in Temples; much less then the sepulchers of Christians, and much less yet an executed mans body.

Can any thing be more grossly forged then the second Decretal of *Sixtus* the second, in which he restores some Spanish Bishops unjustly condemned and stript of their goods by the Princes of *Spain*? *Spain* in that Age had no Princes, but Presidents or Lieutenants of the Roman Emperour, who was an enemy to the Christian name, for which that very *Sixtus* suffered Martyrdom. Yet see how he speaks to those Princes, (n) *Know ye that we have justly restored the brethren by you unjustly condemned. To whom that all be fully restored that was taken from them, we command you by the Apostolical authority of St. Peter, unless you and your Princes will be separated from our Colledge, and from the members of the Church.* All that no less ridiculous, then if the Bishop of *Lyons* did excommunicate the *Bashas* of *Natolia*, and the King of *Maroco*, commanding them to make restitution of all that they have taken, if they would be absolved.

With the like imposture in the second Decretal of *Eutychianus*, it is said that not only the Ecclesiastical Laws, but also the Laws of this world, that is, the Imperial Laws, prohibit to receive a man that despiseth Christian Religion, to be a witness against a Christian. Never was such a Law made by Pagan Emperours in favour of the Christians: Less yet in the time of *Eutychianus* who suffered Martyrdom.

Thus the Decretal of *Gains* disableth a Pagan and an heretick from inditing a Christian, or offering him any disgrace; And all kinds of men from inditing Bishops and Clerks before secular Judges. How could that Bishop (that (o) lived in underground Caves, which they called *crypta*, to avoid *Diocletians* persecution, and who in the end was taken and executed to death) have the authority of giving Laws to Emperours, and exempting Christians from the subjection of the civil Magistrate? Seeing that even under the Christian Emperours that since reigned at *Rome*, the Roman Bishops never undertook any such thing.

In a word, these untruths are so enormous, and these pieces forged with such a gross imposture, that we shall see hereafter a Decretal of *Marcel*, to the Emperour *Maxentius*, a Pagan and a Persecutor, whereby that *Marcel* being brought by that persecution to be a groom in a Stable, writes to that Emperour in a masterfull style, *We command thee*; and bids him to take notice that Priests are Gods, commanding him to keep the constitutions of Pope *Clement*, who was dead two hundred years before.

(m) An. 221.
S. 3, 4 & 5.

(n) Fratres
quos timore
terreno injuste
damnastis,
scitote a nobis
esse restitutos.
Quibus ex
sancti Petri
& Apostolica
auctoritate
omnia que eis
ablata sunt
integer-
rime reddi
jubemus, si non
vultis vos &
principes
vestri a colle-
gio nostro &
membris Ec-
clesie separari.
(o) Pontifi-
cate Damasi
in Gaio.

CHAP. 8.

That many of our Adversaries have acknowledged the untruth of these Decretals.

ALL that was said before, is more then sufficient to bring to open view the untruth of these Decretals; unto which, and the stupidity of the Kings that succeeded *Charlemagne*, the Papal Empire oweth its settlement. Whence it appeareth that it was not without cause that the Cardinal was ashamed to imploy them for the Popes primacy, which in them is so highly exalted. And truly if we wanted proofs of their falshood, our very adversaries would give us enough.

Gratian who hath stuffed the body of the Roman Decree with pieces taken out of these Decretals, hath inserted into his Decree, a Canon of *Leo* the fourth, which makes it evident that in the year of our Lord 847. these Decretals were not yet forged, or at least had no course as yet. That *Leo* who was created Pope in the year 847. in an Epistle to the Bishops of the Isle of *Brittain* giveth a list of the Books, and Councils, and Decretals out of which the rules are taken, by which the Church is ruled, and which the Bishops must carefully observe when they judge. And he makes a Catalogue of those Bishops that made the Decretals that are received in the Roman Church: Which are *Sylvester*, *Syricius*, *Innocent*, *Zozimus*, *Celstin*, *Leo*, *Hilary*, *Gelasius*, *Hormisdas*, and *Gregory* the younger, Bishops of *Rome*, the Elder of which is of the fourth Age. Whence it appears that all the Decretals from *Clement* to *Sylvester* are false and supposititious, since this *Leo* the fourth did not know them. This Canon is found in the twentyeth Distinction of the Decree, *Can. de libellis*.

Ballarmine useth the testimony of these Epistles for the Popes primacy in the 2. ch. de Pontifice, ch. 14. Yet he saith in the same place; (a) *I deny not but that some errors are crept in these Epistles, and I cannot affirm that they are undoubted.*

Baronius in his Annals upon the year 865. §. 5. speaking of the collection of these Decretals made by *Isidorus Mercator*, saith, (b) *That Merchandize (alluding to Mercators name) was first brought out of Spain into Gaules by Riculfus Arch-Bishop of Mentz, in the time of Charlemagne; that none may calumniate, saying that the Roman Church hath forged these things. And a little after §. 8. The (c) things that we have said in the second Tome of the Annals, shew sufficiently that these Epistles are of a dubious faith in many things: and together we have shewed that the Roman Church hath no need of them, so that she should be destitute of her rights and privileges, if these Epistles were convinced of untruth: seeing that without these Epistles she is established enough by the true, and not supposititious Epistles of the other Bishops.*

Himself in his Notes upon the Martyrologe Octob. 16. See to what danger that *Isidorus* collector of these Epistles brings our businesses; so that on that side the Church seems to be in danger, if we hold those things for true and certain which he hath collected, or rather forged. I bear him testimonie (to speak with the Apostle) that he had a zeal, but not according to knowledge. But what zeal can there be in forging false writings? Must the truth of God be helped with lyes?

Binius in his Notes upon the Decretal of *Boniface* the second, calls that *Isidorus*, *Impostorem & mendaciorum frigidum concinnatorem, callidumque veteratorem: an impostor and an absurd inventer of lyes, and a cunning old fox.*

George Cassander a Divine of *Colten* (c) *As for the other works that go under the name of Clemens, Anacletus, Evaristus, Telesphorus, &c. who will ever believe that a lover of truth and sincerity can so much approve them, seeing that most of*

(a) Aliquot errores in has Epistolas irrepsisse non negaverim, nec indubitatos esse affirmare audeam.

(b) Merces illas nimiorum Isidori Mercatoris per Riculfum primum illatas in Gallias ex Hispania. Ne quis calumniari possit ab Ecclesia Romana aliquid hujusmodi commentum esse: (c) At vero ex multis eas reddi suspensas Epistolas, quae dictae sunt secundo Annalium tomo, satis est demonstratum, simulque ostensum illis non indigere Romanam Ecclesiam ut si falsitas arguantur, si autem desint, ut iuris, &c.

(d) Ecce in qua discrimen unus Isidorus Mercator illarum Epistolarum collector res nostras adduxit, ut ex ea parte periclitari videatur Ecclesia si quae ipse collegit vel potius affinxit, summa certa que esse dixerimus. (e) Cassander de fens. libell. de officio viri pii Sect. Quod autem. De reliquis quae Clemens, Anacleti, Evaristi, Alexandri, Telesphori, &c. nomine circumferuntur, qui credi possit ut ea homo veritatis & sinceritatis amantissimus tantopere probet, cum plerumque eorum & olim ab ipsis Pontificibus inter Apocrypha sint rejecta, & postremis hisce saeculis & nostra aetate à viris prudentissimis & doctissimis adjectis gravissimis & firmissimis rationibus in dubium sint vocata?

them

them have been long since rejected by the Popes themselves, and put among the *Apo-chrypha*; and that in these last Ages, and in our time, their truth was questioned by most learned men, upon most grave and strong reasons?

And upon that he alledgeth the testimonie of *Cusanus* and *Erasmus*. To which we may add *Murilius* of *Padua*, the Cardinal *Torquemada*, the Jesuite *Possessinus* in his Apparatus, and many more. Upon which, as also upon this whole matter, who so will have an ample and exact instruction, let him read the *Pseudo-Isidorus* of our learned *David Blondel*, a work full of doctrine, and made with a diligence beyond all example.

CHAP. 9.

Of the Popes motives for causing these false Decretals to be forged, and when and by whom they were forged.

THE time when the Popes power did most increase, and in with the Papal See received the greatest alteration, was the age of the reign of *Pepin*, *Charlemagne*, *Lewis* the Meek, and *Charles* the Bald: For in that time the Pope from a Bishop became a temporal Monarch by the immense liberalities of those Kings, who made use of the Popes service in their wars of *Italy*.

(a) In the year of Christ 755. or 756. *Pepin* having overcome *Aristulfus* King of the Lombards, took many Towns and Lordships from him, which he bestowed upon Pope *Steven* the second, whose predecessors *Gregory* the second, and *Gregory* the third had shaken off the yoke of the Emperor of *Constantinople* their Sovereign Lord. This change happened 666. years after the Apostle *St. John* had seen the Revelations, which expressly point that term of years *Rev. 13.* even the time upon which the Second Beast was to sit in the place of the first, which is the Roman Empire, and usurp an earthly domination in the Capital City of the Empire of *Rome*.

Charlemagne having put down the Kingdom of the Lombards in *Italy*, added many far greater gifts unto the liberalities of his Father *Pepin*; And being entred into *Rome* was elected Roman Emperour by the Senat and the people. Pope *Leo* the third made the ceremony of the Coronation. But in the following ages the Popes would infer out of that Ceremony, that the Pope had given the Empire unto *Charles*; as if the Arch-Bishop of *Rhemes*, whose place is to anoint his King, did boast that he hath given him the Kingdom of *France*. In that Coronation *Leo* worshipped *Charles*, as (b) *Ado* testifieth it, who lived in the same age. And *Avenarius* in the fourth book of the *Annals* of *Baniers*: For that Emperour reserved unto himself the Sovereignty of *Rome* and *Italy*. The same Emperour against the will of the French Bishops brought in the Roman service into *France*, abolishing the old service which was called the *Ambrosian*.

Lewis the Meek son to *Charlemagne* added much to his fathers liberalities, of which we have some example in the Canon, *Ego Ludovicus Dist. 63.* for all is not set down there. Which donation made by the French Kings, *Gratian* hath inserted in his decree, with little consideration; for having put in the 96. Distinction, the donation of *Constantine*, yet he put in that of *Lewis* also, although the first was purposely forged to abolish the memory of the second. The recompense which that Emperour had from the Pope, was, that the Pope *Gregory* the fourth entred into a League with the sons of *Lewis* (c) to dispossess him from the Empire, and to imprison him, as also they did; as it is related by *Sigebertus* and *Amonas*, and the Chronicle of *St. Denis*. But shortly after they were forced to release him.

Charles the Bald succeeds his Father in the Kingdom of *France*. A soft Prince and of little virtue, who hoping by the Popes help to attain to the Imperial Crown, favoured the Pope with all his power, and brought the Clergy of *France* to the subjection of the Roman See as much as he could. Then began the Popes Legates to come

(a) See *Sigonius* de regno *Italiae*. *Blondw.* *Volateranus*, *Baronius*, *Sigebertus*.

(b) *Ado* per-
fectis laudi-
bus à Pon-
tifice more
Principum
antiquorum
adoratus est.
See also *Pre-
sident Fau-
chet* in his
Antiquities,
who saith
the same, and
*Montfieur
Pitau* a
Counsellor
of the Court
in his *Pre-
face* before
the *Chro-
nicles* of *Ense-
bius* and *Si-
gebertus*.

(c) *Sigebertus*
*Chroni-
co*, Ann. 832.
*Gregor. Pa-
pa in Galliam
veniens con-
tra Imperato-
rem cum filiis
agebat.*

come to the Councils of *France*, and there to preside. Then also the French Kings began to tremble under the thunderbolts of the Vatican, and to fear the excommunications of the Pope.

The first Pope that made a trial of his excommunications against them, was Pope *Nicolas* the first, who threatned *Lothary* to excommunicate him, unless he recalled *Tietberga* his Wife whom he had put away, to take *Waldrada* whom he loved; which also this Pope did excommunicate. Whereupon there was great murmuring of the Prelates, and people of *France* against the Pope, being displeased both at the Popes usurpations, and the pusillanimity of their Kings. These things happened from the year 863. to 866.

(d) Quod si
quis pra-
sumpserit,
non solum
per suam
authoritatis
ministerium
infirmitur,
verum etiam
vinculis ana-
thematis
obligatus
nomine Chri-
stianitatis
punitus, cum
Diabolo omni-
no locabitur.

After that *Nicolas*, came *Adrian* the second, who favouring *Lewis*, grand-child to *Lewis* the Meek, against *Charles* the Bald his Uncle, sent peremptory Letters into *France*, whereby he declared, that (d) if any presumed to make an enterprise upon the Kingdom of *Lewis*, not only he would make void by his authority all that he should do, but also that such a man being bound with the bonds of Anathema, and deprived of the name of Christian, should be lodged altogether with the Devil.

This is seen in the Epistle which *Hinckmarus* Arch-bishop of *Rhemes* writes to the said *Adrian* upon that subject, where he saith, that both Ecclesiastical and secular men being assembled at *Rhemes*, would say in a reproachfull way, that never any such mandat was sent from that See to any of the Kings predecessors. Adding that the Bishops of *Rome* had never withdrawn themselves from the obedience of heretick Emperours. Wherefore (said they) we will not believe that we cannot otherwise attain to the Kingdom of heaven, but by receiving him for a temporal King, whom this Apostolical Lord recommends to us.

Thus was the Popes power growing in *France*, in *Germany*, and in *Italy*, misusing Kings, and daily usurping new things. But the Churches of *Greece*, *Asia* and *Egypt*, and all the East, laughed at that pride, and detested it. For at that same time *Photius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* fulminated an excommunication against Pope *Nicolas*. Then the Greek Church and the Roman made a schism, and ever since that time they have been separated in communion, even to this day.

But as it is ordinary with those that from a low state, are suddenly raised to the first charges of the Kingdom, to forge titles, and they never want proofs for the Antiquity of their house. Likewise the Popes of that time seeing themselves suddenly promoted to a greatness, which they durst never have hoped for; and seeing together that their succession in *St. Peters* primacy had no ground in the Word of God, and that the holy Scripture speaks not of the Bishop of *Rome*, and gives no successor to *St. Peter* in his Apostleship, employed some of their most confiding Prelates to forge false Deeds, and Epistles, and Decrees of the Bishops of *Rome* next to the time of the Apostles, in which they speak like Monarchs, and attribute to themselves a sovereign power over the Churches of the whole world, yea and upon the temporal of the Roman Empire.

It was in that time, that is, in the ninth Age, under the reign of *Charlemagne*, and of his Son *Lewis* the meek, that these Decretals were forged, being unknown before, and never mentioned in all Antiquity, bearing on the front the name of *Isidorus Peccator*, and in some Copies *Isidorus Mercator*, a man unknown, and a name forged at will.

That collection of Decretals began to go about in *France* in the beginning of the reign of *Charles* the Bald. The first that used them, was *Hinckmar* Bishop of *Laon* upon this occasion.

Hinckmar Arch-bishop of *Rhemes* had promoted to the Bishoprick of *Laon*, another *Hinckmar* his nephew; who having excommunicated his Clergy, and hindered the divine service, and the baptism of children in his own Bishoprick, and committed divers crimes and excesses, was cited to appear before his Uncle, who was his Metropolitan. But he would not obey, nor appear. Upon that,

Hinckmar

Hinckmar of *Rhemes* disannulled all the Acts of *Hinckmar* of *Laon*, and would Synodically proceed against him. But *Hinckmar* of *Laon* to defend himself, brought forth the collection of the Decretals of the antient Popes made by *Isidorus*, where by the Popes Decrees such causes are reserved to the Apostolick See.

Hinckmar of *Rhemes*, being not learned enough to know the forgery of the Author of these Decretals, and not daring to reject them openly, brought divers things to invalid their authority. He said that (e) *Hinckmar* of *Laon* was mistaken, if he thought that he was the only man that had those Epistles: That the Countrey was full of them: And that *Riculfus* Bishop of *Mentz* had published the Book of Epistles collected by *Isidorus*, which was brought to him out of *Spain*. Now that *Riculfus* the first publisher of these Epistles, lived in the same Age, and is but few years more antient then *Hinckmar*. For he outlived *Charlemagne*, who died in the year of Christ 814. since (as *Baronius* saith in the year of Christ 865. §. 6.) he was one of those that subscribed the will of that Emperour.

Hinckmar said also to defend himself against those Epistles, (f) that they had been good in their time; but that the Fathers assembled in Council, had altered those things, and made Canons of greater authority, which are to remain perpetually. And that those Decretals were never put in among the Canons of the Church. He will have then those Epistles to be received with this condition, *Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete. Try all things, retain that which is good.* That strife between the two *Hinckmars* happened in the year of the Lord 870.

Hereupon Pope *Nicolas* the first bestirred himself with violence against *Hinckmar* of *Rhemes*, complaining that he despised the Decretals collected by *Isidorus*, and saying that the (g) Decretals are nothing the less receivable for not being inserted in the Code of the Canons of the Church, seeing that the Canons of the New and Old Testament are no more inserted into that Code, and yet are received, because Pope *Innocent* hath decreed it so. But though *Nicolas* did storm and threatned never so much, *Hinckmar* resisted him stiffly, and had the better of the Bishop of *Rome*: neither did he ever suffer the causes which he had judged, to be revised at *Rome*, nor any man that had been deposed by the Synods of *France*, to be restored by the Pope. And all his life time he maintained with great constancy so much liberty as remained to the Gallican Church, which liberty suffered by his death a great diminution. The Popes durst not touch him, because he was the Kings Unkle.

Yet in one point he was mistaken, that he believed the report spread by *Riculfus*, that those Epistles had been sent to him out of *Spain*, which at that time was posselt by the Saracens, Mahumetans. *Riculfus* had raised that report to perswade the world that he was not the forger of these Decretals, but that *Isidorus* of *Sevilia* dead in the year of Christ 636. that is two hundred years before this *Riculfus* was the Collector of them. Herein the forgery is evident that this false *Isidorus* hath put in his collection in the Epistles of *Gregory* the second, and *Gregory* the third, and *Zachary*, who lived long since the death of *Isidorus* of *Sevilia*. And that in the beginning of the same collection there is a chapter of the order of celebrating a Council, where he alledgeth a Canon of the XI. Council of *Toledo* held in the year of Christ 675. And that in the Preface he speaks of Pope *Agathon* dead about forty six years since the death of *Isidorus* of *Sevilia*.

Whence (h) *Baronius* in his *Martyrologium* upon April 4. gathereth, that those men are mistaken that attribute that collection to *Isidorus* of *Sevilia*. Which collection we have proved to have been unknown to *Leo* the IV. dead in the year of our Lord 853.

(i) These Decretals then have been forged by *Riculfus*, or some Frenchman, or

(h) Errant *Hinckmarus Rhemensis Episcopus*, *Trithemius* & alii qui illam collectionem tribuunt *Isidoro Hispalensi*.

(i) See the Prolegomen. of M. David Blondell, ch. 2.

(e) *Hinckmar*. l. 35. capitulum c. 24. Forte putasti neminem alium easdem sententias vel ipsas Epistulas præter te habere, &c. Res mira est cum de ipsius sententia plena sit ista terra, sicut & de libro collectionum Epistolarum ab *Isidoro* quem de Hispania alatum *Riculfus Moguntinus* Episcopus obtinuit; & istas regiones ex istis replevit fecit.

(f) *Hinckmar*. lib. 55. cap. c. 25. Illa Epistola suis temporibus congruentes fuerunt: donec Patres nostri in unum convenientes mansuras, usque in finem leges condiderunt, &c. Cum leguntur, Apostolica illa præcedat sententia, que dicit, omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete. Et hæc dico non quod quædam in eis dicam esse non bona, sed non per omnia sacris Canonibus Patrumque Consiliis consona, &c. Ecce bona sed in temporibus suis.

(g) Can. Si Romanorum Dist. 19.

German of the same time. But *Riculfus* is with good reason suspected for inventing them, because he did publish them under a false title. And because at that time, and a long time after, the Arch-bishops of *Mentz* were the strong pillars of Popery, and the first promoters of the Papal authority in *Germany*. For I dare affirm that nothing hath helped more to the establishment of the Papal Empire then these Epistles, which have been a long time held for Oracles in the West; By them the Father of lyes hath wrought very powerfully.

I will for the end mark here a notable lye of *Baronius* about this *Hinckmar* of *Rhemes*, who hath made us a way to find out the origine of these Decretals. *Baronius* on the year of our Lord 849. §. 13. saith upon the Testimony of *Frodoard*, that *Hinckmarus* obtained of Pope *Leo* the fourth by the mediation of the Emperour *Lothary*, a *Pallium* or Archiepiscopal Cloak, with a priviledge to use it every day. But *Hinckmarus* himself in the book of the fifty five Chapters saith the contrary, speaking in this manner, (k) *Leo the fourth, and Benedictus did conferr upon me some priviledges, which I did not ask for; For the priviledges which are conferred upon every Metropolitan by the sacred Canons are sufficient for me.*

(k) *Quamquam & quarti Leonis nomine ac Benedicti auctoritas mihi privilegia non à me quaesita concesserit; quia sufficiunt mihi quae per sacros Canones unicuique sunt Metropolitanis collata.*

It was one of the Popes tricks to send *Palls*, and to grant priviledges to them that asked not for them, and had nothing to do with them: And to give to a Prince or Prelate that which he had before: Then to go about to perswade the world that the power of that Prince or Prelate was out of his grant and liberality. It was a generous part of *Hinckmarus* to declare that he had no need of the Popes priviledges, and that he held his dignity from the Canons, not from the Roman Prelate.

BOOK



BOOK IV.

PROVING
By the HISTORY of the BISHOPS
OF
R O M E
FROM

The year 300. of the Lord, till two years after the death of *Constantine* the Emperour, which is the year of the Lord 340.

That in that Age the Bishop of *Rome* was not acknowledged Head of the Universal Church.

CHAP. I.

Of the Idolatry of Marcellinus Bishop of Rome, and of the Council of Sinuesfa.



LET us follow the thred of this History. In the year of our Lord 302. *Marcellinus* Bishop of *Rome* burnt incense before the Idols, as we read in the Pontifical of *Damasus*; *Anastasius* saith the same, and Pope *Nicolas* the first in his Epistle to the Emperour *Michael*. In those dayes they believed not that the Pope could not err in the faith. This gave occasion to the forging of the Council of *Sinuesfa*, which is so ridiculously contrived, that it is not possible that things should have been so carried. There *Marcellinus* lying down on the ground, condemneth himself, the other Bishops saying that it belonged not to them to condemn him. *Baronius* acknowledgeth plain forgery in this Council, and saith that there is imposture in it.

Baron. an.
303. §. 88.
& 101, 102.

Mm

CHAP:

CHAP. 2.

Of the Judges given by Constantine to Cecilian, and to the Donatists.
And of the Council of Arles.

IN the year 312 the Emperor *Constantine* newly turned to the Christian religion, heard the complaints of the Donatists against *Cecilian* Bishop of *Carthage*, and *Felix* Bishop of *Aprunga*, who had ordained him. To judge of their grievances he appointed for their judges *Melchiades* Bishop of *Rome*, *Maternus* Bishop of *Collen*, *Reticius* Bishop of *Ausun*, and *Marinus* Bishop of *Arles*, with other Bishops living near the City of *Rome*. The Emperor would not make the Bishop of *Rome* the only judge, but joined others in Commission with him. And *Melchiades* complained not that the Emperor disparaged his dignity. This action of the Emperor displeaseth Cardinal *du Perron*: For in (a) ch. 46. he saith plainly that *Constantine* did that against all Ecclesiastical order, taxing that act of irregularity and nullity; and that *Constantine* protested so much. *Baronius* likewise, *Ann.* 314. Sect. 36. saith that (b) *Constantine* in that point was much inferior unto *Aurelian* a Pagan Prince, that is, that a Pagan behaved himself better then he, and knew better what honour was due to the Bishop of *Rome*. It is true that *Constantine* protested that it belonged not to him to judge of the cause of the Donatists, which was purely Ecclesiastical, saying that it belonged not to him to judge of a Bishops cause; but he did not protest that his giving of Ecclesiastical judges to judge of it was against all order. No doubt but that when *Austin* saith, *Ep.* 162. & 166. that *Constantine* delegated the trial of that business unto Bishops, among those Bishops *Melchiades* was comprehended. Wherefore also he calls the other Bishops (c) colleagues of *Melchiades* and his companions of Office. *Ensebins* likewise and *Optatus* relating that History, put him in the same rank as the others.

For that *Melchiades* did not bear himself as judge of that question of his own authority, but only by the Emperors command, St. *Austin* sheweth it, *Ep.* 162. saying, (d) *Melchiades* did not usurp that judgement: for the Emperor at the request of the Donatists sent Bishops to be judges to sit with him, and to determine what they should think just about that cause. Which I say, because the Cardinal hath the confidence to deny that *Melchiades* was appointed judge by the Emperor.

By these Bishops, the Emperors delegates, the Donatists were condemned, and *Cecilian* absolved. But from that judgement the Donatists appealed to the Emperor; who being overcome by their importunity, gave order that the cause should be judged again in a Council at *Arles*; where the judgement pronounced by *Melchiades* and his associates was examined. That Council was assembled by the Emperors absolute command, as he saith himself in his Epistle to *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracusa*, which *Ensebins* hath inserted in the tenth book of his history, ch. 5. We have (saith he) commanded that a great number of Bishops should meet at *Arles* the first of *August*. For *Constantine* thought not that the judgement of the Bishop of *Rome* could not be retracted. Certainly the Bishops assembled at *Arles* would never have made themselves judges of the judgement of the Roman Bishop, if they had acknowledged him head of the Universal Church. And *Melchiades* would have complained that the dignity of his See was thereby damaged, and his authority diminished: which yet he did not, and suffered his judgement to undergoe the test of a particular Council.

That this Council of *Arles* did not acknowledge the Bishop of *Rome* for their superior and judge of their actions, it appears, not only because they were assembled to be judges of *Melchiades*, and to examine his sentence given against the Donatists: but also by the Acts of the said Synod related by (e) *Baronius*. For that Synod writeth to *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*, commanding him in these words, (f) To our Lord, and most holy brother *Sylvester* Roman Bishop, *Marinus* and the Assembly of the Bishops convoked

at

(a) p. 363.
& 366.

(b) *U. Eth-*
nico Principe
Aureliano hac
in parte longe
inferior
Constanti-
nus declave-
tur.

(c) *August*
Ep. 162.
Judicant
Melchiades
tunc Romane
urbis Episc-
opos, cum colle-
gis suis.

(d) *Quid*
quod ipse non
usurpavit?
Rogatus quip-
po Imperator
judicis misit
Episcopos.

(e) *An.* 324.
§ 58.

(f) *Lomino*
& Sanctissi-
mo fratri Syl-
vestro Episc-
opo Marinus
& ceteris
Episcoporum
qui adunati
fuerunt in
Synodo Are-
latensi. Quae
decrevimus
communi con-
silio charitati
vae significa-
vimus, ut
omnes sciant
quid in futu-
rum observa-
re debeant.

at Arles. We have signified unto your charity that which we have by common consent decreed, that all may know what they must hereafter observe. They call Sylvester their brother, and give him no higher style then that of Bishop. They ask him no approbation of their decrees, but signifie unto him what they have decreed.

(g) *Baronius* brings forth another Epistle of the same Synod, which the learned *Pisboens* lent him, where that Synod gives a reason why they signifie to him what they had decreed, that he should make it known unto others. (h) We have given order that this should be declared unto all, by thee that holdest the greatest Dioceses. They say not, it is because he was the head of the Church, but because he had a larger Dioceses.

(g) An. 314.
S. 68.

(h) *Placuit*
etiam a te
qui maio-
res Dioceses
tenes, per te
potissimum
omnibus insi-
nuari.

CHAP. 3.

Of the deliverance and establishment of the Church under Constantine.

THAT was the time when the Emperour *Constantine* having embraced, and profest Christian religion, the Christian Church which had been cruelly persecuted for the space of three hundred years, was delivered from that horrible oppression. Then were Churches planted over all the Empire, and upon a suddain the Church had a new face; and Bishops might meet with all liberty, to look to the Government of the Church, and the union in doctrine. It was then or never that the Bishop of *Rome* should have shewed himself to take order with all things, and give force to that new establishment, if he had been head of the Universal Church. Then deputies from all parts should have come to him to be ruled and guided in that raising of the Church, which *Constantine* did labour for with all his power. At least the Emperor should have taken Counsel of the Roman Bishop, and desired him to assist him with his authority. But no such matter. At that time *Sylvester* was Bishop of *Rome*, who never appeared in that great work, and of him the ancient Histories speak little more then if he had not been in the world. Not one Epistle, not one action of his is recorded, whereby he contributed to that new Creation: Which is largely and exactly described by *Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, *Socrates* and *Sozomenus*. Upon these historians, all but *Sozomenus*, *M. du Perron* bestoweth many ill words, as upon men ill affected to the Roman Church; calling one *Arian*, another *Novatian*, another enemy to the Church of *Rome*: And all these meer calumnies. That's a short way to answer objections drawn from the Fathers, to revile them. The Emperor had neer his person some Bishops whom he loved, as *Hosius* Bishop of *Cordova* in *Spain*; *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Palestina*; and some others, by whose counsel he guided that so holy and so excellent work; not expecting the counsel, and much less the will of the Bishop of *Rome*.

CHAP. 4.

Of Arius, and of Hosius sent to Alexandria. Of Sylvester, and of the Roman Council.

IN the year of the Lord 315. *Arius* began to trouble the Church of *Alexandria* with his doctrine. That spark having met with fewel, grew to a great flame, which hath wrought greart ruines in the Church for many Ages. *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, did virtuously oppose *Arius*; and the faithful Bishops of *Africa*, *Asia* and *Egypt*, laboured to quench that fire. The Bishop of *Rome* alone held his peace, and being far from the evil, left to others the care of that matter. Had he been head of the Universal Church, it was his part to impose silence unto *Arius*, or to cite the contending parties, summoning them to appear before the Papal

See, or to send Legats to judge his name. But that was beyond his power, and his judgement had no more authority then that of another. Therefore he did not meddle with that business.

Ten years past in contentions, till the Emperor *Constantine* put his hand to it. To that end he sent the above named *Hofius* to *Alexandria*, to appease that trouble by his prudence. Here the boldness of *Baronius* is shamefully licentious, presuming without bringing any proof, to affirm that *Hofius* was Legat to *Sylvester*: seeing that the Historians testify that he was sent by *Constantine*, and make no mention here of the Bishop of *Rome*.

(a) In the Greek it is ch. 7.

(b) Soerat. l. 2. c. 7.

Baronius in book 1. (a) ch. 4. saith, that *Constantine* sent *Hofius*, because the Emperor loved him dearly, and bore him great respect. Wherefore *Hofius* returned not to *Sylvester*; but to the Emperor who had sent him. Also (b) *Hofius* had his letters and instructions from *Constantine*, not from *Sylvester*, in book. 2. of *Eusebius*, of the life of *Constantine*, ch 63. there are letters of the Emperor to the Bishops of *Egypt*, of which *Hofius* was the bearer, wherein the Emperour declareth why he had sent *Hofius* unto them. And in those letters no mention of the Bishop of *Rome*. All that our Adversaries bring of the Actions of *Sylvester*, is taken not from the authors of that Age or the next, but from ridiculous Legends, which say that *Sylvester* baptized *Constantine*, and healed him of the leprosie, when that Emperor would have prepared a Bath for himself with the blood of infants. That he gaveto *Sylvester* the Empire of the West, and the City of *Rome*, and held his horses bridle. There is also mention of a Dragon with whom *Sylvester* fought, and a thousand idle tales, which any man that hath common sense, and some small knowledge in antient history, will acknowledge to be false. Wherefore the Cardinal makes no use of them, and no mention.

Of the like stuff is the Roman Council, which is found in the first Tome of the Councils, where *Sylvester* is President, and where it is decreed that no Kings shall be judges of the Bishop of *Rome*. But in that time there was no King in all the Roman Empire. And the date of the Consuls is false: For *Constantine* never had any colleague in the Consulat whose name was *Priscus*. And *Crispus Constantines* son was dead before the time of the Council of *Nice*, after which they set that forged Roman Council. That poor Council is a ridiculous fiction, written in a barbarous style, where (c) *Baronius* acknowledgeth that there is not one line without a fault.

(c) An. 324. Sect. 123.

CHAP. 4.

Of the diversity of the Churches in observing the day of Easter.

THE 324. year of our Lord, is the year immediately preceding the Council of *Nice*. Then many Churches in the East retained yet the old custome to celebrate the Feast of *Easter* upon the 14 day of the Moon of *March*, after the example of the Jews: therein dissenting from the custome of the Church of *Rome*, and the judgement which *Vistor* Bishop of *Rome* had pronounced above sixscore years before; and yet were they not therefore held for schismatics or hereticks; (a) for the other neighbouring Churches which kept *Easter* on the Lords day, chose rather to live in peace with them, then to defer to the judgment of the Bishop of *Rome*.

(a) Euseb. de vita Constantini, l. 3. c. 5. Sozom lib. 2. cap. 15.

CHAP.

СНАР. 5.

Of the Convocation of the Council of Nice.

Answer to (a) Cardinal du Perron.

(a) Ch. 42. of
the first book.

IN the year 325. the Arians and Meletians continuing to trouble the Churches of *Egypt*, *Constantine* was advised to assemble an Universal Council at *Nice*: that is, a Council gathered from all the countreys subje& unto the Roman Empire. It was not the Bishop of *Rome* that called that Council, but the Emperor *Constantine* by his own authority only.

(b) *Eusebius* in book 3. of *Constantines* life, ch. 6. saith, that he assembled an *Universal Council*, inviting all *Bishops* by honorable *Letters*, to come out of all parts. *Socrates* book 1. ch. 8. *Constantine* convoked an *Oecumenical Council*, inviting *Bishops* from all parts by letters to meet at *Nice*. *Epiphanius* saith the same in the heretic of the *Ariomanitæ*; and (c) *Theodoret*, book 1. ch. 7. And *Ruffinus* book 1. ch. 1. and *Sozomenus* book 1. ch. 17. Of the *Bishop* of *Rome* not a word among them all. The *Bishops* themselves being met at *Nice*, in their *Synodical Epistle* to the Church of *Alexandria*, which is in *Theodoret*, book 1. ch. 9. (d) say that they were convoked by *Constantines* order, and say nothing of the *Bishop* of *Rome*. And yet if he had been acknowledged head of the *Universal Church*, the *Council* could not have been convoked but by him. Our *Adversaries* confess themselves, that the *Emperor* did assemble the *Councils*. *Pope Pius* the second before he was *Pope*, writ the *Acts* of the *Council* of *Basil*, where he speaks thus in the first book; (e) *When I read the ancient histories, I find not that custome that the Popes only have assembled Councils*. And a little after. (f) *Since the time of Constantine, and the other Emperors, the Popes consent was not much sought for*. And *Cardinal Bellarmine*, (g) *Because* (saith he) *the Pope acknowledged the Emperor for his Sovereign Lord, he desired him to convocate a Synod: but since that time things are altered*. *Socrates* in the *Preface*, book 5. saith that (h) *the great Councils held before, and held still, by the will of the Emperours*. Wherefore also *Hierome* in the 2. *Apology* against *Ruffinus*, (i) *What Emperor* (saith he) *hath commanded that Synod to be convoked?* presupposing that it could not be assembled but by the *Emperors* commandment.

This hinders not but that the Emperor took advice of the Bishops that were neer his person, and was moved by their supplications, as *Ruffinus* saith, that (k) *the Emperor by the advice of his Bishops did convocate a Council at Nice.* (l) The Cardinal saith that *Ruffinus* would not make a particular mention of the Bishop of *Rome*, out of the hatred which he bore to the Roman Church: But why doth he not say the same of *Epiphanius*? who in the 68. heresie (m) saith that the care of *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* induced *Constantine* to assemble that Council? why should we charge *Ruffinus* of untruth there being not one antient Author that contradicts him? By the same reason any one might confute with one word all that the Cardinal saith in defence of the Pope, saying that he speaks so out of the affection which he beareth to the Roman Church.

To so many forealledged witnesses the Cardinal oppfeth only the Acts of the sixth Occumenical Council in the 18. Action ; where these words are found,

(f) *Nec post tempora Constantini & aliorum Augustorum ad congreganda Concilia quæpius est magnopere assensus Papæ.* (g) Bell. l. i. de Conc. c. 13. (h) αὐτοὶ αὐτοὶ συνήθησαν τῶ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ γυγνόμενοι αὐ γινόμενοι. (i) *Doce qui eo anno Consulēs fuerint? quis Imperator hanc synodum iussit congregari?* (k) Lib. i. c. i. *Constantinus ex sacerdotum sententia apud urbem Nicæam Episcopale Concilium convocat.* (l) Pag. 323. (m) Ἰν ἡρεσίῃ Μελιτιανοῦ: τῶ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῶ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπιμνησθέντες αὐ καὶ κηρύττοντες τὴ μακάριον κληρονομίαν συνάγοντες συνόδον.

(b) συνόδον
 ὁνομασμένην
 συνεκρότα
 σπείδεν
 ἀπανταχόθεν
 τὸς ἐπισκό-
 πους γράμ-
 μασι πρυπι-
 καῖς περι-
 γέμεται.

(c) βασιλεὺς
τῶ πολυ-
θύλλῳ
ἐκένυ πῖ-
σιν εἰς τῶ
νικαίων συν-
τῇ χειρὶ σὺν-
οῖαν.

(δ)· ἐπειδὴ
 τὸ τῶ θεοῦ χα-
 ριτὸ καὶ τῶ
 θεωρηλαστῶ
 βασιλείας
 Κωνσταντίνου
 συναγαγόν-
 τος ἡμᾶς
 ἐκ διαφόρων
 ἐπαρχῶν καὶ
 πόλεων ἡμε-
 ραὶ καὶ ἀγία
 σύνοδος ἐπὶ
 Νικήλῃ συνε-
 κροτήθη.

(c) At ego dum veteres lego historias, dum actus percipio Apostolorum, hunc equidem usum non invenio, ut soli Papæ Concilia congregaverint &c.

Constantinus

Constantinus Augustus, and the Pope Sylvester of venerable memory did convocate the famous Council at Nice. But this is taken from the Greek Copies of the Acts of Councils, which are stuffed with lyes, and which are but lately come forth in print out of the Popes Vatican Library; From which nothing of that and the like matters comes out but of dubious faith. And these Greek Copies contradict the Latin, which are as bad. Besides, that sixth Council was assembled above three hundred fifty five years after that of Nice, and cannot be opposed to so many witnesses of greater antiquity, especially to the very Bishops of the Council of Nice whose testimony we have produced. Wherein the Cardinals dealing is unjust, (n) to offer to alledge in this question new Authors, and things happened many ages after. For the question between us, is, whether in the time of the four first Councils the Popes did convocate the Universal Council?

(n) Cap. 42.
pag. 316.

(o) Ibid.

M. du Perron to escape out of this streight (o) makes a distinction of two sorts of authorities: The one temporal, which the Emperors used to convocate Councils; the other spiritual, which belonged to the Popes. So that he makes a double convocation of Councils, the one temporal, the other spiritual. Let us receive this new coined distinction. For it is much already that he devesteth the Popes of that temporal power which they usurp in our days. But he ought to have shewed by antient examples that the Bishops of Rome made use of that spiritual power to convocate the Synod of Nice: which he could not do. For the Emperor did not so much as ask the advice of the Roman Bishop. The Pope did not convocate the Council, neither in his temporal, nor in his spiritual capacity: For that which the Cardinal alledgeth of the following Councils, convocated (as he pretendeth) some by the authority of the Popes, some by their consent, (about which he spends almost the whole chapter) shall be found false when the order of this matter will bring us to the time of their convocation. And as for that Canon mentioned by Soerates, (p) *That Canons must not be made for Churches against the advice of the Bishop of Rome*, which M. du Perron hath never done alleadging and repeating, we shall see hereafter what force it may have, and how it is to be understood. I will say before hand that the (q) Cardinal falsifieth that Canon, translating *ἐν δεῖν*, it ought not, instead of *it could not*.

(p) Soerates.
l. 2. c. 8.

μὴ δὲν παρὰ
ἐκ τῶν ὑπο-
μνήσεων τοῦ
ἐκείνου Πάπης
κατασκευά-
σας.

(q) Pag. 316.

(q) Æneas

Sylvius de

Gestis Conc.

Basil. l. 1.

Nec illud vi-

deo semper

observatum,

ut sine autho-

ritate Papæ

Concilium

non sit habi-

tum, &c.

Pope Pius the second before he was Pope, did not acknowledge that rule. (r) *I see not* (saith he) *that this was alwaies observed, that a Council cannot be held without the Popes authority: For the Council of Pisa was not assembled by the authority of any Pope, seeing that Pope Gregory detested it, and Benedict dia abhor it, &c. Now if the Council of Pisa was not lawfull, John was no true Pope. For John was made Pope by that Council. But this Author being made Pope since, altered his opinion, and craved pardon of himself.*

CHAP. 6.

That the Bishop of Rome did not preside in the Council of Nice. Confutation of the Cardinals assertion, that Hosius was Legat of the Roman Church in that Council.

IN the year of our Lord 325. that famous Council of Nice sate, which is the first Universal, where 318. Bishops of the Roman Empire were present. There were the Bishops of Alexandria, and Antioch. As for the Bishop of Rome, Ensebins speaks thus of him in book 3. of the life of Constantine ch. 7. (a) *The Bishop of the City, which is the Capital of the Empire, was not there, because of his old age, but his Priests there present filled up his place.* It seems that he regarded not so much Sylvester as to name him; and he speaks of no other persons sent by him, but Roman Priest, that our Adversaries may not do here according to their custome, saying without proofs, when another then the Pope hath been President of a Council, that the Pope had given him his place.

(a) τὸς ἁβ-
βλαβῆς
πρόεδρος ὁ μὲν
πρεσβύτερος ὡς
ἐκείνου ἡλικίας
πρεσβυτέρου
ἢ αὐτοῦ παρόν-
τος τῶν ἀπὸ
τῆς ἐκείνης
πόλεως.

The

The Council then being assembled, if the Bishop of Rome had been acknowledged the head of the Universal Church, his Legats had been Presidents without question, and had taken the first place among the Bishops: which they did not: for as for the exterior order, the Emperor *Constantine* was President, as it is said in the Canon *Futuram C. 12. Q. 1.* *Constantine was president in the holy Synod assembled at Nice*: And that taken from a Decretal Epistle of Pope *Melchisedech*. And (b) *Eusebius* saith that he went into the highest of the ranks. And *Theodoret* (c) saith that he sat in the midst between the two ranks of the seats of the Bishops.

But among the Bishops, he that presided, and conducted the action, was *Hosius* Bishop of Corduba in Spain. This appears by the subscriptions, where *Hosius* subscribeth the first; And after him *Victor* and *Vincentius*, the Roman Bishops Deputies. (d) *Athanasius* who was there present, speaks thus of *Hosius*: Above all, and especially was eminent that old man, for of what Synod was he not the conductor? What Church hath not the fairest marks of his presidency? And *Socrates* in book. I. ch. I. doth marshal them in this order, *Hosius* Bishop of Corduba, *Victor*, and *Vincentius* Priests, *Alexander* of Egypt, *Eustathius* of great Antioch, *Macarius* of Jerusalem. In that choyce the Synod did not regard the dignity of the chairs, but the vertue and the merit of the person. Wherefore also *Athanasius* calls *Hosius* (e) *Father of Bishops, President of Synods*, and saith he made the Symbol of *Nice*.

M. du Perron, pag. 648. & 651. acknowledgeth that *Hosius* had presided in that Council, but he saith that he was Legat of the Roman Church; and that to him were joyned *Victor* and *Vincentius* as Legats à latere to represent the Popes person. But he saith that without warrant; for in the whole Antiquity no trace is found that *Hosius* was the Popes Legat, or sitting there for the Roman Church in the Council of *Nice*. For *Eusebius*, *Sozomenus*, *Theodoret*, and all that write of of that history, speak but of two Legats sent by the Bishop of Rome. Had *Hosius* been the Popes Legat to represent the Roman Church, he would have taken that quality in his subscription. But thus he subscribes; (f) *I Hosius Bishop of Corduba, in the Province of Spain, believe as it is written*. And after him *Victor* and *Vincentius* in a line by ic self, subscribe thus, *Victor and Vincentius Priests of the City of Rome have subscribed for and instead of St. Sylvester our venerable Pope*. Certainly if they had been all three Legates sent by the Bishop of Rome, they would have subscribed together; or at least *Hosius* had not omitted the quality, in vertue whereof he was President of that Council.

Eusebius who was present in that Council, speaks thus of it, in book 3. of the life of *Constantine*, ch. 7. (g) *Out of Spain there was one of very great esteem sitting with the whole company: But the Bishop of the Capital City of the Empire did not come by reason of his old age, but Priests which were present filled his place*. Where he doth expressly distinguish *Hosius* from the Legats of the Bishop of Rome. (h) *Theodoret* saith the same, *But he of Rome, by reason of his old age sent two Priests*, &c. *Sozomenus* the same; (i) *For the Bishop of Rome, Victor and Vincentius Priests were present*. Wherefore *Hosius* subscribes for himself, not as a Deputy for another. *Photinus* in the book of Councils saith the same, and *Nicephorus* in book 8. ch. 14.

To so many witnesses *M. du Perron* opposeth the testimony of *Gelasius Cyscennus*, who about 170 years after the Council of *Nice* writ the Acts of it. That Author saith that *Hosius* in the Council of *Nice* held the place of the Bishop of great Rome. But this Cardinal should have been ashamed to produce a place so notoriously falsified: For his *Galasius* in that place doth copy and transcribe the whole seventh chapter of *Eusebius* of the third book of *Constantines* life; Which he ought to have faithfully transcribed, without adding those words by such a gross and evident falsification. Certainly *Eusebius* is more to be believed than he that hath ill transcribed him. But perhaps the fault is not in *Gelasius* but in him that hath corrupted his book. Besides that only Author who is later and

(b) Lib. 3. de vita Constantini cap. 1. περιελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

(c) l. 2. cap. 7. (d) Athanas. Apol. 2. de fuga sua loquens de Hosio.

πάντων μάλιστα καὶ μάλιστα ὁ ἀρχηγός τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ὁ ἀρχηγός τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ὁ ἀρχηγός τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

(e) Athan. Ep. ad solitarios.

(f) In Tomis Conc. in fine Concilii. Nicen. Hosius Episcopus civitatis Cordubensis provincie Hispanie dixit: Ita credo sicut superius scriptum est. Victor & Vincentius Presbyteri urbis Romae pro venerabili viro Papa & Episcopo nostro sancto Sylvestro subscripsimus.

(g) αὐτὸς τὸ ἱστανὸν ὁ πᾶντο βουλομένης τοῦ πάπας & ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἁγίου Σιλβέστρου.

(h) Theod. l. 1. c. 7. ὁ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπέπεμψε δύο πρεσβυτέρους ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας.

(i) Sozomen book 1. c. 17.

Rome. Within which space the old and the new Latium was contained, *Valeria, Marca d'Ancona suburbicaria, and Toscana suburbicaria*. The other Provinces of Italy, without that compass, were called *Annonaria*. That was then the antient limit of the Bishoprick of Rome, which the Pope from age to age hath enlarged, and vastly increased.

Herein (e) Cardinal *du Perron* deals falsely and foully. He saith that *Augustus* and the following Emperors gave to the *Præfectus Urbicus* of Rome the power of judging of all the appeals from all the Provinces of the Roman Empire: and alledgeth for testimony *ch. 4.* of the comment upon *Notitia Imperii*; where the clean contrary is found, even that the power of the Prefect of Rome is limited, to a hundred miles about Rome. *Augustus* (saith he) (f) had given to the Prefect of the town all the power of the Empire, not only in the town, but also without, unto a hundred thousand paces. And in the same place *Dis* is alledged, who limits that power unto 550. stades or furlongs. But the Cardinal takes hold only of these words; *Augustus had given to the Prefect of the Town all the power of the Empire*, and leaves out the rest. (g) *Cassiodorus* relates that the King of Italy speaks thus to the Prefect of Rome; To thy jurisdiction not only the City of Rome is committed, although all things be comprehended in it; but also the ancient laws would have thy power to extend unto a hundred miles. And in the Theodosian Code in the second law *de integri restitutione*, (h) It is our pleasure that the Term be prolonged unto the last day of the thirtieth year; and that within a hundred miles about Rome, if the business is to be judged by the Judges that are at Rome.

The regions comprehended within that space of a hundred miles about Rome were called *suburbicaria*: The others without that space were called *Annonaria*, of which *Trebellianus Pollio* makes a list in the chapter of the thirty tyrants. All the testimonies alledged by the Cardinal in *pag. 176.* to shew that the power of the Prefect of Rome extended over all the Empire, say no such thing: and are some false, some to no purpose.

Of the *suburbicary* regions frequent mention is made in the forealledged book (i) *Notitia Imperii*: where they are called *suburbana provincia*, because *suburbia Roma pertinebant*, they touched the suburbs of Rome. In the Theodosian Code in the 12. Law, *de indulgentiis debitorum*, these words are found; *Picenum and Tuscanum suburbicarias regiones*. *Marca d'Ancona* and *Toscana* which are *suburbicary* regions. For the same reason the Churches comprehended within the hundred miles about Rome, were called *suburbicary*.

Such then is the sense of the Canon of Nice. Let the Bishop of Alexandria have the Government of the Churches of Egypt, of Lybia, and of Pentapolis; because these regions are subject to the civil jurisdiction of the Prefect of Egypt: According as the Bishop of Rome extends also his Ecclesiastical jurisdiction according to the extent of the civil jurisdiction of the Prefect of the City of Rome.

(k) *Ruffinus* relating that Canon of Nice, makes a Paraphrasis of it which expresseth the true sense; Let the ancient custome be kept both in Alexandria, and at Rome; so that the one take care of the Churches of Egypt, add the other of the *suburbicary* Churches.

To this exposition of *Ruffinus* the Council of Constantinople agreeth; which Council the Church of Rome receiveth, and reckoneth it the eighth Universal Council. The 17. Canon is such, (l) The holy and Universal first Council of Nice commandeth that the antient custome be kept in Egypt, and the Provinces subject unto it; so that the Bishop of Alexandria have power over them all, saying that the like custome prevailed in the City of Rome. That like custome is to have power over the neighbouring countrey: For the custome should have been very unlike, if the Bishop of Rome had had power over all the Churches of the world, and by consequent over that of Alexandria, which had no authority but over the neighbouring Churches.

That exposition, though most certain and true, displeaseth M. *du Perron*, because it sets very narrow limits unto the Bishop of Rome. The word *suburbicary*, especially displeaseth him in that Canon. Wherefore he bestoweth many ill words *que sub ipsa sunt; Ita ut horum omnium Alexandria habeat potestatem, dicens quia & in Romanorum civitate hujusmodi mos prevailuit.*

(c) Book 1. *ch. 30.* pag. 175 & 176.

(f) *Cui omnem Imperii potestatem Augustus concesserat, non tantum in urbe, sed & extra, intra confinium ab inbe lapidem, &c.*

(g) *Cassiod. l. 6. diversorum, Epist. 4. Dionis: tue non solum Roma commissa est, quam in ea continentur universa, verum etiam intra centum millium annorum potestatem procedere antiqua jura voluerunt.*

(h) *Codex Theodof. leg. 2. Placuit usque ad annum tricesimum extremum diem spatia prorogari, & intra centesimum urbibus Roma milicium framen ab iis iudicibus & sunt Roma fuerit judicandum.*

(i) *Notitia Imperii Occidentis, c. 4.*

(k) *Ruffin. hist. l. 1.*

Et ut apud Alexandriam & in urbe Roma vetusta consuetudo servetur ut vel ille Egypti, vel hic suburbicarij Ecclesiasticum sollicitudinem gerat.

(l) *Sancta & universalis Nicee prior Synodus antiquam consuetudinem jubet servari per Egyptum & provincias*

upon *Ruffinus*, unto which, though most of them unjust, we need not give any answer, because the Jesuite *Sirmondus*, who hath written of the Suburbicary Churches and regions, justifieth *Ruffinus* as for that word of *Suburbicary*, saying that this Canon is found in the Vatican Library, in an old exemplary with the word of *Suburbicary*, which so troubleth our Adversaries.

Others, as *Baronius*, extend the Suburbicary Churches further, even out of *Italy*. Cardinal *du Perron* alone by the Suburbicary Churches, understands the Churches of the whole Roman Empire, which is confuted by the words of the Canon of *Ruffinus*, where the Churches of *Egypt* are expressly distinguished from the Suburbicary Churches. It is a prodigious absurdity to call the Churches of *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, the Suburbicary Churches of *Rome*, that is, the Churches that are accounted as the *Suburbs* of *Rome*. Never any man spake so. By that interpretation the Canon becometh ridiculous, for (m) *M. du Perron* will have the sense to be this, *Let the Bishop of Alexandria have power over the Churches of Egypt, Lybia and Pentapolis, since the Bishop of Rome by the like custome governs all the Churches of the whole world.* It is indeed an intolerable bold part to set such a strang piece of his own making unto such a famous Canon; for after these words since it is also the custome of the Bishop of Rome, he adds these, *over all the world, or in all the Universal Church*: But in that Canon the Bishop of Rome is not set forth, as he upon whom the power of the Bishop of *Alexandria* is founded, but as one that had an old custome unto which the Bishop of *Alexandria* might justly conform himself.

Upon this matter we have already observed some falsifications of the Cardinal, unto which this must be added. He makes (n) *Gregory Nazianzen* to say this; *The Ancient Rome treads aright in the faith, holding all the West bound by the salutary Verb, as it is fit for her that presideth over the whole world.* He translateth *οὐδὲν ἄλλω*, her that presideth over the whole world. But the precedent line sheweth that *Gregory* speaks of all the West, not of all the world. He should there have translated, *She holds all the West bound by the salutary Verb, as she that hath the precedence before all.* The Reader that will take the pains to consult the place, shall find that *Gregory* speaks of the power of the Cities of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, and regards as much the civil power as the spiritual, or rather more. Now *Gregory* was not so ignorant as to think that *Rome* had a temporal power over all the world, seeing that the Roman Empire did not reach to the tenth part of the world.

In the same page he falsly alledgeth *Irenaeus*, making him say; (o) *With the Roman Church by reason of the more powerful principality it is necessary that every Church agree.* He should have translated, *To that Church because of the more powerful principality, (which is the power of the Empire whose seat was at Rome) it is necessary that all Churches resort.* For *convenire ad Ecclesiam* is not to agree with the Church, but to resort to it.

Of the place of *Austin*, who saith, *that in the Roman Church the principality of the Apostolical See did always flourish*, we shall speak when we come to St. *Austin*'s time. He that saith that in the race of *Hugh Capet* the principality or Royal sovereignty hath alwaies flourished, saith not thereby that there are no other Kings and no other sovereignty in the world. We shall see hereafter that the same principality or preheminance of the Apostolick See was also attributed to the Bishops of *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*.

(m) book 1.
ch. 30 p. 177.

(n) Greg.
Naz in car-
minib. de vi-
ta sua.

ὅς ποτ' ἔτι
ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις
μὲν τῶν
ἐκκλησιῶν πα-
ντὸς κόσμου τῶν
συνεκρίτων ἀν-
θρώπων, καὶ θύρα
ἡμεῶν τῶν
ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν
ἀνθρώπων.

(o) Iren.
lib. 3. c. 3.
Ad hanc Ec-
clesiam propter
potentiorē
principalitatem
neceſſe est
omnem convenire
Ecclesi-
am.

CHAP. 8.

Of the Convocation of the Council of Tyre.

IN the year of Christ 335. the Emperour *Constantine* commanded the assembling of a Council at *Tyre*, without asking the advice of the Bishop of *Rome*. The Letters whereby he commandeth the Bishops to resort from all parts to *Tyre*, speak thus. *If any (which I think shall not happen) rejecting or despising our command, refuse to come, we shall send some, who sending him into exile, will teach him how ill it becomes [him] to resist the commands of the Sovereign Emperour made for the defence of the truth.*

Euseb. de vita
Constantini, l. 4 c. 42.

That Emperour spake thus indifferently to all Bishops, not excepting the Bishop of *Rome*.

CHAP. 9.

Death of Sylvester Bishop of Rome. How little his authority was.

AT the same time dyed *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*, of whom the Antients make almost no mention, as if he had been an unknown man: He was 22. years a Bishop according to the computation of *Baronius*. And having lived in the most happy and the most flourishing Age of the Christian Church, in which so many things happened to the exaltation of the Christian faith, and so many constitutions were made, yet was no Actor in any important action; but only that in obedience to the Emperour he sent two Priests to be his Deputies in his place, to the Council of *Nice*. And yet some doubt whether it was he or his successour *Julius* that sent them: For *Sozomenus*, and *Cassiodorus*, and *Beda* and many more affirm that it was *Julius* that sent those Priests. Upon which (a) *M. du Perron* suspecteth that in *Sozomenus* instead of *Julius* it should be *πάλαιος*, and saith that *πάλαιος* signifieth venerable. Wherein he sheweth his ignorance in the Greek tongue; For *πάλαιος* signifieth hoary or gray-headed, not venerable. I think indeed that *Sozomenus* was mistaken; Only I observe by this variation in the history, that *Sylvester* was but little famous, and of small account, since his actions are so little considered.

(a) Cap. 35.
pag. 279.

CHAP. 10.

Baptism and death of Constantine.

IN the year 338. *Constantine* finding himself sick to death, caused himself to be baptized at *Nicomedia*; (a) *Eusebius* writes it who was present, and *Ambrose* upon the death of *Theodosius*, and *Sozomenus* in book 4. cap. 17. and *Theodoret*, lib. 1. cap. 31.

(a) Euseb.
lib. 4.
de vita Con-
stant. & in
Chronico.

M. du Perron himself doth acknowledge it, (b) Which I observe, to confute the fable of the Baptism of *Constantine* by *Sylvester*, when *Constantine* turned Christian. A fable taken from the Acts or Legends of *Sylvester* which *Baronius* gives us for currant coin, herein opposing all Antiquity. But (c) our Cardinal overcome by the truth, taxeth *Baronius* upon that without naming him.

(b) Ch. 35.
of book. 1. p.
284.

Hitherto we have seen no trace of the Papal Monarchy. No appeal from the Churches without the Roman Bishoprick. No laws given to the Universal Church. No persons of the East, or of *Africa* appearing before the Papal See to be judged. No communication with the Churches without the Roman Em-

(c) Lib. 1.
cap. 35. p.
289.

pire. No communication of Councils. No precedency in Councils. Yet we are come already to the year of Christ, 338. Only some testimonies are found of the Antients that speak of the Bishops of Rome, as of successours of St. Peter. Not in the Apostleship, or in the primacy over the universal Church, but in the Episcopacy of the City of Rome. So all the Antients speak. Eusebius in ch. 2. of the third book of his History; Linus hath held the Bishoprick of the Romans the first after the martyrdom of Paul and Peter. St. Hierome in the book of Ecclesiastical writers, Clement is the fourth Bishop of Rome after Peter. Tertullian in ch. 32. of the book of Prescriptions, The Church of the Smyrneans relateth that Polycarpus hath been established by John. That of the Romans giveth Clement established by Peter. And we have heard before the same Tertullian in ch. 2. of the book of Pudicity, taxing Zepherinus Bishop of Rome for attributing to himself the authority of binding and loosing, which the Lord gave unto Peter personally. Leo the first had his share of ambition. Yet the ordinary title which he takes in the beginning of his Epistles, is, *Leo Episcopus urbis Romæ*, Leo Bishop of the City of Rome: And already it was the 450. year of the Lord. Why doth he not call himself Apostle or Head of the Church of all the world? Would the King of France in his Edicts stile himself only Lord of Paris, or Count of Tolose, leaving out the title of King?

CHAP. II.

How poor and weak and few are the proofs which Cardinal du Perron brings out of the three first Ages, till the year of Christ 340. to defend the Popes primacy.

OUR Adversaries are at no time more gravelled then in two points. When they are put to prove out of the word of God that the Bishop of Rome is successor to St. Peter in the Office of Head of the Universal Church; and when they are called upon to shew out of the history of the three first Ages after Christs death, that the Pope was then acknowledged the Head of the Universal Church.

Of them all M. du Perron is the man who with most diligence hath searcht the Antient History. Yet when question is of the History of the three first Ages, and part of the fourth, it is wofull to behold what trouble he is put to, and how little the first Antiquity is favourable to him in this matter. Which to avoid he confineth himself to the time of the four first Councils, whereof the first was held in the year of our Lord 325.

Yet that he may not seem altogether destitute of strength on that side, he treats that matter in ch. 25. book 1. and from page 97. unto page 101. he layeth up all he could find in the first Ages which may serve to help up the Popes Primacy.

He begins by Irenæus, whom he puts in the next Age to that of the Apostles, although he writ about the year 200. of Christ, or in the beginning of the third Age. Out of his book 3. and ch. 3. he alledgeth ten or twelve times a text, which he hath falsified in the interpretation, making him say that with the Church of Rome all Churches must agree, because of the sovereign principality; whereas the right English of the Latin of Irenæus is, That to that Church (meaning the Roman) all Churches must resort because of the sovereign principality; that is, because Rome was the seat of the Empire, where the Christians of all Churches had busineses. The Latin text of this place of Irenæus we alledged in ch. 7. of this 4. book

Here the Cardinal needeth not to trouble the order of times to bring an authority of Ausin, and another of Prosper, that have written above 200. years after Irenæus; who say, that in the Roman Church the principality of the Apostolick See

hath

under pretence of the succession of *St. Peter* he usurped the power of binding and loosing, which he saith to have been conferred upon *Peter* personally, not upon the Bishop of *Rome*.

Thence the Cardinal passeth to *Cyprian*, between whom and *Tertullian* there is about 50 years, in which the Cardinal can find no proof of the primacy of the Bishop of *Rome*. It would be a strange thing, if since the establishment of the French Monarchy there was an interval of fifty years, in which it appeared not that there was any King of *France*. Of *Cyprian* we have shewed at large that he held not himself in any thing inferior to the Bishop of *Rome*; and that he called the Bishops of *Rome* his brothers and colleagues. And that he never suffered the Bishops of *Rome* to take knowledge of businesses already judged by the Bishops of *Africa*. That he called a Council purposely to oppose *Steven* Bishop of *Rome*, and condemn his doctrine. That he writ letters full of high reproaches to *Steven*. That the Bishops of *Spain* chose to follow his advice, rather than that of the Bishop of *Rome*. That he believed that all the Apostles were equal in power and honour since Christs resurrection. Of all that we have treated fully before, and examined the places which the Cardinal alledgeth out of *Cyprian*.

(c) Pag. 79. To no purpose the (c) Cardinal saith, that (f) *Cyprian* writing to *Steven*, tells
(f) Epist. 67. him, *Thou must write letters into Province, and to the people dwelling at Arles, whereby Martianus being deposed, another be substituted into his room.* For *Arles* being nearer to the Roman See, *Cyprian* thought that the Bishop of *Rome* had some authority at *Arles*. And *Cyprian* laboured about the same thing with those of *Arles*, as well as *Steven*. But what doth that to make him Bishop of the Church of all the world?

He addeth that *Firmilianus* upbraideth *Steven* Bishop of *Rome*, that he boasted of *St. Peters* succession, upon which the foundation of the Church had been laid, and yet he brought other stones, that is, other Churches. But he doth not faithfully alledge the words of *Firmilian*, which are these; *I am justly angry against that folly of Steven, so evident and so manifest; that he should boast of the place of his Episcopacy, and maintain that he hath Peters succession upon whom the foundation of the Church was laid, and yet bring in other stones.* And a little after, *Steven* boasteth that he hath *St. Peters* chair by succession. He saith that *Steven* boasteth of it, but whether he hath a just title to it, he saith not. Besides, that succession was only in the Episcopacy of *Rome*, and *Steven* pretended to no more: Not in the Apostleship, nor in the Office of head of the Universal Church. Which if *Firmilian*, a man of holy life, had believed to have belonged to the Bishop of *Rome*, he would never have opposed *Steven*, nor impugned his doctrine, nor given him so many ill words, which are to be seen in his Epistle.

(g) Pag. 99. Yet the (g) Cardinals words are notable. He saith that *Steven* deprived *Firmilianus* and the other Bishops of *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Galatia* from his communion, for the same error of *Cyprian*, but more obstinately defended. He durst not say that he excommunicated them, but only that he deprived them from his communion, that is, he separated himself from them: For they did not leave for him to communicate in their provinces, and to live in peace with their neighbours, though of different opinion. Note also, that if *Firmilian* was deprived of the communion with *Steven* for *Cyprians* error; much more should *Cyprian* the head of that opinion, who persevered in it unto the end, have been dealt with alike; and yet *Cyprian* remained in the communion of the universal Church; and *Steven*, though condemned by *Cyprian* in full Council, never durst pronounce any censure against him. Note also a manifest contradiction of the Cardinal. He saith that *Firmilian* and the other Bishops of the East retracted themselves, and left *Cyprians* opinion, and yet he saith that they defended his opinion more obstinately than *Cyprian* himself, who yet persevered in his opinion till death. They were then less obstinate than *Cyprian*.

(h) Contra
Crescen-
tium, l. 3. c. 3.

But it will not be found that *Firmilian* did ever alter his opinion. Neither
(h) *Austin* nor *Hierome* say so much. They speak not of *Firmilian*, but of the
Oriental

Oriental men. For as for *Firmilian*, (i) *Basil*, Arch-bishop of the same town, not only put him in the rank of his Catholick predecessors, but also partly followed his opinion. For in that Epistle to *Amphilochius* he sets down a list of hereticks which ought to be rebaptized, as we have proved (k) before. *Eusebius* (l) indeed saith that *Dionysius*, *Alexandrianus* was a suitor to *Steven* for the Oriental men, but he saith not that he desired him to forgive them, but he intreated *Steven* to be reconciled with them.

(i) Lib. de Sp. S. cap. 29. *οὐ μάλιστα τοῦ πνεύματος.*
(k) In ch. i. book 4.
(l) Euseb: 1. 7. c. 5.

The next allegation of the Cardinal is, that *Dionysius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, being suspected of heresie, the Catholicks of *Alexandria*, instead of calling upon the Synods of their Province, came to *Rome* to indite him before *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*. This is deceiving ones self knowingly. For since the provincial Synods of *Egypt* could not assemble without the authority and permission of *Dionysius* the first Bishop of *Egypt*, how could the Egyptians have recourse to their provincial Synods against *Dionysius*? Therefore the enemies of *Dionysius* not being able to do him harm in *Egypt*, endeavoured to defame him everywhere, and carried that defamation to the ears of the Bishop of *Rome*, to make use of his credit for perswading the other Bishops of *Italy* to meet in a Synod, and examine the doctrine of that *Dionysius*. Which also was done. But *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome* commanded not *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* to appear before his See. He pronounced no judgement in that cause. Only he (m) writ letters to *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* whereby he warned him that the Bishops of the Synod were offended at some terms that were found in his writings, that he might think to justify himself by writing, as also he did. But for any action of judge or superior, none is found in the Bishop of *Rome*s proceeding.

(m) Athanas. de Synod. Arim. & Seleuc.

For want of better proofs, the Cardinal brings a Pagan Emperour *Aurelianus*, who, when *Paulus Samosatenus* Bishop of *Antioch*, condemned by the Synod of *Antioch*, and deposed, would not leave the Church nor the Episcopal house, gave order that the Church should be given to them that were of the same belief as the Bishops of *Italy* and *Rome*. That Emperour knew not what belonged to St. *Peters* succession, but esteeming the Bishops according to the dignity of the Cities and Countrey, he named the Bishops of *Italy* and *Rome* for arbitratours. If that passage may serve to raise the Bishop of *Rome*, the same may be said of all the Bishops of *Italy*. For *Aurelianus* put them in the same rank.

Between that *Aurelianus* and the time of *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, who was created Bishop in the year of Christ 337. there is above 60. years. In all that time Cardinal *du Perron* could not produce one example, nor one single action of the Bishops of *Rome*, nor any text of some antient Author that can serve for the establishing of the Popes primacy. Which is the more considerable, because the Empire of *Constantine* falls out in that interval, and with it the deliverance & exaltation of the Christian Church, and a new establishment of Churches over the whole Roman Empire. Then or never the Bishop of *Rome* should have appeared, & there should have been a recourse to him from all the Churches. But the Cardinal with all his diligent search could find nothing to that purpose. And skipping sixty years with one leap, he comes to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, who began to offer to raise himself, but without success, because of the resistance which he met with, as we will shew.

The Reader then may observe that from the Lords death unto the year 341. the Cardinal brings but one testimony of *Irenaeus*, which he corrupteth, and takes in a wrong sense. Then an excommunication of the Bishop of *Asia* by *Vigilius*, an idle action, and without success; and generally condemned. Then two places of *Tertullian*, where he derideth and blameth the Bishop of *Rome*. Then the example of *Cyprian* and *Firmilian*, who resisted Pope *Steven*, and despised his authority, so far that *Cyprian* assembled a Council against the doctrine received at *Rome*, and defamed the Bishop of *Rome* with bitter invectives. Also the example of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* altogether useless and to no purpose. And finally a judgement given by a Pagan Emperour, which puts the Bishops of *Italy* in the same rank as the Bishop of *Rome*, and speaks not at all of Primacy, nor of succession, in St. *Peters* quality of Head of the Church. For in those matters that Emperour had no skill.

Every

Every careful Reader will consider the length of the time which is above 300. years, and the weakness and small number of proofs, which yet are more against then for the Popes; and will acknowledge that in the first ages of the Church the Popes Primacy was an unknown thing. Also that the cause that made him more eminent at that time, was, the dignity of the City of *Rome*, and the opinion that St. *Peter* had founded the Roman Church; of whom the Bishop of *Rome* called himself successour, not in the Apostleship, nor in the Office of Head of the Universal Church, but in the Episcopacy over that City.

Here we must allways remember that all that M. du Perron alledgeth of those Ages, as also of the following, for the Popes authority, is inclosed within the limits of the Roman Empire: For he durst not affirm that the Pope had at that time any superiority without the precincts of the Roman Empire.

CHAP. 12.

Shewing how our Adversaries being destitute of true proofs of the Popes Primacy in the time that followed next to the three first Ages, have forged false Epistles and supposititious Decrees.

IT is an evident sign of an ill cause, when to defend it, the parties make use of false titles. The truth is not defended with lyes, nor Gods cause by borrowing weapons from the Devil. Every man of good sense will carefully weigh this, and judge what that Primacy may be which the Pope pretends unto, since to establish it, so many false deeds have been forged. Of this I have brought before great number of proofs, and intend now to bring more of the like kind.

In the beginning of the fourth Age, the Christian Church of the Roman Empire being delivered from persecution, and settled in a flourishing State by the Emperor *Constantine*, it was then or never that the authority of the Roman Primate should have appeared, to give an order and form to that first establishment, and to convocate Councils, and preside in them. But of that no trace is found in all Antiquity. But we find that in that time the Bishop of *Rome* sat still, and had no part in the government of publick busineses.

To supply that defect, when the Popes Empire began to rise, many false writings and supposititious Decrees were forged, in which the Popes power is exalted to heaven. False Epistles of *Marcellus*, *Eusebius*, *Melchisedech*, and *Marcus*, were coined, where they made those good Bishops to say things which they never thought on, and such as suit not with the time, and are repugnant to common sense.

First the style thereof is barbarous, and hath a relish of the cloyster of later Ages. These are some of their elegancies; (a) *augmentande & eligimus persequi*, to say we choose rather to be persecuted; and (b) *nimis contristatus*, to say very sad; and (c) *praesentialiter*, & odiet; and (d) *vos non potestis*, speaking to one single person, and many the like flowers, for which petty Scholars of the lower forms are whipt.

It is ordinary with those Epistles to wrest the words and texts of Scripture. The first Epistle ascribed to *Eusebius*, calls Clarks spiritual, and Lay-men carnal. In the second he saith that Jesus Christ hath declared that he hath reserved Bishops and Priests to his judgement; when himself expelled the buyers and sellers out of the Temple, and with his own whip. The Decretal of *Melchisedech* proveth that after Baptism it is necessary to receive Confirmation, because it is written, *Psal. 127. Unless the Lord keep the City, they that keep it watch in vain*, which is a very pregnant allegation.

In these Decretals the forgery is herein most evident, that they are stuffed with lyes, and things unsuitable to the time, and repugnant to the truth of the history. First the date of most of these Epistles is false; For they are dated from the Consular of Consuls that never were in the world, or never were Consuls, or such

- (a) Marcell.
Ep. 1.
- (b) Euseb.
Ep. 1.
- (c) Euseb.
Ep. 2.
- (d) Marcell.
Ep. 2.

as were not Consuls together, nor at that time. For example, the second Decretal Epistle of *Marcellus* is dated from the Consulate of *Maxentius* and *Maximus*, but in the *Fasti* (or Chronological Annals) there is no Consulate of *Maxentius*. Which (e) *Baronius* also hath observed.

(c) *Baron.*
Annot. An.
308. §. 24.

The Pontifical of *Damasus* saith, that *Marcellus* Bishop of *Rome* was condemned by the Emperour *Maxentius* to serve naked in a stable, where he ended his dayes in great misery. Yet there is a Decretal Epistle of that *Marcellus* to the Emperour *Maxentius*, where he speaks to him masterfully; *Hæc vobis scienda mandamus, ut ab his vos caveatis*, We command you to know these things that you may take heed of them. Who knoweth not that the Pagan Emperours that persecuted the Church, assembled no Synods of Bishops? Such assemblies were made without their knowledge as much as could be. Yet this pretended *Marcellus* speaks thus to the Emperour *Maxentius*; (f) *You cannot regularly assemble a Synod of Bishops without the authority of this holy See, nor condemn any Bishop appealing to this Apostolick See.* If we believe that impostour, in those dayes they appealed from the judgement of Pagan Emperours to the Bishop of *Rome*; and Priests and Bishops were not to be sentenced or tryed by the Imperial Magistrates and Judges. Of which the reason is added, That it is said of Bishops, *I have said you are Gods, and you are all children of the Almighty*, Psal. 82. That pretended *Marcellus* addeth, that Laymen must not be Judges of Bishops, because the *Beat* or blessed *Clement* hath so determined it by the instruction of the Apostles. Was not this well alledged to the Emperour *Maxentius*? who questionless stood in great awe of *Clements* constitutions, who was dead above 230. years before?

(f) *Synodum ergo absque hujus sanctæ sedis auctoritate Episcoporum non potestis regulariter facere, neque ullum Episcopum qui hanc appellaverit sedem Apostolicam damnare.*

With the like imposture in the XI. clause of *Gratians* Decree, quest. 1. a forged Decree of *Marcellus* speaks thus, *Let no Bishop whether for a civil or a criminal cause be sued before a civil or military Judge. For every Magistrate that will be so bold, as to make such a command, shall be punished with the loss of half his goods, and shall be deprived of his military girdle or belt.* Is there any man so stupid or senseless, as to believe that under the Pagan and persecuting Emperours, it was in the power of the *Roman* Bishop to depose the civil Magistrates, confiscate their goods, degrade them from honour, and declare a souldier unworthy to carry the sword?

In the first Epistle of *Eusebius*, a prohibition is made to Laymen to accuse the Clerks. And in the same Epistle, *Eusebius* writing to the Bishops of *Gauls*, saith, that he is very much grieved for their oppression. A palpable untruth. For in the time of *Eusebius*, *Constantine* governed the *Gauls*, which had suffered no persecution under him.

In the second Epistle it is said, that the statutes of *Kings* command that all the estate of Bishops that are expelled or stript of their goods, be restored unto them, before any proceeding can be made in Synods against them. Never any such Law was made by any Pagan King or Emperour. And there was none but Pagans before the time of *Eusebius*. Besides, there was no King under the *Roman* Empire in those dayes.

(g) In the third Epistle that false *Eusebius* speaks of the finding of the Crofs, as happened in his time, and commands the Bishops of *Campania* and *Toscana* to celebrate the Feast of the same. But in the time of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Rome*, *Constantine* was yet a Pagan, and turned Christian before his Mother *Helena*, of whom *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* in the third book of *Constantines* life, ch. 46. saith, that she found the Crofs of the Lord. (h) Which could not be; but many years after the death of *Eusebius* the *Roman* Bishop, who dyed in the year of our Lord 309. But *Helena* began to seek the Crofs a while after the Council of *Nice*, which was held in the year of our Lord 325.

(g) *Crucis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, que nuper nobis gubernacula sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ tenentibus, s. Nonas Maii inventa est.*

The decretal of *Melchisedes* to the Bishops of *Spain*, forbids them to judge of a Bishop without the Popes authority, saying that it was alwayes done so. This is false. For the causes of the Bishops of *Rome* did not come to *Rome* by appeal. This is seen by the example of *Basilides* and *Martial* Spanish Bishops, who being deposed by the Bishops of *Spain*, had their recourse unto *Steven* Bishop of *Rome*, who tryed his credit to restore them, but the Bishops of *Spain* would not obey,

(h) *Vide Baron. An. 311. §. 41. & An. 326. §. 42.*

and followed the Counsel of *Cyprian* who dissuaded them from it. This is to be seen in the 68. Epistle of *Cyprian*. The same Decretal of *Melchides* declareth that Confirmation ought to be more revered then Baptism. Thus humane tradition is set above Divine institution.

CHAP. 13.

of Constantines donation, and the untruth of it.

OF all the writings grossly and wickedly forged, the donation of *Constantine* may well challenge the first place for bestial impudence and stupidity. That Donation was long held for an Oracle in the *Roman* Church, and is inserted in the first Tome of the Councils; and in the *Roman* Decree in the 96. Distinction, *Augustinus Stenhus* the Popes Library-keeper, and *Bartholomaeus Picerna*, have written in the defence of that Donation. Against which *Laurentius Valla* hath writ a Declamation, whereby one may see that in his time, it was an heresie to doubt of the truth of that Donation; upon which the Popes have founded the temporal power, which they pretend to have over the Empire.

The date and time of that Donation discovereth the untruth of it. For it is made by *Constantine* to *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome* after *Constantines* baptism. And yet there is another forged writing attributed to *Melchides*, predecessor of *Sylvester*, dead six years before the baptism of *Constantine* (if we believe *Baronius*) where *Melchides* speaks of that Donation, a thing done seven or eight years after his death. That Epistle of *Melchides* is inserted in the first Tome of the Councils, and serveth for a Preface to *Constantines* Donation. And *Gratian* hath put a piece of it in his Decree in the Canon *Futuram*, (a) where also the Council of *Nice* is mentioned, which sate twelve years after that *Melchides*. In the same place *Melchides* alleadgeth a Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, held in the year 451. a hundred and thirty seven years after his death.

1. In the beginning of that Donation the Emperour *Constantine* calls himself *Hannicus*, as if he had defeated the *Hunnes* with whom he never had any war.

2. In the same place it is related, how *Constantine* being leprous was healed of his leprousie by baptism, which was administred unto him at *Rome* by *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*. But we will shew in the following Chapter, that *Constantine* was not baptised at *Rome*, but in the subburbs of *Nicomedia*; Nor when he turned Christian, but on his death-bed.

3. In that goodly Donation, *Constantine* (b) saith that he, and all his Satraps; and all his Senate, and all the people subject to his Empire, have thought good to defer to the successors of *St. Peter*, a greater Principality then to the Emperours: And that he hath chosen to himself the successors of *St. Peter* for Patrons towards God. How many absurdities and untruths heapt up in few words! For this word of *Satrap* is a *Persian* word, which the *Roman* Emperours have never used. To say the Satraps of *Rome*, is such another mungrel expression, as if one said the *Basha's* and *Viziers* of *France*, and the *Sultans* of *England*, and the *Caliph* of the *Vatican*. How could *Constantine* have made such a Decreee by the consent of all the people of his Empire and of the *Roman* Senate, seeing that most part of that people were Pagans, and that the *Roman* Senate did consist of none almost but Pagan Senators, and so was for long time after? Witness that designed Consul, who said to *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, (c) *Make me a Bishop of the City of Rome, and I shall be a Christian presently*, as *Hierom* relateth in his Epistle to *Pammachius*. The same is seen in the 54. Epistle of the tenth Book of the Epistles of *Symmachus* Prefect of the City of *Rome*, written to *Valentinian*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius* Emperours; where *Symmachus*, as Oratour for the whole *Roman* Senate, and for all the Citizens of *Rome*, beseecheth the Emperours to preserve the ancient Religion; that is, the Pagan. And this was about the year 377.

(a) causa
11. qu. 1.

(b) Utile ju-
dicavimus
una cum om-
nibus nostris
Satrapis &
universo Se-
nato & cun-
cto populo
Romano, glo-
ria imperii
subjacenti,
&c. Successo-
ris Principis
Apostolorum
potestatem
amplius quam
terrena nostra
imperialis
severitatis
mansuetudo
habere vide-
tur.

(c) Hieron.
ad Pamma-
chium adver-
sus errores Jo-
hannis
Hierosol.

4. By the same donation (d) *Constantine* giveth to the Bishop of *Rome* an Imperial power, and makes him Emperour : Giveth him power over the four principal Sees, of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Jerusalem*, and *Constantinople*, and over all the Churches of the universal world : Whereas when *Constantine* turned Christian, the word of *Constantinople* was not yet in the world, neither was then any speech of the See of that place. The name of the Town was *Byzantium*, and the Bishop of the same was but a Suffragant of the Bishop of *Perinthus* or *Heraclea*. And how could *Constantine* have given power to the Bishop of *Rome* over all the Churches of the world, seeing that many great Provinces and Churches were not subject unto his Empire ? Besides, if the Pope hath received that power immediately from God, what need had he of a Donation from the Emperour ?

5. In the same Donation *Constantine* is made to say, that (e) he hath inclosed the bodies of *Peter* and *Paul* in shrines of Amber, and built the Churches of *Peter* and *Paul* at *Rome* ; to which he hath given great possessions in *Judea*, *Greece*, *Asia*, *Thracia*, *Africa*, *Italy*, and in diverse Islands, to furnish lights unto the said Churches. These candles were very costly since so many mighty Provinces did contribute towards them. And to what purpose did he give possessions to the Bishop of *Rome* in *Judea* to furnish the Churches of *Rome* with candles, as if *Italy* had not been sufficient to afford candles ?

6. By that Donation (f) *Constantine* giveth to *Sylvester* and to his successors his Palace of *Lateran*, and the right of wearing a Crown like that of the Emperour, made with pure gold, and set with precious stones, and to be clad in purple, and to bear an Imperial Scepter, and all the Imperial Ornaments, and to have an Imperial Power. Things which every one knoweth, not to have been in the Popes possession in *Constantines* time, nor many ages after. And which *Constantine* could not give without devesting himself of the Empire, and wronging his children.

7. Among the marks of Empire which *Constantine* giveth to *Sylvester*, he puts *banta vel banda*, words which *Constantine* and his Court understood not. And they are much like the words that are found in the Capitularies of *Charles* and *Lewis*. For that Donation was forged since their time, and was made purposely to blot out the memory of their Donations. For the Popes will not have the world to believe that they are obliged to the Kings of *France*.

8. The same Donation commands (g) that the Clerks of several Orders of the *Roman* Church be Senatours, and Patricians, and Consuls of *Rome*. Upon that score the *Roman* Empire had multitude of Consuls, and the *Consulares Fasti* ; and the Chronicles of *Eusebius*, of *Marcellinus*, of *Cassiodorus* and *Baronius* were mistaken when they put two Consuls for every year, since all the *Roman* Priests and Deacons were Consuls, yea perpetual Consuls.

9. With the like absurdity that Donation commands that (h) the *Roman* Church, that is the Popes Court, have Chamberlans, Ushers, and guards of the body, like the Emperour. And that the Clerks of the *Roman* Church ride upon horses harnessed with rich trappings ; that they be clad in white, and wear white pumps ; Things very suitable to the Apostolical simplicity, and which in *Constantines* time had been lookt upon as prodigies. (i) *St. Hierom* a Priest living at *Rome*, did not march in that equipage, and derides a Priest that had fine horses, saying that he was called in scorn *Veredaris urbis*, the Post-horse or the Postilion of the Town.

10. In the same place *Constantine* saith (k) that he had held the bridle of the horse of *Sylvester* the *Roman* Bishop, and had done to him the office of a groom to help him to get on horse-back. Was there ever a fable so impudently invented ? Is the least trace of that found in so many antient Historians, who have written the history of that time ? Is it credible that the Bishops of *Rome* that

(d) Et sicut nostram terrenam imperialem potentiam, sic eius sacrosanctam Romanam Ecclesiam decrevimus reverenter honorari, & amplius quam nostrum imperium & terrenum thronum sedem sacratissimam beati Petri gloriose exaltari, tribuentes ei potestatem & glorie dignitatem imperialem, &c.

(e) Eorum corpora cum magno honore recondentes ibecacis ipsorum ex electo cui nulla fortitudo prevalet elementorum, construximus.

(f) De presentis contravimus palatii imperii nostri Lateranense, quod omnibus in toto terrarum orbe prefertur palatiis. Deinde dedimus, videlicet coronam capitis nostri, simulque Phrygium, id est mitram, &c. & omnia imperialia indumenta, sed & dignitatem imperialem presidentium equitum, &c.

(g) Viris reverendissimis clericis in diversis ordinibus eidem sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae

servientibus, illud culmen singularitate potentiae & praecellentiae habere sancimus, cuius amplissimus noster Senatus videtur gloria adornari, id est Patricios & Consules efficit. (h) Decernimus & hoc clericorum ejusdem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae manipulis & lintheaminibus, id est candidissimo colore decorari equos, &c. (i) Hier. ep. ad Eusth. c. de virg. scru. (k) Nos Phrygium candidissimi nitentis sacratissimo Papae vertici imposuimus, & tenentes frangam equi illius praereverentia Petri Stratonis officium ei exhibuimus.

(k) *urbem
Romam &
omnes totius
Italiae &
Occidentali-
um regionum
provincias,
loca & civi-
tates prae-
fatis
beatissimo
Pontifici no-
stro Universa-
li Papae con-
cedimus, &c.*

(l) *Socrat.
hist. Eccl. 1.3:
cap. ult.*

*Cum tres fili-
os haberet, si-
ngulos eorum
imperii sui
participes esse
constituit.*

*Primum qui-
dem filium
Occidentali-
um partium, &c.
Zozimus lib.
hist. p. 2.*

*Constantinus
natus maximus
cum minimo
natus Constante
omnia
trans Alpes
scilicet Italiam
& Illyricum
sortitus est.
Vide & Au-
relium Victo-
rem & Sigo-
nium.*

(m) *Dist. 79.
Can. Si duo.*

*Si duo forte
contra fas le-
meritate con-
certantium
fuerint ordi-
nati, nullum
ex eis futu-
rum sacerdo-
tem permitti-
mus.*

(n) *Precamur
sacra causa
religionis, ut
in urbe man-
suetudinis ve-
stire hoc animo
quo postulatis
& amant in
perpetuum sta-
tus universa-
lis Ecclesiae
consulatis.*

(p) *Athanas.
Paul. Diacon.
Lib. Pontif.
Sigebert. Pla-
tina, Sigonius.*

lived in the four or five following ages (of whom some were pretty well stored with pride, as *Gelasius, Hormisdas, Vigilius,*) would have forgotten such a submission of the Emperor to the Pope? It is certain that this feigned passage was put in that forged donation to bring the Emperors of *Germany*, and the Kings of the West to that ignoble servitude unto which some have basely submitted themselves, defiling by a shameful submission the dignity of their crowns.

11. By the same Donation (k) *Constantine* makes an absolute gift to the Bishop of *Rome* and his successors for ever of the City of *Rome* and *Italy* and all the Occidental Provinces, that is, *France, Spain, the Isle of Britain, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia*, and part of *Germany*; to possess all those Countreys with power to dispose of them absolutely and sovereignly. He adds that to yield the place unto the Pope, and devest himself of the domination of those Provinces, he withdrew himself from *Rome*, and transported the seat of his Empire to the *Byzantine* province, it being not just that an earthly Emperor should have any power where God had established the principality and the Head of Christian Religion.

If these things be true, we must say that *Constantine* hath revoked his Donation, and made it void. For (l) *Constantine* dying shared the Empire among his three sons, *Constantinus, Constantius*, and *Constans*; and gave to *Constantinus* *Rome* and *Italy*, as all Historians testify it. And accordingly *Constantius* the eldest son kept his Court at *Rome* and in *Italy*: And *Constantius* after his Fathers death, succeeding in the Empire of the West, entred into *Rome* in great triumph, as it is to be seen in *Ammianus Marcellinus* in book 16. §. 1.

As for the Bishop of *Rome*, he was then so subject to the Emperor, that *Constantinus* commanded him to come to him, and when he could not bring him to his opinion, he banisht him, giving him five hundred crowns to keep him in his exile, as *Theodoret* relateth in the second book of his History, ch. 16. After *Constantius, Valentinian* and *Theodosius* the great, and *Gratian* and *Honorius* and two *Valentinians* reigned in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, in quality of Sovereigns, the Bishop of *Rome* being subject unto them as the other Bishops of the Empire.

One only example will serve for all. In the year of Christ 418 two Bishops of *Rome, Eulapius* and *Bonifacius*, were elected by two contrary factions of the Roman people. The Emperor *Honorius* who at that time was at *Ravenna*, took notice of it, and having expelled both the one and the other out of *Rome*, appointed two Serjeants to keep *Bonifacius*. In the end both were cited before the Emperor. The parties being heard, the Emperor gave sentence for *Bonifacius*, and put back his Competitor: And thereupon made a Law which is found in the seventy ninth Distinction of the Roman Decree in these words; (m) *If it happen that two be created by the rashness of the contenders, we will not suffer any of them to be Bishop.* The stile of the Letters of *Bonifacius* to the Emperor *Honorius*, is remarkable; (n) *We beseech you for the love of holy Religion, that in the City of your clemency, you provide for the State of the Universal Church, according as you desire and grant.* By these words he acknowledgeth that the City of *Rome* belonged to the Emperor. As also the Emperor *Constantius* said to *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome* in ch. 16. of book. 2. of *Theodoret*; *Because thou art a Christian, we have judged thee worthy to be a Bishop of our City.*

The Roman Empire being overthrown in *Italy* by the *Goths, Theodoricus* King of the *Goths* reigning at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, created the Magistrates of the City of *Rome*, as one may see in *Cassiodorus*; (o) Among whose Epistles many Epistles of *Theodoricus* are found, where he disposeth of the charges of the City of *Rome*, and prescribes unto the Vicar and to the Prefect of the City the form of governing.

In that Kings time (p) a schism happened between *Symmachus* and *Laurentius*, both elected Bishops of *Rome* by two contrary factions. Of which, *Theodoricus* took notice, sending *Peter* Bishop of *Altina* to make informations of the business, and to govern the Church of *Rome* while that contention lasted.

In the year of our Lord 525. the Emperor *Justinian* had begun to persecute the *Arians. Theodoricus* who himself was an *Arian*, sent Pope John Embassador

to the Emperor to intercede for the *Arians*, and at his return from his Embassie put him to death in prison.

To King *Theodoricus Athalaricus* succeeded, who being informed of the Simony and traffick that was used to get the Bishoprick of *Rome*, prohibited by a Law, and upon grievous penalties, the getting of the Papacy by faction, or bribery, or selling of the sacred place, and caused that law to be set before the Roman Bishops door. This is to be seen in book 9. of the (q) *Diversities*. Epist. 15.

The Emperor *Justinian* having by the means of *Belizarius* and *Narses* recovered *Italy*, and destroyed the Kingdom of the Goths, became Master of *Rome*, as his predecessors were. A law of his is extant, commanding the Bishops of *Rome* to pay to their Emperour twenty pounds weight of gold for their entry into their place, as holding it by the Emperors concession. That law is in the *Authenticks*, or *Novels* of *Justinian* (r).

(q) Variarum lib. 9. cap. 15.

(r) Novell. 123. cap. 3.

In the year of our Lord 654. the Emperor *Constans* bound *Murinus* Bishop of *Rome* with chains, and banished him, appointing *Chersonefus* for the place of his exile, where he dyed.

A thousand such examples I might bring, to prove that *Constantines* successors had full power at *Rome*, and in *Italy*: and that the Bishop of *Rome* were their subjects, having no temporal power. Else the Bishops of *Rome* ought to have levied tribute and custome out of *Spain* and *France*, and created Magistrates, and led armies, which never was done.

If *Constantine* made the Pope Emperor, and set an Imperial Crown on his head, yielding to him the whole Empire of the West; whence comes it that the Bishops of *Rome* never took upon them the title of Emperors? Why did they not after that donation create Magistrates in all the Cities of *Italy* and *Gauls*? And when *Theodosius* divided the Empire between his two sons, leaving to *Arcadius* the Empire of the East, to *Honorius* the Empire of the West, why did not the Bishop of *Rome* oppose that distribution, saying that the Empire of the West belonged unto them? How comes it that of a thing of such a principal importance, whereby the Bishop of *Rome* is raised so high, no author of that time, or of many ages after, makes any mention?

The reason which that donation alledged, is false, and contrary to the holy Scripture: namely That it is not just that an earthly Emperor have any power on the place where the Head of the Christian Church is residing. For under the reign of *David* and since, the residence of the High-Priests, Heads of the Judaical Church, was at *Jerusalem*; which was also the place of the Kings residence.

That prodigious ambition whereby a Bishop pretends that the Empire belongs to him, and attributes a sovereign power to himself over the temporal of Kingdoms, is contrary to the Apostles command, instructing thus his Disciple *Timothy*, 2 *Tim.* 2. 4. *Not man that warreth, inangleth himself with the affairs of this life.* And to the 83. Canon of the Apostles. (f) *If any Bishop or Priest gave himself to war, and will have these two things together, the Roman Empire, and the sacerdotal government, let him be deposed; for the things of Cesar ought to be given unto Cesar, and the things of God unto God.*

(f) ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος οὐ δύναται πολεμεῖν, καὶ τὴν αἰσχρονομίαν ἐκτελεῖν, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐκτελεῖν, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐκείνου ἐκτελεῖν. καὶ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος οὐ δύναται πολεμεῖν, καὶ τὴν αἰσχρονομίαν ἐκτελεῖν, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐκτελεῖν, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐκείνου ἐκτελεῖν. καὶ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος οὐ δύναται πολεμεῖν, καὶ τὴν αἰσχρονομίαν ἐκτελεῖν, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐκτελεῖν, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐκείνου ἐκτελεῖν.

12. Certainly that imposture, whereby of a Bishop of one City, subject unto Emperors, and punishable by their laws, they will make an Emperor of *Italy*, *Gauls*, *Spain*, &c. is so gross that I know not, which ought to be more admired, either the shameless boldness of those that have forged these fables, or the silliness of the people that would believe them, or the patience of God that would suffer them, or his justice that punisheth the contempt of his word with such an horrid blindness.

It is true that now of late some of our Adversaries are ashamed of these things, and employ not that Donation to uphold the Popes power: and of those some this Lord Cardinal *du Perron* is one. But as scaffolds are set up to build a house, and when the house is built they are pulled down; So the Pope made use of these forged writings to underprop his growing Empire, and made them pass for good in an ignorant age. But now that his Monarchy is born up with the power of Kings and nations, many have believed that they can reject these supposititious things without shaking their Empire.

13. Finally

(t) Hæc vero omnia & per alia divalia decreta statuimus atque confirmavimus, usque in finem mundi illibata & inconcussa permanere decernimus &c. Si quis autem (quod non credimus) in hoc temerari aut contempnor extiterit, æternis condemnationibus subiaceat innodatus, & sanctos Dei, Principes Apostolorum, Petrum & Paulum sibi in præsentia & futura vita sentiat contrarios, atque in inferno inferiori crematus cum diabolo & omnibus deficiat impiis.

13. Finally that goodly Donation of *Constantine* (t) enjoyneth that this pragmatick sanction of his remain firm unto the end of the world. And if any transgress his ordinance, he will have him damned eternally, and that he find the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* contrary, both in this life, and in the other; and that he be plunged into the lowest bottom of hell with the Devil. So this Emperor sends into hell his own children that have reigned at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, and in the West, in quality of Sovereigns. Yea he condemneth himself to be damned eternally, having retained the Empire of the West for himself, and left it to his children. In which execration the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, &c. are also inwrapped, since they stile themselves and are in effect Sovereigns in the Provinces which this Donation giveth to the Bishops of *Rome* unto the worlds end. And it is certain that by this Donation forged by the Popes, the Kings of *France*, as also the Kings of *Spain*, are declared usurpers and unjust possessors of their Kingdoms, since by that jolly deed they belong to the Roman High-Priest.

That the taile may be like the body, this Donation is dated with a lye, that is, with the Consulat of *Constantine* and *Galicanus*, who never were Consuls together. Read the Chronicles of *Eusebins*, *Marcellinus*, and *Cassiodorus*, the *Fasti Consulares* of *Onuphrins*, and the Annals of *Baronius*, you shall find no Consulate of *Constantinus* and *Galicanus* together.

CHAP. 14.

Of the Baptism of Constantine mentioned in the same Donation.

ALTHOUGH it is not material for the Popes primacy by whom *Constantine* was baptized, yet the false coyners whom the Pope hath employed, have thought that it would increase the reverence of the nations towards the Papal See, if the world believed that the first Christian Emperor was baptized by the Pope of *Rome* in a miraculous way.

In that Donation it is related, that *Constantine* being covered with leprosie, physicians prescribed him a bath of infants blood: But he being moved with the cries of the mothers of those children, would not use that remedy. And that the next night St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* appeared unto him in a dream, and warned him that he should send for *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*, why lay hid in a hole of mount *Soract* for fear of the persecution raised by *Constantine* against the Christians, which *Sylvester* would give him another kind of bath that should heal him. He sent then for *Sylvester*, of whom he asked what Gods *Peter* and *Paul* were among the Christians: Then he received the Baptisme from *Sylvesters* hand, whereby he recovered health. That tale is taken out of the fabulous Legends of *Sylvester*, whose Author is unknown. Pope *Adrian* the first tells that fable in the first Action of the second Council of *Nice*, 360. years after *Sylvesters* death.

We must know that *Baronius*, who receiveth this fable for a truth, puts that Baptisme in the nineteenth year of *Constantine*, eighteen years before his death, in the year of Christ 324. choosing rather to give credence to these Acts of *Sylvester*, which himself acknowledgeth to be much falsified and corrupted, then to the testimony of so many antient Authors, who testifie with one accord, that *Constantine* was baptized in the suburbs of *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, by *Eusebins* Bishop of that place, a few days before his death.

Eusebinus of *Cesarea*, one of the Emperors family, towards the end of the fourth book of *Constantines* life, saith, that he being sick in the Suburbs of *Nicomedia*, he called the Bishops, and told them that he had purposed long before to be baptized in the river *Jordan*, where our Saviour was baptized. But seeing that God disposed it otherwise, he desired them to confer baptisme upon him, which they presently did, a little before that Emperor gave up his spirit unto God.

To

To which *Baronius* answereth, that *Eusebius* was an enemy to the *Roman Church*, that he was an *Arian*, and that he devised that Fable. Truly *Eusebius* in all his writings shews no enmity against the *Roman Church*: But that which grieveth our adversaries, is, that he being the antientest and the most famous Christian Historian, deferreth not any primacy to the Bishop of *Rome*, but speaks of him as of another Bishop, and condemneth the action of *Viktor*, who for a difference about the Feast of *Easter*, separated himself from the Communion of the *Oriental Church*.

But what have they to object against *Hierom*, who in his *Chronicle* speaks thus, (a) *Constantine in the end of his life being baptized by Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, inclineth towards Arianism?*

Ambrose saith the same in his Oration upon the death of *Theodosius*; (b) *Unto whom [speaking of Constantine] although the grace of Baptism conferred in his last hour have pardoned all his sins, &c.*

Socrates in the 39. Chapter of the first book of his History, (c) *Constantine went from Helenopolis, and came to Nicomedia, and there being lodged in the suburbs, he received the baptism of Christian religion.*

Theodoret in the 32. Chapter of his History; (d) *Constantine being at Nicomedia fell sick, and knowing the uncertainty of human life, received the gift of the sacred baptism, which he had delayed till that time, desiring to receive it in the river of Jordan.*

Sozomenus in the last Chapter of the second book, (e) *Constantine was carried to Nicomedia, where, being in the suburbs, he was consecrated with the holy baptism.*

What more? a multitude of Bishops assembled at *Remini* write thus to *Constantine* son to *Constantine*. (f) *Being gone from among men after he had been baptized, and transported to the rest that was reserved to him. They speak of Constantines death. That Epistle is found in Socrates in book 2. chap. 29. and in Sozomenus, book 4. chap. 17.*

So many witnesses near *Constantines* time, ought in my opinion to be more believed than a fabulous Legend of *Sylvester*, of which the Author is not known, and which *Baronius* acknowledgeth to be full of untruths.

It is to be noted that *Constantine* embraced the Christian faith in the year of the Lord 312. and that from his conversion he never ceased to do good to the Christians. In that same year he made edicts in favour of the Christians, granted immunities to Church-men, and relieved with his own money those that had been persecuted by *Maxentius* and *Maximus*, as is to be seen in *Eusebius* in *Constantines* life.

In the year of our Lord 313. the Donatists appealed to *Constantine* as to a Christian Prince, who gave them some Bishops for Judges, and convoked a Synod at *Arles*.

In the year 318. having overcome *Licinius*, a cruel persecutor of the Church, and being the sole possessor of the Empire, he raised Christian Religion in honour and wealth everywhere; began to build magnificent Churches, gave to Christians the Temples of the Pagans, and never gave over promoting Christian Religion which he profest.

How can all that agree with the fabulous relation of the baptism of *Constantine* by *Sylvester*, as it is set down in the Donation of *Constantine*? For whereas that baptism was in the 324. year of Christ (if we believe *Baronius*) that is eleven years after *Constantines* conversion, nevertheless in that Donation the Emperour speaks as having received baptism immediately after his conversion to Christian Religion, and as having alwayes been a Pagan till that time; saying, *The Gods of the Gentiles which I have served hitherto are Devils*; and as having so little knowledge of Christian Religion, that he knew not whether *Peter* and *Paul* were Gods or men: Which is repugnant to that Christian profession which he had made twelve years before with so much zeal and constancy; and to that which *Baronius* saith, that *Constantine* from his infancy had been instructed in the Christian Religion. by his mother *Helena*.

But

(a) *Constantinus extremam vitam sua tempore, ab Eusebio Nicomedensi baptizatus, in Arianum dogma declinat.*

(b) *Cui licet baptismi gratia in ultimis constituto, omnia peccata dimiserit, &c.*

(c) *Ἀπαίχεται ἐν τῇ ἑλενοπόλει, οὗς ὁ Νικομήδιος βασιλεὺς ἐπεβαλὼν τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν μεταλαμπάδην βαπτισματος.*

(d) *Ὁ Νικομήδιος τῆς Βιθυνίας διαγων ἡρώσθη. τὸ ὅς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης βίης τέλος ἀδύλον ἐπιστάμενος τὸ θεῖον βαπτισματός δωρον ἀπέζητο.*

(e) *Διακομίσθη εἰς Νικομήδιαν, ἐνθα ὃ ἐν προαίτει διαγων ἐμύνην πλὴν ἐστὶν βαπτισμῶν.*

(f) *Socrati lib. 2. c. 37. ἐπιεικὲς ὅς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο βαπτισθείς, καὶ σέως πλὴν οὐκ ἐπειρομένῳ εἰρηλὼν αἰετοζήσῃ.*

But this is worse yet. That narration of *Constantines* baptism, which *Baronius* will have to be in the year 324. speaks of that Emperour as of a persecutor; who had persecuted the Church before his baptism; so that *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*, was forced to hide himself in a Cave of Mount *Soracte* to avoid persecution. Is it like that *Constantine* began to persecute the Church when he was a Christian, and twelve years after his conversion to the faith, seeing that even when he was a Pagan he never persecuted it? Doth any Authour speak of any man whom he hath put to death, or banisht, or stript of his goods for the Christian faith? Such are the brakes of contradictions wherein those that have sold their pen unto the Pope, intangle themselves; men to whom all fables are good, so they may serve to exalt the Papal Empire.

BOOK



BOOK V.

PROVING BY THE

Ecclesiastical History

From the year of our Lord 340. unto
the year 400.

That then first the Bishop of R o m e would
begin to exalt himself, but missed of his attempt, and
what hinderances he met with.

CHAP. I.

*Of the persecutions happened to Athanasius. And how Julius Bishop of Rome
would make himself Judge of his cause. Of the convocating, sitting, and
success of the Council of Sardica.*

NOW we are come to the time when the Bishop of Rome began
to shew his pride, and to encroach upon the other Bishops
of the Roman Empire; not by vertue of St. Peters primacy,
or of any authority from the Word of God, but by vertue
of some Canons and Ecclesiastical constitutions. He called
himself indeed successour of St. Peter, as did also the Bishop
of Antioch. But that succession was only in his Office of
Bishop of the City of Rome. In that consideration he chal-
lenged no superiority.

A Council was convocated to Tyre by Constantine. There Arius appeared,
protesting of his repentance, and giving a confession of faith conformable in shew
to that of Nice. Wherefore the Emperor Constantine commanded Athanasius
to receive him to the Communion. Which Athanasius (knowing the hypocrisie
of Arius) refused to do. This with other causes so incensed Constantine, who was
desirous of peace, that he banished Athanasius, and sent him to live at Trier.
And the Council of Tyre being transported to Jerusalem, sent back Arius to
Alexandria. Two years after, Constantine dyeth, having divided the Empire
among his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans; all three Orthodox

give to understand unto *Julius*, that they held not themselves to be inferior unto him.

As for *Athanasius*, his living at *Alexandria* displeased the Emperor *Constantius*; but because the people of *Alexandria* and *Egypt* maintained him zealously, he held his peace at the first; but soon after upon new accusations he threatened to put him to death. At which *Athanasius* being afraid, kept himself hidden for the space of three years, till the fourth year after his return; when being invited by secret letters of *Julius*, he escaped to *Rome* again.

(k) The letters written with gall of the Oriental Bishops, to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* being delivered to him, he sent them an answer, but far milder and fuller of respect than his former letter; having by that time learned that in vain he jostled against Bishops over whom he had no power. He told them that their letters had very much grieved him, remonstrating unto them that in not calling him to their Council, they had done against the Canons, seeing that there was an Ecclesiastical Canon (1) *μη κανονισεν τας εκκλησιας*, that rules or laws must not be given to Churches against the advice of the Bishop of *Rome*.

(k) Socrat.
l. 2. cap. 13.
in latin.

(1) *μη κανονισεν τας εκκλησιας*
παρ. 2. νω- μω εν εμ- ποδισαντων.

The Oriental men would not do so much for *Julius* as to answer his letters. And *Sozomenus* in ch 9. of book 2 saith that *Julius* seeing how he profited nothing, and made no progress in the cause of *Athanasius*, intreated the Emperor *Constantius* to take care of that business: And *Constantius* favourably receiving *Athanasius* and *Paul*, and many other Bishops who had been deposed and expelled from their Churches, took that matter to heart, and writ to his brother *Constantius*, (m) desiring him to send him three Bishops, that should declare to him the causes why *Athanasius*, and *Paul*, and many other Bishops had been deposed and expelled from their Churches. *Constantius* did so, and sent him three, who brought only the confession of faith of the Oriental men, and without doing any thing else, or speaking of the case of *Athanasius*, returned home. At which *Constantius* being sore displeased, writ to his brother again, desiring him, that since his Embassadors were thus gone away without doing any thing, a general Council might be called by the consent and authority of them both; which was granted, and the place was appointed at *Sardica*, a town of *Slavonia*, which town was since called *Triaditsa*. This was eleven years after the death of *Constantine*, father to these two Emperors.

(m) Socrat.
l. 2. cap. 14.

(n) When the Bishops were come to *Sardica* from all parts, the Oriental Bishops were found to be but seventy six, many having excused themselves from coming, for divers causes. But by the diligence and sollicitation of *Julius* and *Athanasius*, about three hundred Occidental Bishops met at that Council. But the Oriental Bishops foreseeing that they should be over-voted by number, would not enter into the Council, and withdrew themselves to *Philippolis* in *Thracia*, where they held a Council by themselves.

(n) Socrat.
l. 2. c. 16.

There they condemned the word *homoousion* & *Consubstantial*, and deposed and degraded from the Episcopal charge, *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, and all the favourers and adherents of *Athanasius*. On the contrary, the Occidental Bishops assembled at *Sardica*, confirmed the doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, and restored (as much as in them lay) unto their Offices and Churches *Athanasius*, and the other expelled Bishops, deposed those that had deposed them; And to anger the Oriental, who had deposed *Julius* the Roman Bishop, they raised the dignity of *Julius* with all their power. Thus the East was separated from the West, and the limit of the separation was a Mountain between *Slavonia* and *Thracia*, named by *Socrates* *Tisucia*, and by *Nicephorus* *Susacia*.

The Council of *Sardica* being dissolved, the Emperor *Constantius* seeing that he had advanced nothing, came to the last remedie, and writ to his brother *Constantius*, that unless he restored *Athanasius* and the others that were unjustly expelled, he would denounce war unto him. These letters were of more force than a Council; for presently after *Constantius* writ kind letters to *Athanasius*, permitting him to return to *Alexandria*. But *Athanasius*, not daring to trust him, staid at *Aquilicia*, and stirred not till *Constantius* had written to him three times. In

the end after the third letters, he went to the Emperor, who received him with very great kindness, and restored him by Imperial letters patent, unto his Bishoprick of *Alexandria*, giving him besides, letters directed to the people of *Alexandria* for his restitution.

Athanasius now strong with these letters, goeth from the Court, and passeth through *Jerusalem*, where *Maximus* was Bishop, who had consented to the deposition of *Athanasius*; *Athanasius* signified to the said *Maximus* the Emperors ordinance, and the Decree of the Council of *Sardica*: Of any sentence pronounced by *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* he spake not to him: as also *Julius* had given no judgement this last exile of *Athanasius*. It is true that *Athanasius* brought letters from *Julius* bishop of *Rome* to the Church of *Alexandria*, which letters *Socrates* sets down whole (o) in ch. 18. of book 2. And indeed they are worth reading, for they contain no sentence, and no judgement given by him for the restitution of *Athanasius*, but only exhortations, and thankgivings, that God had sent them again so good a Pastor, who had been taken from them; and praises and justifications of *Athanasius*.

(o) in Latinis codicibus.

Maximus Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, having heard the Emperors command, without delay assembled many Bishops of *Syria* and *Palestina*, gave the communion again to *Athanasius*, and restored unto him his charge of Bishop of *Alexandria*, as (p) *Socrates* relateth in ch. 24. of book 2. *Maximus* (saith he) without delay restored to *Athanasius* the Communion, and his dignity. This example is notable, to shew the power which all the Patriarchs pretended unto; Among whom that of *Jerusalem* was the least of all.

(p) Socrat. l. 2. c. 24. in Græcis exemplaribus. Μαξιμουσος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας ἀναστρέφει.

That being done, *Athanasius* went from *Jerusalem*, and came to *Alexandria*, where he was received with the applauses and unspeakable joy of the people of *Alexandria*, and restored to his charge.

CHAP. 2.

Three points which the Cardinal finds in this History to establish the Popes Primacy. And the falsifications which he accumulategh in this matter.

AMong many things that abase the Bishop of *Romes* power in this history, Cardinal *du Perron* finds three which he perpetually imployeth for the establishing and exalting of the Popes power.

I. The first is that Ecclesiastical Canon which *Julius* produced, whereby it is forbidden to give laws or Canons to the Churches against the advice of the Bishop of *Rome*.

II. The second, that which *Sozomenus* saith, that to *Julius*, because of the preheminance of his See the care of all things belonged, and therefore he restored every one to his Church. These two things are repeated and inculcated in the Cardinals book above fifty times; so much he mistrusteth the Readers memory. These two testimonies, with one of *Irenæus* which he falsifieth, and the appeal of *Flavianus* to *Leo*, help very much towards the bulk of his book, so frequently he doth repeat them.

III. The third point is, that *Athanasius* condemned by the Synod of *Antioch*, appealed (as he saith) to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*. Of these three points it will be easie for us to shew the untruth, or the weaknes, or the absurdity and impertinence.

I. As for that pretended Canon forbiding to give any Laws to Churches against the advice of the Bishop of *Rome*, it is not known by whom nor when it was made. For before this *Julius* it is not found that ever it was spoken of, or that ever any Bishop of *Rome* made use of it. The experience of the following

following ages will shew that it was the custom of the Bishops of Rome to suppose or corrupt Canons, to advance their authority. So they did in the sixth Council of Carthage, and since in the Council of Chalcedon, as we shall see hereafter. In particular, as for that Canon which *Julius* produced, we have seen that in the precedent ages the practice was contrary. For *Agrippinus* and *Cyprian* Bishops of Carthage assembled Councils in diverse times, in which they made Orders and gave Judgements contrary to the Roman Church, not expecting the advice of the Roman Bishop, and thereby incurred no censure. And when the judgement of the Roman Bishop *Melchiodes* was revised and examined in the Council of Arles, the Council expected not the advice of *Melchiodes*, since it was in question of voiding or confirming his sentence. Also we shall see hereafter many Canons and Ordinances contrary to that Canon, as the Canons and Epistles of the Councils of Africa, which excommunicate every African that appeals to Rome, and warn the Pope that he take no more knowledge of their businesses. Wherefore the Bishops rejected that Canon which *Julius* produced, and were so far from acknowledging, that they could decree nothing but with the consent of *Julius* Bishop of Rome; that on the contrary, in that bitter Epistle which they write to him, they tell him (using the very terms of that Canon) *ὡς εἰν ἡγεμονίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ*, that it belonged not to him to make Canons for them, or to over-rule them. They were *Arians* indeed, but they were not ignorant of the Ecclesiastical Discipline. And this was never put among the errors of the *Arians*, that they were disobedient to the Roman Bishop, and did not acknowledge him head of the Universal Church.

Socrat. l. 2. c. 2.

But to do a kindness to our adversaries, I will grant to the Cardinal that this Canon is not forged, nor suggested by the Bishop of Rome. But let him make the best of it; it cannot serve to establish the Popes primacy over the Churches of all the world, seeing that this Canon is but an order made among the Bishops of the Roman Empire: As also the antient Roman Bishops never made use of this Canon, nor of any other to pretend a superiority over the Churches without the precincts of the Roman Empire, and never medled with their businesses. Yea such Canons ruine and undermine the foundation of the Papal Monarchy, and rob it of all that is alledged for it out of the Word of God. For if God commands in his Word that the Bishop of Rome be head of the Universal Church, what need is there of making Ecclesiastical Canons that command the same thing? To what purpose had *Julius* alledged this Canon, if he had had a divine rule at hand from his holy Word? Pope *Gelasius* who lived some 150. years after this *Julius*, perceived that very well, and renounced all such Canons as useles. For in the Roman Council held about the year 499. he speaks thus, *The holy Roman Church is preferred before all other Churches, not by any Synodical constitutions, but by the voice of the Lord and Saviour.* But that which is the strongest against that Canon which *Julius* alledged, and makes it of no use to the Cardinal, is, that all the Patriarchs of the Roman Empire pretended to have the same right, that no important thing should be concluded without them. *John* Patriarch of Antioch grounding himself upon that rule, excommunicated and deposed *Cyrillus* Patriarch of Alexandria, for proceeding to the condemnation of *Nestorius* in the Council of Ephesus, without expecting his coming. And we shall see in this same Chapter, that every Patriarch took care of all the Ecclesiastical important affairs within the Roman Empire.

(a) Ch. 32. p. 196.

(b) Socrates l. 2. c. 8.

I must not omit that (a) *M. du Perron* alleadging this Canon, commits three falsifications. He saith, that the Council of Antioch was taxed of nullity, because (saith Socrates) the Ecclesiastical Law (b) prohibited the making of Canons or rules for Churches, without the sentence of the Bishop of Rome. But it is false that Socrates saith, that the Council of Antioch was taxed of nullity. Then the Cardinal interprets ill *καὶ* by because instead of although. And these words *ὅτι τὸν ἡγούμενον* signifie not as he thinks, without the sentence, but against the advice.

He alledged many texts, either false, or taken in a wrong sense. He quoteth in his margent the fifth Canon of Sardica, and sends us to the Comment of Bal-

samon

καὶ ὅτι ἡγεμονίας
ἐκκλησιαστικῆς
καὶ καλόνους
καὶ εἰν ὅτι
τὸν ἡγούμενον
τὸ ἐπὶ καὶ
τὸ Ρώμης
καὶ ὅτι
τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικόν
οἶον.

Balsamon upon that Canon. That Canon of *Sardica* permits to the condemned Bishops to appeal to the Bishops of *Rome*. But that rule is made only for the Occidental Bishops, belonging to the *Roman* Patriarchat : For in that Synod there was none but Occidental Bishops that could not make Laws binding the Bishops of the East, who never obeyed this Council. And we shall see hereafter that in *Austins* time, some 66. years after, these Canons of *Sardica* were unknown to the Churches of *Africa*. Besides, these orders of *Sardica* were propounded by *Hosius*, who presided in the Council, as a new thing, and submitted to the will of the Council; As in effect, that honour was deferred to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* to spite the Oriental Bishops, who being assembled at the same time at *Philippolis*, had degraded *Julius* and his adherents with disgrace. As for *Balsamon*, the Cardinal was wiser then to produce his words upon the third Canon, which is of the same sense as the fifth. These are his words, (c) *The things determined concerning the Pope, must be taken alike concerning the Patriarch of Constantinople, because he was made equal in honour in all things to the Pope by many Canons of Synods.*

(c) Τὰ μὲν-
τοι ὁρίσθητα
πρὸς τὸ
Πάππας ἐκ-
κλησίας τῆς
ἐκείνης καὶ παρὰ
ἀρχιερέων Κε-
σαρίων πόλεως
ὡς δὲ τὸ δῶν
πρὸς τὸν ὁμοίως
τὸ Πάππας
πυροβόλῳ
καὶ διαφύ-
γων καὶ ὁρίσ-
ται.

A little after, the Cardinal alledgeth an Epistle of the Council of *Sardica* to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, which Epistle is not found in the Council of *Sardica*, but in certain fragments of *Hilary* newly come forth. In that Epistle these words are found, That it is most just and most convenient, that from all Provinces the Bishops refer their businesses to their Head, that is, to the See of Peter the Apostle. But that ought not to be understood of the Bishops of the whole world, which is said only of the Bishops of the West that were within the Patriarchate of *Rome*. The Bishops of the West only made this Canon, and made it for themselves: For they could not give Laws to the Bishops of the East, or to those of *Africa*. Much less could they give Laws to Bishops that lived without the *Roman* Empire. And this word Head is attributed also to other Bishops, as we hope to shew in this Chapter, and is given to the Bishops of *Rome* in consideration of the dignity of that Town.

(d) Pag. 197.

The Cardinal addeth, (d) that when the Council of *Capua* delegated *Theophilus* to examine the cause of *Flavianus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, *Ambrose* writ to him, that after he hath judged it, he must get his judgement confirmed by the Pope. All that is full of untruth.

(e) Sane re-
ferendum
arbitramur
ad sanctum
fratrem no-
strum Romanæ
Sacerdotem
Ecclesiæ, quo-
niam præsu-
mimus te ju-
dicaturum
quæ etiam illi
displicere
nequeant. Ita
enim utile erit
et consultum
sententiæ, ita
pacis et qui-
etis securitati,
si id vestro
statuatur con-
silio quod
communioni
nostre dissen-
sionem non
afferat.

(f) Chap. 32.
pag. 198.

St. *Ambrose* indeed, *Epist.* 78. writes to *Theophilus*, but not in the terms that the Cardinal attributes unto him, but in these, (e) *Truly we esteem that this should be referred to our holy brother the Priest of the Roman Church; For we presume that thou wilt judge things that cannot displease him. For so it shall be useful for the sentence and for the safety of peace and rest, if that be established by your counsel, which shall bring no dissention to our communion.* He speaks only as giving Counsel. Yet *Theophilus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the Emperour *Theodosius*, did clean contrary to that Counsel. For no report was made of it to the Bishop of *Rome*, who was constrained to hold his peace, because he could not hinder it, as we shall see hereafter. Which example, with many more, serveth to give the lye to the Acts of *Ephesus* produced by the Cardinal, which swarm with lyes; as that the Church of *Antioch* was alwayes governed by the *Roman*: whereas the *Roman* Church never had any power over that of *Antioch*. The third of the times which we follow will lead us to more examples. And that which the Cardinal adds of the appeal of *Flavianus*, and of *Theodoretus*, and the like allegations, shall be examined in their order.

A little after (f) he alledgeth the 4. ch. of the 2. book of *Evagrius*, where it is said that the Bishop of *Rome* is called the head of the Churches. A place alledged according to the ordinary faith of the Cardinal, that is, falsely; for in that Chapter no such thing can be found.

Indeed in that Chapter the Deputies of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, attribute unto their Master more power then he had, saying that he had pardoned the Bishops of the second Council of *Ephesus*, who yet never asked him pardon. For the Popes will easily pardon those whom they cannot punish. But they call not *Leo* the Head of all the Churches. And though they should have called him so, it would have

(r) Τῆς καὶ
κοινοῦ τῆς
πόλεως καὶ
ἐκθροῦ τοῦ
καθολικῆς
ἐκκλησίας
τῶν πατρῶν
ἀριανῶν πρε-
σβυτέρων καὶ
ἐπισκόπων τῆς
ἐκκλησίας
ἀπὸ τοῦ
(f) Theodorus
Balsamon de
Patriarchatu
legib. apud
Luncclavium.
τῶν ἀριανῶν
πατρῶν
καὶ τῶν
ἐπισκόπων
καὶ τῶν
ἐκκλησιῶν.
(c) Cum ergo
unius atque
una sit sedes,
cui ex autho-
ritate divina
tres Episcopi
president.
(u) Theod.
l. 9. c. 8. Vita
Gregorii Na-
zianzenensis prae-
fixa eius
operibus.

And in the Oration of the praises of *Athanasius*. They committed unto him the presidency of the people of Alexandria, which is as much as (saying, the government of the whole earth. And *Theodoretus* in the book of Heresies, in the Chapter that speaks of *Nestorius* Patriarch of Constantinople, (r) They committed unto him the government of the Catholike Church of the Orthodox people of Constantinople, and together of the whole habitable earth. And *John* of Jerusalem writ so to *Theophilus* Patriarch of Alexandria. Thou like a man of God bearest the care of all the Churches, as *Hierom* relateth in his Epistle to *Pammachius*. Wherefore also these Patriarchs were taken for one only head, making but one head among them; as *Balsamon* saith, (f) We acknowledge the five most holy Patriarchs to be one head of the holy body of the Church of God. And *Gregory* the first Bishop of Rome, in the 37. Epistle of the 6. book, speaking of the three Sees, of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, saith that (c) it is but one See upon which three Bishops are sitting. It is then to be observed, that all these Patriarchs attributed to themselves the care of all the Churches of the world, according to the stile then in use, and a long time after, to call the Roman Emperours, Emperours of all the world; and the Roman Empire, orbem Romanum, the Roman world; of which the examples are numberless.

According to that order taken among the Bishops of the Roman Empire, (u) *Meletius* Patriarch of Antioch confirmed the Bishoprick of Constantinople unto *Gregory Nazianzen*. And *Peter* Patriarch of Alexandria having done the same, shortly after went about to set *Maximus* in his place. And *Cyrillus* Patriarch of Alexandria condemned *Nestorius*; and *Theophilus* also Patriarch of Alexandria, went to Constantinople to judge of the carriage of *Chrysostom*. And *Maximus* Patriarch of Jerusalem, though he was the least of the Patriarchs, and subject to the Metropolitan of Caesarea, yet assembled a Council, where he restored *Athanasius* to his dignity, as we have seen. And the Bishops of the East, among whom some were Patriarchs, sent back *Liberius* to Rome with letters to re-instat him in the Bishoprick of Rome.

Now then it is easie to apprehend how and in what sense *Sozomenus* saith that to *Julius*, by reason of the dignity of his See, it belonged to take care of all things; And that the same might be said of all the other Patriarchs, over whom the Bishop of Rome had indeed a right of precedency, because of the dignity of the City, but had no jurisdiction over them.

As for that which *Sozomenus* addeth, that *Julius* restored to every one, that is to *Athanasius*, and *Paul*, and other Bishops their several Sees; It is true, that *Athanasius* and *Paul* returned into their Churches, with letters from *Julius*; but it is false that they were received by vertue of those letters, for they were received by the love of the Churches that expected them with an impatient zeal. But the Chapter next before this hath shewed that *Athanasius* could not subsist in Alexandria; for a little after he came, he was forced to keep himself hidden for many years, and never was made Possessor of his Bishoprick, but by the expresse order of the Emperour *Constantinus*. For these depositions or restitutions of Bishops made by other Bishops who had no power over them, were but meer declarations of that they judged fit to be done. Thus *Maximus* of Jerusalem deposed, and then restored *Athanasius*. And the Council of Sardica put *Athanasius* again in his Office; that is, the Council judged that he had been unjustly deposed, for *Athanasius* was not actually re-established by that Act. And *John* Patriarch of Antioch, and *Cyrillus* Patriarch of Alexandria deposed and degraded one another, in the time of the first Council of Ephesus, and kept their places nothing the less for that. The following history will afford many the like examples.

III. The third point which the Cardinal observeth in the history of *Athanasius*, is, that (x) *Theodoret* witnesseth that *Julius* following the Law of the Church, commanded the Eusebians to come to Rome, and cited the divine *Athanasius* to judgement; and the Cardinal puts that in the beginning of the 43. Chapter of his first book, for the first example of appeals to the Pope; as though *Athanasius* had appealed to *Julius* as to his Judge and Superiour.

But in this *Socrates* and *Sozomenus* contradict *Theodoret*, for I have shewed in the

(x) Theodoret
bist. l. 2. c. 4.
ὅτι πρὸς ἐκ-
κλησιαστικῶν
ἐπισκόπων
νόμῳ καὶ αὐ-
τὸς καταλα-
βὼν τὸν
Ρώμην ἐκ-
λευσεν, καὶ
ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀθανά-
σιον εἰς
τὴν Ὁρὴν
ἐκάλει.

the precedent Chapter by testimonies of those two Authors, that *Athanasius* was not cited to *Rome* to appear before *Julius*, but that he took ship secretly in *Egypt*, and scaped into *Italy* from the persecution. Which is confirmed by *Hierom* in the Epitaph of *Marcella*: (y) *Athanasius* (saith he) and *Peter* flying from the persecution of the Arian heresie, had their refuge to *Rome*, as to the safe harbour of their communion. We have seen indeed that the *Eusebians* voluntarily, and of their own accord deferred the knowledge of their business unto *Julius*; and that *Julius* abusing the power which was deferred unto him as an Arbitrator, would act as an absolute Judge, and commanded the *Eusebians* to appear before him; And that they being exasperated by that arrogant dealing, writ to him taunting and threatening letters. Since then the *Eusebians* declared unto him that they cared not for his summons, what need was there to make any Summons or signification to *Athanasius* residing at *Rome* to appear before *Julius*? for *Julius* knew that his adversaries would not appear. And whereas *Athanasius* in his second Apology describeth exactly all that he hath done, and all that happened unto him in this business; why doth he not make the least mention of his Appeal to *Julius*, nor of any Summons made to him to appear before *Julius*? But if it were so; that such a citation had been made to *Athanasius*, I would say that in that point *Julius* was gone beyond his limits, and had done that which none of his Predecessors ever took upon him to do.

(y) *Athanasius* & *Petrus* persecutionem Ariane hereses, quasi ad tutissimum communionis sue portum confugerant. Vide & *Sozomenum* l. 6. c. 15. *Petrus* Episcopus *Alexandrinus* clam carcere elapsus, conscensa navi, ad Episcopum Romanum, ut pote ejusdem fidei fautorem, trajecit.

We shall also see hereafter that the Appeals then made to the Bishop of *Rome*, or to some other Prelat, were but supplications, that by his mediation and request to the Emperors, a Council might be assembled, to revise the cause of him that appealed from a condemnation.

In all the antient history not one example shall be found, that upon an Appeal made to the Bishop of *Rome*, he made the parties to appear before him, and gave judgement in the cause; but that upon the Appeal the Bishop laboured by petitioning the Emperors to obtain a Council to revise the affair of the complaining party. This will be seen in the example of *Flavian*, in its proper place.

CHAP. 3.

Of the Council of Sardica.

WE have seen in the first Chapter, by whom, how, and for what causes the Council (a) of *Sardica* was convoked: How in the very entry it was divided into two contrary Councils, and what matters were handled in both.

Whereupon a question ariseth, whether the Council being thus divided into two parts or rather parties, the party that remained at *Sardica*, must be honoured with the title of Universal Council? Cardinal *du Perron* (b) maintains that it was an universal Council, and about that spends five and thirty pages; thereunto moved, because in that Council Appeals to the Bishop of *Rome* are commanded, and his dignity (as he takes it) is very much exalted in the same.

For my part, I hold that dispute to be not only useless, but also absurd and impertinent. For besides that it is indifferent to us, how that Council is called, the dispute in effect is about a thing, which our adversaries and we are agreed upon, the thing being so clear, that he must want common sense that finds any doubt in it.

Two things then I say. The one, that if by an Universal Council we must understand a Council assembled from the Churches of all the world, the Council of *Sardica* cannot be called Universal, since there was no Deputy from so many great Christian Churches, which were without the limits of the *Roman* Empire. But if by an Universal Council, we mean a Council gathered from the whole *Roman* Empire, in vain do our adversaries maintain that the Council of *Sardica* is Universal, to exempt it from the possibility of erring, seeing that God hath no

(a) The Jesuite *Peter Cotton* in the second book of the militant Church ch. 23. sheweth his ignorance, calling this the Council of *Sardina* instead of *Sardica*. (b) ch. 53. of the third Book.

where promised to the Councils that they cannot erre when they are assembled from the whole Roman Empire.

The second thing is, that to know whether a Council be Universal, we must consider first the convocation of it, and then the sitting of the same. For it is very possible that a Council assembled from the Universal Empire will break into pieces, and be divided into several dissenting conventicles: In which case it would be a senseless part to call every piece by the name of the whole, and to affirm that a party of Bishops keeping their meetings apart are an universal Council: It is then manifest that a Council, the calling whereof was Universal, may become particular in the sitting. It is manifest also, that to know whether a Council be Universal, we must look more to the sitting then to the calling of it, because when the Council is called, it is not yet a Council. Also that when an Emperor hath convoked a Council out of all the Churches of his Empire to keep them in concord, and to reunite the dissenting parties; If such a Council breaking into pieces becomes a match of discord instead of a bond of union, that Council having changed his nature, must also change his name.

It happened then, that the Emperors *Constantinus* and *Constans* having made an Universal convocation of Bishops to meet at *Sardica*, the Bishops of the East would not confer with those of the West, for the causes mentioned before; and withdrew themselves to *Philippolis* in *Thracia*, where they held a Council by themselves. Now the convocation had been made by the Emperors to rally the East with the West; and therefore the convocation of that Council was called Universal, because the East and the West were convoked to it. That uniting of the East with the West being not made at *Sardica*, it were speaking against common sense to call the Council of *Sardica* an Universal Council. Wherefore also *Epiphanius* in the heresie of the *Photinians*, which is the 71. calls it *ἡ πρώτη σύνοδος*, an Occidental Synod: And (c) *Hilary* the like in his book against *Constantinus*.

(c) *Hilarius*
contra *Con-*
stantium.

Damnus sub-
stantia nomen
quo te *Sardi-*
censi Synodo
& *Symmieni-*
pium esse
Occidentali-
bus mentieba-
ris.

(d) *Prædi-*
ctarum qua-
tuor Synodo-
rum dogmata
sicut sanctas
Scripturas
accipimus.

(e) *Epist.* 24.
l. 1. & l. 2.
c. 10.

Hinckmarns in the book of the 55. Chapters, ch. 20. *The Council of Sardica, in which above three hundred Bishops met from the Western parts; Yet they do not put it among the Universal Councils.* Nothing is more vulgar in Antiquity, then to put the Council of *Nice* for the first Universal Council, the first of *Constantinople* for the second, the first of *Ephesus* for the third, and the Council of *Chalcedon* for the fourth; as it is to be seen in all the Editions of the Councils, and in the book of *Photius* of the Councils. These are those four Councils of which the Emperor *Justinian* in the 131. *Novel*, ch. 1. saith (d) that he receiveth them with obedience as the holy Scriptures. Pope *Gregory* the first saith the same. (e) They put not the Council of *Sardica* in the same rank, for they speak not at all of it, although it be far more antient then the three last of those four. *M. du Perron* himself, who in his book against his Majesty of great *Brittain* limits himself to the time of the four first Councils, by those four Councils understands the above named, among whom the Council of *Sardica* doth not make one.

Unless perhaps we must say with the Cardinal, that the Council of *Nice* and that of *Sardica* are but one Council: Which is a bold and prodigious conceit, seeing that there is two and twenty years between the Council of *Nice* and that of *Sardica*; for the Council of *Nice* was held in the year of the Lord 325. and the Council of *Sardica* in the year 347. That was a pretty long pause. Besides they were convoked by other Emperors, and in another place, and for divers causes: The one being assembled to decide the controverſie of *Arius*; The other to judge of the crimes imposed to *Athanasius*, and of the justice or injustice of his deposition. And if the faith established in the Council of *Nice* hath been confirmed at *Sardica*, it is so far from reason, that thence it should follow that it is the same Council, that on the contrary it followeth that it is another; For a Council is not assembled to confirm itself. And by the same reason the first Council of *Constantinople*, and the first of *Ephesus*, and that of *Chalcedon*, should be the same Council as that of *Nice*, because in them the Symbol of *Nice* hath been confirmed. The Council of *Nice* was composed of Bishops out of the whole Empire, but that of *Sardica* had none but of the West.

Then

Then all the Antients testifie that the Council of *Nice* made but twenty Canons. And M. du Perron himself brings witnesses for it. But if the Council of *Sardica* were the same as that of *Nice*, that of *Nice* should have 41. Canons. Even in the Tomes of the Councils, published by our adversaries, the Council of *Sardica* is not printed next to that of *Nice*, but many Councils are set between both. The same is found in *Balsamon*, *Zonaras*, and the Greek exemplaries of *du Tillet*. Had the Council of *Sardica* been held to be a part, or an appurtenance of *Nice*, it would have so raised the dignity of it, and made it so famous, that it would have been known and honoured all over the whole Universal Church, and it would have been impossible for the hereticks to have suppressed the copies of them. Yet we shall see hereafter that in the year 419. the Bishops of *Africa* had never heard of the Canons of that Council, and knew not what it was. Among which Bishops were those two great men, *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, and *Austin* Bishop of *Bona*; so little was that Council of *Sardica* esteemed, and so little known.

In the Council of *Chalcedon*, in the cause of *Bassianus* and *Stephanns*, the Code of the Canons of the Universal Church was brought forth, in which the Canons of the Council of *Sardica* were not contained, as the Cardinal confesseth. Which Code he calls in contempt a Rapsody, and yet that Rapsody was in such esteem, that it was read in the Universal Councils. And that which the Cardinal saith is false, that in the Council of *Chalcedon* another copy of those Canons was produced where the Councils were distinct. For there was but one copy produced, in which the Canons of the Councils are set down all along without distinction of the Councils. Only the Canons of the Councils are set in order, according to the time of the sitting of every Council. Thus in the fourth and sixth Action of the Council of *Chalcedon*, the 3, 4, 6, and 17. Canons of the Council of *Antioch*, are read under the simple quotation of the Canon 84, 85, 94, and 95. without any mention of the Council of *Antioch*. That which the Cardinal saith, that in the Council of *Chalcedon* in the fourth and fifteenth Action, the fourth and sixth Canons of *Nice* are alledged; may probably serve to shew that there were copies in the Council of *Chalcedon* of every Council by it self, but not that a Code of the Universal Church was produced where the Councils were distinct. And which is more. It shall not be found that such allegations were made, as the Cardinal saith. So there is falshood in this.

Pope *Nicolas* the first in his Epistle to *Photius* saith, that the Greek Church had not that Council. The same is averred by the Canon *Quod dicitur* in the sixteenth distinction. And *Dionysius Parvus* a Roman Abbot, contemporary to the Emperor *Iustinian*, who made the version of the Greek Canons, saith that he hath added to them the Canons of *Sardica*, having taken them out of the Latin exemplaries; For they were not in the Code of the Canons of the Universal Church.

Du Perron
6. 53. p. 491.

Many the like things shew that this Council was little esteemed among the Antients: so far it was from being put among the Universal Councils. And it is evident, that although the convocation of it was general, yet the sitting was particular.

But we need not to insist any more upon that, since M. du Perron joyns with this truth; saying in the 41. ch. *At the least the convocation of it was Universal.* Which we grant, and so must all those Authors be understood whom the Cardinal brings forth, who give to this Council the title of Universal, unless we will say that they spake against common sense. Page 117.

Now the cause why M. du Perron exalteth with all his power the authority of the Council of *Sardica*, is, that three Canons were made there, wherein *Hosius* President of the Council beseecheth the Assembly to consent, that hereafter the condemned Bishops who think themselves aggrieved, may address themselves to *Iulius* Bishop of *Rome*, who will appoint other Judges to revise the business: And that if a Bishop be deposed, another may not be put in his place before the Bishop of *Rome* hath taken it into his consideration.

These are the Canons which *Bonifacius* and *Celestinus* presented to the sixth Council

Council of *Carthage*, falsely affirming that they were the Canons of the Council of *Nice*; Which was acknowledged for an imposture by the Council.

To know of what weight these Canons may be, we must consider, that they were made by the Occidental Bishops only, such as belonged to the Roman Patriarchat: And by consequent that this Law cannot oblige the Churches of the whole Roman Empire, as in effect we have seen, and shall see that this order was unknown in *Africa*.

It is also to be considered that *Julius* had been deposed and reviled by the Bishops of the East, which were at the same time assembled at *Philippolis*: which made the Western Bishops to exalt *Julius* as much as they could to grieve the Eastern Bishops. It is very remarkable also that this order is set down in words of the future, and that *Hosius* who makes the motion, desireth that it may be so hereafter, shewing thereby that it was not so before. But that which is most considerable, is, that this order is submitted to the will and pleasure of the Bishops of the Council, in these words, *ὡς δοκεῖ ὑμῖν*, if it seems good unto you, or if it be your pleasure; which is a manifest declaration that it was not so before, and that this order is not grounded upon the word of God, which must not be submitted unto the will of men, and hath no need to be authorized by Ecclesiastical Canons. Wherefore also it had no force, and was not practised, as the history of the following times will justify.

CHAP. 4.

Of the Convocation of the Council of Sardica. How much the Cardinal is mistaken in it.

Cardinal du Perron in ch. 42. of his first book, will persuade us that the Council of *Sardica* was convoked by *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*. This is contradicted by the Antient writers. *Socrates* in book 2. ch. 16. *A general Council is published to meet at Sardica by the ordinance of both the Emperors.*

And *Sozomenus* in book 2. ch. 10. *By the ordinance of the two Emperors it was decreed that the Bishops of both sides should meet at Sardica, a town of Illyricum or Slavonia, upon an appointed day.* The Bishops themselves being assembled at *Sardica*, testify the same in the Epistle which they write to all the Bishops of the Roman Empire, related by *Theodoret* in the second book of his history, ch. 7. *The most religious Emperors, by the assistance of Gods grace have convoked us from divers Provinces and Towns, and have assembled this most holy Synod in the town of Sardica.* These (in my opinion) are credible witnesses.

Here M. du Perron to prove that *Julius* had convoked the Council of *Sardica*, alledgeth some places out of *Athanasius*, in which *Julius* is desired by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* to convocate a Synod. But herein the Cardinal commits an evident fraud; for the Council which *Julius* assembled at the request of the *Eusebians*, was not the Council of *Sardica*, of which the convocation was universal, but a Council of Bishops about *Rome*, which was no more than all Metropolitans could do in their *Dioceses*. Of that petty Council assembled by *Julius*, we spake before in ch. 1. of this book 5.

С Н А Р . 5.

Of the Presidency in the Council of Sardica.

IN that Council the order of sitting was such, according to the testimony of *Athanasius* (a) in the second Apology. *Hosius* Bishop of *Cordova* presided, and after him sat the Deputies of *Julius* the Roman Bishop, *Archidamus* and *Philoxenus*. Their subscriptions were thus set down.

*Hofius ab Hispania,
Julius Romæ, per Archidammum & Philoxenum
Presbyteros suos.*

Hofius then in the quality of Bishop of *Spain* (for he takes no other quality) presideth in that Council, and sits above the Legats of the Bishop of *Rome*. That honour was deferred unto him in consideration of his age and his vertue. It cannot be said that he was Legat of *Julius*, and that he presideth in that quality; for not only he takes not that quality, but also he is put in a place by it self, and set before *Julius* himself: for after that subscription, *Hofius ab Hispania*, it is added. *Julius Romæ per Archidamum & Philoxenum Presbyteros suos.*

If *Hosius* had presided as a Legat of the Roman Prelate, *Julius* ought to have subscribed thus, *Julius Roma, per Hosium Episcopum Hispania, & per Archidamum & Philoxenum Presbyteros suos*. They that affirm that *Hosius* was the Popes Legat in this Council, speak it without proof, and bring no ancient Author for it.

(a) Atha.
Apol. 2.
Ο σιθ' ἐμ-
σοσθ' ὑπὲ-
ργεγλα.
ἐ paula post.
Ο σιθ' ἀπο-
Σ πανί-κ' ἰδ-
λιθ' Ρώμης
δι' Αρχιδίου
χ' Φιλολογίας
ἡρεσθητι.
ρωμ.

СНАР. 6.

Of Liberius Bishop of Rome, and of the Schisme after his death.

ABout the year of the Lord 352. *Julius* being dead, *Liberius* succeeded him in the Bishoprick of the City of *Rome*. That *Liberius* following the steps of his predeceffour, would at the first use command and authority over *Athanasius*, and bear himself as judge of his busineses. But the Bishops of *Egypt* being eighty in number, assembled in a Synod, defended their Patriarch. This stoppt *Liberius*, and moved him to seek peace with *Athanasius* his old friend: So he writ to him letters full of respect and love, and sent to him his confession and sense about the faith. If (saith he) thou art of my opinion, I beseech thee before God the Judge, and before *Iesus Christ*, that thou subscribe to it, that we may be certified that thou art of the same opinion as we, and that thou buldest the same things concerning the true faith, (a) that I may be assured without doubting of the things that thou wilt command me. O how remote is that stile from the pride of our time! And what Pope would undergoe the command of any other Bishop? or receive rules of his faith from him? Or give reason of his faith to him by expresse letters?

Who so will see the lowliness and the subjection of the Roman Bishop under the Emperor of *Rome* at that time, let him read ch. 16. of book 2. of the history of *Theodoret*, (b) where there is a Dialogue between *Liberius* and the Emperor *Constantinus*, who speaking with *Liberius* as a Monarch to his subject, banisheth him, and appoints him 500 crowns to keep him in his exile. This *Liberius* after two years exile in the end yielded to the persecution, and subscribed to the Confession of the *Arians* made at *Syrminum* (as *Ashanasius* (c) testifieth in his Epistle to the Solitaries: And *Hierome* in his Catalogue, where he speaks of *Fortunatian*; And *Hilary* in his fragments, and many more) For which cause the Emperour sent him

(a) ἵνα κα-
τὰ πεποιθὸς
ὡς ἀδιακρί-
τως περὶ ὧν
ἀξίως κα-
λέσεν ἡμᾶς

(b) Sozom.
l. 4. c. 10-
(c) λίβεῖ-
ς ἐξουθεῖς
ὑπερὸν αὐτὴν
διὰ τὴν χερόν
ὠκλασιν, καὶ
φθινθεῖς ἔ-
κπευκταίον
δύναμιν
ἐπὶ γὰρ φε:

(d) Neque ego abusu huius rei cupidus ad impetrandum quod appetunt omnes contentione laterum iurgari debere, quum id ad prefuturi sint adeo securi ut dicuntur oblationibus matronarum, procedant que vehiculis infidentibus, circumspicte vestiti, epulas convivantes profusius, adeo ut eorum convivio regales superent mensas, &c.

him back to *Rome*, to govern the Church with *Felix*, so that they might be fellow-bishops of *Rome*. And these two did govern jointly, till *Felix* being dead, *Liberius* remained alone. Certainly, if the Bishop of *Rome* had been acknowledged at that time the Head of the Universal Church, the Universal Church would never have suffered two men to hold that place, and two Sovereign Prelates in one chair. We must not omit that which *Ammianus Marcellinus* observeth, that *Constantinus* earnestly desired to draw *Liberius* Bishop of the eternal City (that is of *Rome*) to his party, placing the dignity of the Roman Bishops in the dignity of the City which was highly respected.

In the year of Christ 367. *Liberius* being dead, two competitors of the Bishoprick, *Damasus* and *Ursicinus* came to handy blows, in so much that in a Church at *Rome* were found a hundred thirty and seven bodies of men slain in that sedition, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* relateth, in ch. 2. of book 27. where that Pagan Author (d) describes the vices of the Bishops of *Rome*, their greediness to catch the offerings of the Matrons, their sumptuous garments, their superfluous feasts, their ambition to attain to that degree. His words are notable; *I deny not, considering the magnificence of the State of the City, that they that seek that honour [to be Bishops of Rome] have reason to strive with all their strength to obtain that end, seeing that when they have attained it they live secure, enriching themselves with the oblations of Matrons, and riding abroad in Coaches, magnificently glad, making lavish feasts, so that their feasts go beyond the Royal tables. They might be happy, if without regarding the greatness of the City, which they use as a covering of vices, they would imitate the sobriety of some provincial Bishops.*

CHAP. 7.

Of the Fathers famous in that time, Hosius, Athanasius, Meletius, Gregory Nazianzen.

IN that time *Hosius* Bishop of *Cordova* and *Athanasius* were famous and of great credit. The first of these made the Nicen Creed; and the second, the Symbol that beareth his name, which for a long time have served for a mark, and a livery to discern the Orthodox from the hereticks. If a Bishop of *Rome* had done so much, our Adversaries would triumph about it, and say that the Pope hath given laws to the Universal Church, as being the Head of the whole body. Of this *Athanasius*, *Basil* speaks thus in the 52. Epistle. (a) *Thou hast the care of all the Churches as much as of thine own.* And *Gregory Nazianzen* in the Oration upon *Athanasius*, *They gave him in charge the government of Alexandria, which is as much as if one said the government of the whole world.* And in the same place, (b) *Athanasius gives again laws to all the world.*

In the same time also *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*, was famous in holiness, of whom *Basil* saith in the 50. Epistle, that (c) *he presided over the whole body of the Church.* If any in our days gave those titles to some other then the Pope of *Rome*, he should go for an heretick or a madman: Thus among the works of *Athanasius*, there is an Epistle which *Arsenius* writes to him, where he saith, (d) *We embrace peace and union with the Universal Church, over which thou presidest.* For we have shewed that all the Patriarchs took care of all the Churches of the Roman Empire.

Then also *Gregory Nazianzen* was much esteemed, who was so far from acknowledging any Head of the Universal Church by Divine right, that he wisht that there had been no superiority at all in the Church, and that all Pastours had been equal. (e) *Would to God* (saith he) *that there were no precedency, nor any*

(a) ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

(b) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁ κόσμος.

(c) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁ κόσμος.

(d) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁ κόσμος.

(e) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁ κόσμος.

(f) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁ κόσμος.

(g) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁ κόσμος.

(h) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁ κόσμος.

(i) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁ κόσμος.

(j) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁ κόσμος.

(k) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁ κόσμος.

(l) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ὁ κόσμος.

degree

degree of prerogative of honour, nor any tyrannical primacy, that we might be discerned by vertue only.

It is seen also in the works of *Athanasius*, that every time that he speaks of *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, he calls him only Bishop of *Rome*, not Head of the Universal Church.

CHAP. 8.

Of Damasus Bishop of Rome, and of Basil Arch-bishop of Cesarea. Ignorance of the Cardinal in the Greek tongue.

ABout the year 365. Arianism growing in the East by the countenance of the Emperour *Valens*; *Basilus* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, and the other orthodox Bishops of the East, called upon the help of the Bishops of the West, among whom that of *Rome*, *Damasus* was the most respected, and asked them counsel and ayd in their affliction. But *Damasus* would not stir for it; fearing (as it is likely) to offend the Emperour *Valens*. *Eusebius* Bishop of *Samosate* was of opinion that they should send Legats into the West to move the men of the West to succour their brethren: But *Basil* was of contrary opinion, saying in his tenth Epistle, (a) *If the wrath of God remain upon us, tis botheia hēmōn ē dūpukhs ēpēvō?* What succor can we receive from the pride of the Western men? who neither know the truth, nor can abide to learn it, and being forestalled with false opinions, do now the things which they did before in the business of *Marcellus*; contending against them that announce the truth unto them, and strengthening heresie by themselves. Of those Western the most remarkable by reason of the dignity of the city was *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, of whom he complains that he had countenanced the heresie of *Marcellus*; and that still both he and his associates did the same, and by their connivance advanced the heresie, and opposed the true doctrine.

M. du Perron translateth *dūpukhs ēpēvō* the brow of the Occidental men, weakening purposely that fine place by an obscure version. For althoug *ēpēvō* signifie also an eye-brow, it is clear that in this place it signifieth pride and arrogance, as *supercilium* in Latin, signifieth pride. He translates also *ē ēautōis*, to trust in their own advice: Which is very far from the Greek.

In the same Epistle *Basil* speaks of *Damasus* in these terms, (b) *I would write to their head, but not of Ecclesiastical businesses, but to give them silently to understand that they know not the truth of our businesses, and will not receive the way to learn it.* Note that he calls *Damasus* the Head of the Occidental men, as being Patriarch in the West. But he doth not acknowledge him for his head, or the head of the Oriental or Meridional Churches. By saying *their head*, he sheweth manifestly that he did not acknowledge him for his head.

The Cardinal alledgeth a testimony out of the 52. Epistle of the same *Basilus*: where he makes *Basil* to speak so; *It seemed good to us to write to the Bishop of Rome, that he watch for the things of this side, and give his judgement; that since it is difficult to send men thither from a common and Synodical decree, he use his authority in the business, and make choice of persons capable of the labour of the journey.* This place is translated with little fidelity, and is maliciously clipt; For he translateth *deuteras nōmōn* to give judgement; whereas it signifies only to give his advice. And as for the authority which he desireth *Damasus* to use, *Basil* declareth for what he will have him to use it, namely for sending men that be capable of the labour of the journey, and that may by their meekness and assiduity make remonstrances to them that behave themselves perversly. And yet he will have them to be sent secretly and without noise, that one may not think that he desireth *Damasus* to send Legats with publike authority to pronounce judgments in his name. For he desireth only that he send men by whom he may make them know his advice, and that be able to make exhortations and remonstrances. For in that time they esteemed very

(a) *Basil. Ep. 10. ad Euseb. Samosat.*
 Ἐὰν ὁ ἐπι-
 μένῃ ἡ ὀργὴ
 τοῦ θεοῦ, πῶς
 βοηθεῖα ἡμῶν
 τῆς δουλικῆς
 ὀργῆς; οἱ
 τοιοῦτο ἀνδρες
 οὐτε ἰσχυροὶ
 μαθεῖν ἀρέ-
 χονται, ἴδου
 δὲ πῶς ὑπο-
 νοίους περὶ
 ἀληθείας
 ἐκείνων ποιῶσι
 ἡμεῖς αὖτε
 ἐν ὁμοίᾳ τῇ
 μακρόν αὖ
 πρὸς αὐ-
 τὸς ἀλλή-
 λων αὐτοῖς αὖ-
 παγγέλον-
 τας φιλοει-
 κήτας, τῶν
 δὲ ἀρεσῶν δὲ
 ἐμυστῶν βε-
 βαιοὶ οὖμεν.
 (b) *Pag. 109.*
 ἐβόλοντο
 αὐτῶν ἐπ-
 εῖλαι τὴν
 κορυφαίαν.

Ch. 15. p.
108.

much

much the exhortations of brethren, and the mutual union among Bishops. But the Cardinal hath clipt the last lines of this place, which shew how far the authority of *Damasus* extended.

(c) πάντα
ἐχούτας μὲν
ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς
ἐν ἀμείνω
παραγγέλλει
ἐπὶ λυγρῇ
καὶ ἀναγ-
κῇ ἐκεί-
νην ἐκεί-
νην.

Basil adds (c) *Let these persons have with them all the things that have been done at Rimini, that those things may be dissolved that were done there by constraint.* He desires not *Damasus* that he abolish by his authority the acts of *Rimini*, but that the men whom *Damasus* shall send may have the Acts of *Rimini*, that the Oriental men being informed of the things that past there, may proceed to the disanulling of that Council.

All that can be drawn from that Epistle to exalt the dignity of *Damasus*, is but smal in comparison of that which is said in the same Epistle of *Athanasius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*; *Thou takest care* (saith he) *of all the Churches as much as of thine own.* Then he took care of *Rome* also. Again, *we have recourse unto thy perfection, as to him that is head over all things.* And he saith often that he receiveth his commandments, although *Cesarea* of which *Basil* was Bishop, was not under the Patriarchate of *Alexandria*. But in those daies Bishops would give titles of honour to one another, and were liberal in titles of respect, especially to the Patriarchs. Upon which custome who so will ground either the preheminance or the Empire of a Bishop over his colleagues (as Cardinal *du Perron* useth to do when he meets with letters writtten to the Bishop of *Rome* with some ordinary complemental deferences) sheweth himself little skilled in the style of the Antients.

Chap. 25. p.
109.

A little after the Cardinal brings another place of the 77. Epistle of *Basil*, which by an extream ignorance he saith to be written to the Occidental men. The title of the Epistle is *τοῖς περὶ λιωτάς ἐπισκόποις*, that is, to the Bishops that live by the sea-side, so he calls Islanders as the Cyprians, and those of *Rhodus*, and *Chio*, and other Isles of *Archipelago*, as *Basil* declareth in the same Epistle, calling them *νησιώτας insulares, living in Islands.* And he calls upou their succour, (d) because

(d) ὁ κύριος
τῶν νησιω-
τῶν ἡπειρω-
τῶν διὰ τῆς
ἀγάπης συ-
νέστη.

God hath joined the Islanders with the inhabitants of the Continent by charity, although it seem (saith he) that they are divided in habitation. But the Cardinal having but small knowledge of the Greek tongue, as he sheweth in his whole book, translateth *ἐδελιώτας transmarinos*: So he doth in the margent of the 233. page, and will have those *transmarini* to be the Bishops of the West, and *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* one of them. And that, because in that Epistle there are some words of submission, whereby *Basil* and his colleagues say that they are ready to undergo the judgement of those *Islanders*, and speak to them as if they were heads of the Church. These are *Basil's* words according to the Cardinals translation; *We are ready to undergo judgement under you, so that they that calumniate us can abide to appear in person with us in the presence of your veneration.* The greater the submission of these words is, the more contrary are they to the Cardinal, since that honour is deferred to others then the Bishop of *Rome*, namely to Islanders. Yet the Cardinal doth not translate it right, and hath not understood the Greek. It is so word by word (e) *Being ready to enter into lifts under you, only if they that wrong us agree to appear face to face before your piety*: *ἀποδοῦναι* is to put off ones cloaths, as the wrestlers did when they would enter the lifts; and *ὕβρις* is not calumniating, but wronging with outrage; and *ὕλη* signifies here piety, not veneration. Thus in page 126 of the same 25. chapter, he renders *ἐκδομὴν* reverencing, whereas it signifies regarding; With the like learning as in page 126. he turneth *δομῶν*, discretion, whereas it signifies tryal or examination.

(e) ἐτόμως
ἔχοντες ὑφ'
ὕλης ἀποδο-
ῦναι, μόνον
ἐὰν κατὰ δό-
ξαν τοῖς
ὕβριζοντες
ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν
προσωποῖ
ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
ὕμετης ἐκδο-
μῆς καὶ
ταπεινότη-
τι.

(f) Ch. 33.
pag. 233.
(g) εἴτε κεφα-
λή ἐσὺν
τῆς καθόλου
ἐκκλησίας
λογίζεσθαι.

In the same Epistle there is another place which the Cardinal alledgeth for the Popes primacy, (f) in the 233. pag. where he makes *Basil* and his colleagues to speak thus to the Bishop of *Rome*, (g) *Whether you account your selves to be Head of the Universal Church, the head cannot say to the feet, You are not necessary to me, &c.* But we have proved this to be altogether false, and that this is said, not to the Bishop of *Rome*, but to the Bishops of *Islands*. Wherefore he speaks to them in the plural, *ἐσὺν* and not *ἐσὺν*: Which the Cardinal would not perceive, and chose rather to run into a manifest falsification. O

Of the same *Basil* we have an Epistle to the Bishops of *Gauls* and *Italy*, which is the seventy, where he puts the Bishops of *Gauls* before those of *Italy*: that is, the Bishop of *Lyons* before that of *Rome*, and calls them (h) his brethren and fellows in holy service. There also he calls those Bishops in general κεφαλαιον, head, and exhorts them to succour the Bishops of the East, because the head cannot say to the members, I have no need of you. That only manner of writing to the (i) Occidental Bishops in common, sheweth in what esteem the Bishop of *Rome* was, since he is written to in the crowd, without naming: should not that man be thought to be out of his senses that would in our dayes write to the Pope, yet not name him, but comprehend him in the general title of a letter to all the Bishops of *Italy*?

(h) α' Αθανάσιος & συνάδελφους.
(i) Ep. 74. Basil.
πῶς οὐκ ὀκνῶς ἐπισκοποῖς.

CHAP. 9.

Of Peter Bishop of Alexandria, and of his retreat to Rome, and of Gregory Nazianzen Patriarch of Constantinople.

IN the year of the Lord 372. *Athanasius* dyeth, and *Peter* succeedeth him in the Patriarchate of *Alexandria*. But being taken by the Officers of *Valens*, an Arian Emperor, and committed prisoner, he found a way to slip out, and escaped to *Rome* by sea, addressing himself to *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, (a) because (saith *Sozomenus*;) he was of the same belief as himself. Hieron in the Epitaph of *Marcella* saith the same.

(b) *Athanasius* and *Peter* after him flying from the persecution of the Arian heresie, were retired to *Rome* as to a most safe haven of their communion. It was not then by Appeal, or to appear before the Pope as before his judge that *Peter* came to *Rome*, as the Cardinal would make us believe. In *Peters* absence, one (c) *Lucius* an Arian invaded the Bishoprick of *Alexandria* by violence, and cruelly persecuted the flock.

While *Peter* was at *Rome*, *Damasus* used him kindly, but took no knowledge of his cause, and undertook not the defence of it, and cited not the contending parties, for that past his power: Only six years after, *Valens* having given leave to *Peter* to return to *Alexandria*, *Damasus* accompanied him with letters of recommendation to his Church: And the people of *Alexandria* received *Peter* joyfully, expelling *Lucius* the usurper from the See.

About the same time (d) *Gregory Nazianzen* was sent to *Constantinople* by the Bishops of *Asia* to govern that Church: He was installed in that place, by *Peter* of *Alexandria*, who soon after sent his Legats to remove him, and to put in his place one *Maximus*, a Cynick: but the Church of *Constantinople* did oppose it. All that was done without taking advice of *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*; The Bishop of *Alexandria* in those days taking upon him the authority of making and unmaking Patriarchs.

(a) *Sozom.* lib. 6. cap. 19. πῆγος δια-
δραξ ἀπὸ τῆς
διωγμῶν
ὡς πρὸς
οὐκ ὀκνῶν &
Ρωμαίων
ἐπισκοπῶν
νῦν ἐπὶ τῇ
χαρίδι τοῦ
κυρίου.
(b) Hieron.
Epitaph.
Marcell.
Athanasius
& postea *Pe-*
trus persecu-
tionem *Aria-*
nae harescos
declinantes,
quasi ad tu-
tissimum com-
munionis sua-
portum Ro-
mam confuge-
rant.
(c) *Ruffin.* l.
2. c. 13. So-
crat. l. 4. c. 3.
In Græco. 36.
(d) *Vita*
Greg. Naz.
præfixa ejus
operib.

СНАР. ІО.

Of the Convocating of the first Council of Constantinople, which is the second Universal Council. How the Cardinal hath falsified the Epistle of the Oriental Bishops to Damasus Bishop of Rome.

IN the year of the Lord 381. the Emperor *Theodosius*, to appease the troubles stirred by the Arians, and the Macedonians that denyed the God-head of the Holy-Ghost, called a General Synod to *Constantinople*. That convocation was made without the counsel and communication of *Damasus*, who then was Bishop of *Rome*; who also was not present at that Synod, and sent no Legats to it; so that all was done without him. *Socrates* in book 5. ch. 8. speaking of that Council of *Constantinople* saith, *The Emperor without delay assembled a Council of Bishops that embraced his belief.* And *Sozomenus* in book 7. chap. 7. The Emperor *Theodosius* presently assembled a Council of Bishops consenting with him.

(α) ἐπειδὴ
 μὴ τοι πῶς
 ἀδελφοὶ καὶ
 παῖ ἡμᾶς
 ἀγαπᾶμεν ἐπι-
 δεικνύμενοι
 συνόδιον ἐπὶ
 τοῖς Ρώμας
 εἶς βουλὴς
 συγκαθήμε-
 νος καὶ ἡμᾶς
 ὡς ἐκεῖτα
 μέλη προσ-
 χαλῆσαι εἰς,
 διὰ τοῦ τοῦ
 βεστρεσάντου
 διανοίας
 γασμωσάντων.

Here I cannot but lay open the Cardinals foul dealing in ch. 42. of book 1. He would perswade us that this Council was called by *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*: To that end he alledgeth a testimony of *Theodoret*, book 5. ch. 9. where the Bishops assembled at *Constantinople* write to *Damasus*, *Ambrose*, *Brito*, and other Bishops of the West, and say to them, (a) *While you celebrated (by the will of God) the Synod of Rome, you have convoked us by a brotherly charity as your own limbs, by the letters of the most religious Emperor.* There he commits four notable faults. First in that he brings this Epistle as written by the Universal Council sitting at *Constantinople*: For it was written by another Assembly of Bishops sitting in the same place the year following. Secondly in that he would have us to believe, upon that testimony, that the Bishops assembled at *Constantinople* were convoked by *Damasus*. For the Council of which that Epistle speaks, is the Council of *Rome*, to which *Damasus* had invited the said Bishops, but they would not come, as we shall see in the next chapter. Thirdly, that he corrupteth that place by a false interpretation, translating *προσκαλεσασθαι* to *convocate*, whereas it signifies *to call, and invite, and desire to come.* For these Bishops mean that *Damasus* had invited them, and desired them to come to the Synod of *Rome*: not that he had convoked them to *Constantinople*. Fourthly, he intends to prove by that text, that the Emperor *Theodosius* had called that Council, being moved to it by the letters of *Damasus*: But (b) he is deceived thinking that the Emperor here mentioned is he that assembled the Council of *Constantinople*, which was *Theodosius*; But the Emperor of whom these Bishops speak, is *Gratian*, who at the request of *Damasus* had written Letters of exhortation to these Bishops assembled at *Constantinople*, to desire them to transport themselves to *Rome*, where *Damasus* kept a particular Synod: For *Damasus* hoped to obtain that of them easily. That is the sense of these words, *You have invited us by the letters of the most religious Emperor.* But who so will by that Emperor understand *Theodosius*, shall find that these words have no sense.

(b) A notable ignorance of the Cardinal, mistaking one Emperor for another.

CHAP. II.

Of the invitation and request of Damasus Bishop of Rome, whereby he desired the Bishops assembled in Council at Constantinople to transport themselves to Rome, and come to the Council which Damasus held there; and of the small authority which the Council of Rome had in comparison of that of Constantinople. The Cardinals faults.

There is nothing in all Antiquity that makes the state of the Antient Church better known, and what was the power of the Bishop of Rome, then the sitting of the first Council of *Constantinople*. For that Council is one of the four first Universal Councils, which is not inferiour to any Council in authority. Yet so far it is that it was convoked by *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, or that he did preside in it, that he was not so much as present there, and sent no Legats to it, nor any that represented his person. And both he and his colleagues assembled at *Rome* in Council, of whom *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* was one, writ to the Bishops assembled again in Council at *Constantinople*, beseeching them to transport themselves to *Rome*, and to joyn the two Councils in one: which the said Bishops refused to do, saying that they were not sent by their Provinces but to *Constantinople*; and writ letters of excuses to *Damasus*, *Ambrose*, *Brito*, and others assembled at *Rome*, representing the reasons, why they could not go to *Rome*, nor hold the Council anywhere but at *Constantinople*.

In the Oecumenical Council of *Constantinople*, *Meletius* Patriarch of *Antioch* presided. That History is exactly described by *Theodoret* in the fifth book of his History, c. 8. and 9. &c. Many things in it are worth observing. For here is an Universal Council, acknowledged for such by the *Roman* Church, and by all that have written of Councils, which hath not only been convoked without the consent of the Bishop of *Rome*, but was also kept without him, and to which he never delegated any person. An evident proof that an Universal Council may be assembled without the Pope, yea against his advice.

That which is most considerable, is, that after that Universal Council, the same Bishops being assembled again in Council, at the same time a Council sate at *Rome*, where *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* presided, and where the Bishops of the West were assembled. Is there any of our adversaries that will not presume that a Council where the Pope was present and president, is of greater authority than a Council assembled without, yea against, the Popes advice? and where the Pope had no Legat? and where a Bishop of *Antioch* presided? Yet here is the clean contrary: For that *Roman* Council is of no esteem, in comparison of that of *Constantinople*. Hardly do we know what past in it, and the name only remaineth. Yea our adversaries themselves put it among the particular Councils. But this Council of *Constantinople* is the second Universal Council, which hath made Canons that have set rules unto the following ages, and were read at the entry of Councils. The cause of that difference of esteem, is, that the Council of *Constantinople* was called by the Emperour, but that of *Rome* by the *Roman* Bishop.

Here I cannot wonder enough at the Cardinals want of conscience, when he saith in the 34. ch. of the 1. book, that the Council of *Constantinople* is called Oecumenical or Universal, only by adjunction to the *Roman* Council. If that were so, the *Roman* Council should rather be called Oecumenical; and the second Universal Council ought, by that reason, be rather called the Council of *Rome* than of *Constantinople*. And how can these two Councils be taken for one, and the one be taken for a dependance of the other, seeing that the one was kept against the advice of the other, and hath not imparted its resolutions to the other? Indeed the Cardinal is the first that ever bethought himself of such an untrue and unreasonable imagination. He could not bring one Author that ever put that

Council of *Rome* among the Universals. But how could the Universal Council of *Constantinople*, and that of *Rome* where *Damasus* presided, be taken for the same Council, seeing that not only they sate in several places, but also in several times; that of *Rome* being posteriour by a year to that of *Constantinople*? which difference of time the Cardinal not observing, he mistook the second convocation of Bishops made at *Constantinople* for the first: For it was the second convocation that writ to *Damasus*.

Observe also that the Bishops of the East did not think themselves bound to obey *Damasus*, and would not come to the Council to which he invited them.

(a) Council
Tom. II.

Observe also that in the Epistle which they writ to the *Roman* Council, they call the Church of *Jerusalem* the *Mother of all the Churches*; a title which the *Roman* Church attributes to her self in these dayes. So speaks the Emperour *Justinus* (a) in an Epistle to *Hormisdas* Bishop of *Rome*, where he calls the Church of *Jerusalem* *matrem Christiani nominis*, the Mother of the Christian name, that is, of the Christian Religion or Profession.

CHAP. 12.

Remarkable passages in the Council of Constantinople:

IN that Council many things past which grieve our adversaries. *Nectarius* was created Bishop of *Constantinople*, without any communication about it with the Bishop of *Rome*, and without expecting his approbation: Of which the Bishop of *Rome* did not complain; For he pretended no right in that election. There also that Canon was made (a) *Let the Bishop of Constantinople have his prerogatives after the Bishop of Rome, because it is the new Rome*. This Canon displeaseth our adversaries two ways; The one, because (b) the order of the Patriarchs is altered, without the consent of *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*; For before that Council, the Patriarch of *Alexandria* was the second, and that of *Antioch* the third. The other because the dignity of the Bishop of *Rome* in this Canon is founded upon the dignity of the City of *Rome*, not upon the Word of God; as in effect the order of places among the Prelates of the Empire, was according to the civil Order which was among the Cities: For which cause the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the City in which Christ dyed, and where the Apostles resided, and where Christianity begun, was subject to the Bishop of *Cesarea*, because *Cesarea* was the Metropolis of *Palestina*.

(a) ἡ ἐκείνου
κωνσταντινῆς
πόλεως ἐπί-
σκοπος ἔχειν
τὰ πρῶτα
τῆς πλὴνς ἐκ-
τῆς πόλεως
ἐπισκοπῆς,
διὰ τὸ εἶναι
αὐτὴν ῥώμης
πόλιν.
(b) Baron.
An. 325.
S. 128.

Our adversaries dissemble not that this Council displeaseth them. The Jesuite *Cotton* in the Preface of his Catholike institution speaks thus of it; *Greece begins about the year 380. to make approaches of rebellion against the Holy See, and to traverse the authority of the Bishop of Rome, giving him the Bishop of Constantinople for second*. The Jesuite *Costerus* in his Manual, in the Chapter de *Summo Pontifice*, saith that (c) *the Bishops of Constantinople, in the second Universal Council of Constantinople, without the knowledge of the Legats of Pope Damasus, did usurp the second place among the Patriarchal Sees, against all reason; Which is a great ignorance in that Jesuite; For Damasus had no Legats in that Council*.

(c) Hi nam-
que in Con-
stantinopoli-
tana generali
Synodo,
in scitis Lega-
tis Damasii
Papae, secundū
sui locum
usurparunt in
sedibus Pa-
triarchalibus
contra omne
fas.

Bellarmin in his Preface upon the books de *Pontifice*, speaks thus of that Council; (d) *The first that opposed the primacy of the Roman Pope in good earnest, seem to have been the Grecians. For already in the year 381. they would prefer the Bishop of Constantinople, who before was not so much as a Patriarch, before the three Patriarchs of the East, and make him second after the Roman Prelat*. But it is certain, that in that the Council did not oppose the Bishop of *Rome*: For *Damasus*, who

(d) Primi qui serio Primatum Romani Pontificis impugnarunt, videntur fuisse Graeci; ipsi enim jam inde ab Anno Domini 381. Episcopum Constantinopolitanum, qui antea ne Patriarcha quidem erat, tribus Patriarchis Orientis anteponebant, & secundum à Romano Pontifice facere voluerunt.

then

then was Bishop of *Rome*, did not oppose himself to that constitution, and approved it by his silence. And the following Councils confirmed that Canon, in which the Bishop of *Constantinople* is put in the second place, even the Councils of *Chalcedon* and *Trull*. The Popes themselves have approved it in the end, as Pope *Innocent* the third in the Council of *Latran*, ch. 5.

Also the Reader is desired to take notice, that *M. du Perron* having made many Chapters about the order of sitting in every Universal Council, especially the 35, and 36. Chapters, and the following, hath skipt over this Council, and speaks not one word of the order of the places, and of the presidency in this Council, because the Bishop of *Rome* had no part, neither in the convocation, nor in the sitting; and that things were done there (as our adversaries hold) with much contempt of his See. He could find no way to disguise the truth, which appears here very plain.

CHAP. 13.

Of Hierom, And of the title of Pontifex left by the Emperor Gratian.

IN the same time a Priest called *Hierom* flourished, whose works we have; A man that went beyond all the Fathers for Latin eloquence, and for learning in Greek and Hebrew. Having been a household servant of *Damasus*, he was a good friend to the See of *Rome*. Nevertheless in that point, as in many others, he is very unequal; for sometimes he exalteth the *Roman* See, sometimes he vilifieth it, according as his choler prompts him, and according as he is used by the *Roman* Clergy, with whom he did not very well agree. Being a Priest, he was offended, that at *Rome* they esteemed Deacons more then Priests. Upon that, in the Epistle to *Evagrius*, he opposeth the consent of all the other Churches to the authority of the Church of *Rome*, saying that (a) *the world is greater then a town. Wheresoever a Bishop be, whether at Rome or at Agobio; at Constantinople, or at Rhegio; at Alexandria, or at Tanis, they are of the same merit, and have but one Priesthood. The power of wealth and the low estate of poverty, make not a Bishop higher or lower. After all, they are all successors of the Apostles. And rejecting the custom of the Roman Church; Why (saith he) dost thou bring me the custom of one town? Why dost thou defend, against the laws of the Church, the lesser number from which pride is sprung? All that Hierom writ purposely to equal all the other Bishops with the Bishop of Rome, because the authority of the Church of Rome was used to prefer the Deacons before the Priests.*

The same *Hierom* in his Preface upon the book of *Didymus*, of the Holy Ghost, speaks thus of *Rome*, and of the *Roman* Clergy, which had spoken ill of his labour; (b) *When I lived in Babylon, and was inhabitant of the harlot clad in purple, and lived according to the Laws of the Citizens of Rome, I would prattle somewhat about the Holy Ghost, and dedicate my work begun to the Bishop of that town. But behold that pot which in Jeremiah is seen after the staffe, on the North side begins to boyl, and the Senat of the Pharisees begins to cry out.*

How often doth *Hierom*, to make Christians dislike living at *Rome*, call it *Babylon*, and the harlot mentioned in the *Revelation*? In the Epistle to *Marcella*, under the name of *Paula* and *Eustochium*, he speaks thus (c) *I think that this place [of Bethlehem] is holier then the Tarpeian rock (meaning the Roman Capitol) which having been often fulminated from heaven, sheweth that it is displeasing unto God.*

(a) *Orbis maior est urbe. Quicunque fuerit Episcopus, five Rome, five Engubii, five Constantinopoli, five Rhegio, five Alexandria, five Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum & paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit. Ceterum omnes Apostolorum successores sunt.*

(b) *Cam in Babylone versaver, & purpurata meretricis essem colonus, & jure Quiritium viverem, volui garrere aliquid de Spiritu Sancto, & ceptum opus ejusdem urbis Pontifici dedicare. Et ecce olla illa quae in Jeremia post baculum cernitur, à facie Aquilonis cepit ardere, & Pharisaeorum conclamavit Senatus. (c) Et hic puto locus sanctior est Tarpeia rupe, quae de caelo saepius fulminata, ostendit quod Domino displiceret. Lege Apocalypsin Johannis, & quid de muliere purpurata & scripta in ejus fronte blasphemia, septem montibus, aquis multis, & Babylonis canitur exitu. Exite, inquit Dominus, ex illa, &c.*

Read

Read St. Johns Revelation, and see what is foretold of the harlot clad in purple, and of the blasphemy written in her forehead, and of the seven hills, and of many waters, and of the destruction of Babylon. Go out from her my people, be not partaker of her sins, lest that you receive of her plagues. She is fallen, she is fallen, Babylon, &c.

Thus spake Hierom before his anger was over. But being retired from Rome into Syria, and having disgested his choler, another subject of anger was offered to him in Syria. For he fell out with the Clergy of Syria about the word *hypostasis*: And seeing himself baffled and contradicted in the East, he had his refuge to the West, and began to exalt the See of Damascus, and of the Roman Church. He writ then letters unto Damascus, where he saith that he hath his recourse unto St. Peters chair, as being joyned with the same in communion. That he that gathereth not with Damascus, scattereth abroad. That the Sun did rise in the West; but that in the East Lucifer had his throne over the stars. But with all these fair words he attributes no power to Damascus over the Universal Church. For all that may be said of every faithful Bishop, that communion must be had with him, that out of his communion one cannot be saved; and that who so gathereth not with him, scattereth away. And the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, boasted also that they had St. Peters chair. Note that in the same place Hierom saith, *Nullum primum nisi Christum sequens*, that he followed and acknowledged none first but Christ. A place which in some copies is wickedly corrupted; for instead of *primum*, they have put *primum*.

It is notable also that by that Babylon, the ruine whereof is foretold in the Revelation, he understands alwayes the City of Rome; As towards the end of the second book against Jovinian, he speaks thus to the City of Rome, (d) *Thou mayst escape by repentance the curse which the Saviour threateneh thee with in the Revelation*. And in the 11. Quest. to Algazia; (e) *According to Johns Revelation in the forehead of the Harlot clad in purple, there is a name of blasphemy written, which is the eternal Rome*.

The same Father in many places affirmeth (f) that the charge of Priest, and that of a Bishop, are the same Office, as for the Divine institution: But that since, to avoyd Schisms and dissensions, they thought fit to choose one that had preheminence over the other Priests, to whom they gave the name of Bishop: As in the Epistle to Oceanus; (g) *Among the Antients, Bishops and Priests were all one; for the one is a name of dignity, the other a name of age*. He saith the same in the Epistle to Pammachius; *There is no difference between the Priest and the Bishop; He that sends and he that is sent, have the same dignity*.

It is also ordinary with Hierom to call all Bishops Popes. In the Epistle to Ruffinus, he calls Chromatius Bishop of Aquilea Pope. In the Epistle to Pammachius, he calls John of Jerusalem *Papam beatissimum*. And Epiphanius Bishop of Constance in Cyprus, he calls also Pope. One of his Epistles to Austin Bishop of Bona, ends thus, *Memento mei sancte & venerabilis Papa; Holy and venerable Pope, remember me*.

The same Doctor commends the poverty and simplicity of antient Bishops, and tacitely compareth it with the luxury of the Bishops of his time: As in the Epistle to Demetrius he giveth these titles to Anastasius a Bishop of Rome dead long before, *Vir ditissime paupertatis, & Apostolica sollicitudinis; A man of a most rich poverty, and of an Apostolical carefulness*.

It is to be noted also, that this Father never gives to the Roman Prelats any higher title then that of Bishops of the City of Rome, and never calls them heads of the Universal Church, As in his Catalogue, *Cornelius Romanae urbis Episcopus*. And in the same place, *Gaius sub Zepherino Romanae urbis Episcopo*; And in the same Catalogue, speaking of Fortunatianus, (h) *In Fortunatianus this is detestable, that he is the first that solicited and overthrew Liberius Bishop of the City of Rome, going into exile for the faith, and perswaded him to subscribe to heresie*. For Hierom did not believe that the Bishop of Rome could not erre in the faith. Now that language is altered; for now to call the Pope the Bishop of Rome only, without adding another quality, is as if one called the King of France, Lord of Paris only.

This

(d) *Maledictionem quam tibi Saluator in Apocalypsi comminatus est, effugere potes patientia.*
(e) *Secundum Apocalypsin Johannis in fronte purpuratae meretricis scriptum est nomen blasphemiae, id est, Roma aeterna.*
(f) *Ep. ad Pammach. adv. errores Johannis Hierosolymitani: Nihil interest inter Presbyterum & Episcopum; eadem dignitas mittitur & missi.*
(g) *Et Ep. ad Oceanum. Apud veteres idem Episcopi & Presbyteri fuerant, quia illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc aetatis.*
(h) *In hoc habetur detestabile, quod Liberius Romanae urbis Episcopus, pro fide ad exilium pergentem, primus sollicitavit & fregit, & ad subscriptionem haereticos compulit.*

In the year of our Lord 386. (i) *Gratian*, a meek and religious Emperor, was slain by the men of *Maximus* the Tyrant. This *Gratian* is the first of the Christian Emperors that refused to be called *Pontifex Maximus*, holding that title which his Predecessors (though Christians) had born, to be unsuitable with a Christian Prince, as derived from the Pagans, and relishing of Paganism. Yet soon after, the Bishops of *Rome* suffered themselves to be called so, and took up that which an Emperor had rejected.

(i) According to the Chronicle of Marcellinus in the year 383.

Of the abolition of the Penitentiary Priest by Nestarius.

С Ч А Р . 15.

of Epiphanius Bishop of Cyprus, and of John Chrysoſtom.

(a) $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\theta\varsigma$
 $\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$
 $\chi\eta\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\omega\alpha$
 $\pi\rho\upsilon\tau\alpha\nu\iota\varsigma,$
 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha$
 $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\varsigma\epsilon\kappa\omega\beta$
 $\tau\eta\alpha\delta\iota\lambda\alpha\rho\epsilon$
 $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma\epsilon\delta\alpha\lambda\upsilon$
 $\mu\eta\iota\varsigma\chi\eta\alpha\pi\alpha$
 $\varsigma\tau\alpha\epsilon\kappa\alpha\pi\alpha\kappa\theta$
 $\tau\epsilon\pi\rho\omega\tau\epsilon\varsigma,$
 $\delta\epsilon\varsigma.$

(b) $\omega\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\varsigma$
 $\epsilon\kappa\omega\beta\iota\varsigma$
 $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\pi\lambda\omega$
 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\nu\eta$
 $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\pi\alpha\kappa\theta\eta\varsigma\omega$

παρῆναι κτερος δ' ἄρ' οὐκ αὖτις ἐπὶ τῇ γαίᾳ πρῶτον. (c) Cum vidissem in Ecclesia Christi contra auctoritatem Scripturarum hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud, & magis dedi consilium custodibus eius loci ut pauperem mortuum eo obvoluerent.

In

(d) Socrat.
1. 6. c. 5.

In the year of the Lord 395. (d) *Nectarius* died, to whom *John Chrysostom* succeeded, established in that Office by *Theophilus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, not by the Bishop of *Rome*, to whom it rather belonged to create the first Patriarch of the East, if it had been the belief of that time that the Bishop of *Rome* was head of the Universal Church. At least his consent should have been expected; but it was not; For it was not the custom.

CHAP. 16.

of Ambrose Bishop of Milan; and that in his time the Church of Milan was not subject unto the Church of Rome. The Cardinals foul dealing in alledging the Fathers.

IN the year of Christ 397. died *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan*, a man of holy life, and of great authority; who being Prefect of the City of *Milan*, and the Emperors Lieutenant in *Lombardy*, was by the zeal of the people, and the Emperors approbation, made a Bishop, though he was then but a Catechumen, and not baptized. This was done without the advice and consent of the Roman Bishop, and *Ambrose* took no Letters of investiture from him, for it was not the custom.

It was he that excommunicated the Emperor *Theodosius* for the Massacre of the people of *Thessalonica*, committed by his guards by his permission. And he kept him eight whole months out of the communion of the Church, not so much as suffering him to enter into the Temple, till he had submitted himself to do publick penance, as *Theodoret* relateth at large in book 5. of his History, 18. ch. (a) This was done by *Ambrose* without either the advice or leave of *Syriscus* Bishop of *Rome* his neighbour, and without imparting the business unto him. Neither did *Syriscus* complain of it, for he pretended no superiority over *Ambrose*. Such an action in our days would be accounted a rash deed, and rebellion, and treason against the Papal Sea. For it is now one of the Maxims of State, and a fundamental Law set down by the Jesuite *Emanuel Sa*, (b) *Kings cannot be excommunicated and bound with censures but by the Pope alone*. It is evident by many other proofs, that then the Church of *Milan* was not subject unto that of *Rome*; for we learn by *Austin*, (c) *Epist*, 118. to *Januarius*, that the Church of *Rome* fasted upon Saturday, but that of *Milan* did not fast upon that day. Of which the Bishop of *Rome* did not complain, and did not labour to bring the Church of *Milan* to the same observation as that of the Roman Church. And *Austin* in the fore-alledged Epistle saith, that he indifferently observed both customs, according to the place where he hapned to be.

Ambrose in the 1. ch. of the 3. book of the Sacraments (if these books be his) observeth another difference in the washing of feet, which was practised at *Milan*, not at *Rome*. These are the words of *Ambrose*. (d) *We are not ignorant that the Roman Church hath not that custom of which we follow the example and the form in all things: yet she hath not that custom of washing the feet. See then whether she hath not declined because of the great multitude.* And a little after. (e) *I desire to follow the Roman Church in all things. Yet we also are men that have sense. Wherefore we do well to keep that which is better practised in other places.* And a little after, opposing to the Roman Church *St. Peters* authority, he saith, *What doth the Roman Church answer to that?* The Reader may observe that *Ambrose* held not himself to be of the Roman Church. He saith also that he desires to follow the Roman Church in all things; but he saith not that he was bound to it; and that he saith, there is sense and reason in departing from the Roman Church, when that which is

(b) In voce
Excommuni-
cario, Reges
à solo Papa
excommuni-
cantur &
censuris li-
gantur.

(c) Mater
mea Media-
lanum me
consecuta, in-
venit Ecclesi-
am Sabbato
non jejunan-
tem, &c. Et
Paulo post,
Cum Romam
venio, jejuno
Sabbato; cum
hic sum, non
jejuno.

(d) Non igno-
ramus quod
Ecclesia Ro-
mana hanc
consuetudi-
nem non ha-
beat, cuius ty-
pum in omni-
bus sequimur & formam. Hanc tamen consuetudinem non habet ut pedes lavet. Vide ergo ne propter multitudinem declinaverit. (e) In omnibus cupio sequi Ecclesiam Romanam. Sed tamen & nos homines habemus sensum: Ideo quod ibi melius servatur, & nos recte custodimus.

pra-

practised in other Churches appeareth to be better. This place is like that of *Hierome* in the Epistle to *Evagrius*, where he condemneth the custom of the Roman Church, which preferred Deacons before Priests, and saith that he preferred the custom of all the world before the custom of the City of *Rome*, which had brought pride into the Laws of the Church.

In one thing chiefly it is evident that the Church of *Milan* was not then subject to the Church of *Rome*, that they had another Liturgy at *Milan* then at *Rome*. For the Church of *Milan* hath for many ages retained the Ambrosian service, which was different from the Roman.

Durandus Bishop of *Mende* in the 5. book of his *Rational*, ch. 2. relates that, before Pope *Adrian* (who was made Pope in the year of Christ 771) the Ambrosian service was in far greater credit, and more used then the Gregorian Office or Roman Mass: But that *Adrian* assembled a Council, in which he commanded that the Roman Office should be established everywhere, and the Ambrosian abolished. For which *Charlemagne* helped him with strong hand, constraining the Clergy in *Italy* and *France* by several punishments to follow the form of the Roman service, and to burn the Ambrosian Office. President *Fanchet* in the 7th book of the French Antiquities, saith, that the year of that change was the year 798.

Durandus addeth that the same Council being assembled the second time, the same business was propounded again; and it was concluded that both the Ambrosian and the Gregorian Missal should be put upon St. *Peters* Altar, sealed with the seals of many Bishops, and that the Temple doors should be shut; and that solemn Prayers should be made that God would make them know which of these two Offices pleased him best, to be observed in the Church. And that this being done accordingly, the next day they found the Ambrosian Missal open, and in the same place where they had laid it; but the Gregorian torn and scattered all about the Church. Out of this the Pope and his Bishops might have apparently gathered that the Gregorian service ought to be quashed and cast away, but the Ambrosian kept. Yet they turned that to a contrary sense, saying that this signified that the Gregorian Office must be spread and published all about. For also (saith *Durandus*) *Ambrose* had instituted many things according to the custom of the Grecians. So *Ambrose* lost his cause four hundred years after his death. And this was done against the counsel of *Gregory* himself, the Author of that Roman Office, who was Bishop of *Rome* in the year 596. For among (f) the interrogations of *Austine* the Monk to him, this is the third; *Why is the custom of Masses another in the Roman Church, and another in Gauls?* To which *Gregory* answereth, *I like it well that thou seek carefully that which thou shalt find most like to please Almighty God, whether it be in the Roman or in the Gallican Church.* He doth not bind him to follow the Roman Office. That which most displeased the Pope in the Ambrosian Office, was this Prayer that was pronounced upon the Bread of the Lords Supper, Which Prayer is to be seen in *Ambrose's* 4. book of the Sacraments, ch. 5. (g) *Grans that this offering may be accounted unto us, reasonable and acceptable, which is the Figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.* For although the Dispute was not yet moved about Transubstantiation, yet Satan began in the eight age to lick that bear, and secretly was contriving that piece of the mystery of iniquity. Wherefore he laboured to abolish the Ambrosian Office in which that word Figure crost his design. Besides it grieved the Pope to see that the credit and authority of *Ambrose* should so prevail over the authority of the Roman Church.

Thus the Popes winding themselves into the favour of Kings, made use of them to enlarge their limits and establish their authority. Of which we have the like example in *Spain*, hapned in the time of King *Alphonfus*, and Pope *Gregory* the VII, and his successor *Urban*, who was made Pope in the year 1088. For then they had in *Spain* the ancient Liturgy called the *Mozarabick* Office, or the *Toledo* Office, differing from the Roman Service. But *Gregory* the VII. having obtained

(f) These interrogations are found towards the end of *Gregories* works; *Cur cum una sit fides, sunt Ecclesiarum consuetudines tam diverse? & altera consuetudo Missarum in Romana Ecclesia, altera in Gallia tenetur? Resp. Mihi placet ut frue in Romana, frue in Gallicanorum, frue in qualibet Ecclesia aliquid invenisti quod plus Omnipotenti Deo placeat*

possit, sollicitè eligas. (g) Fac nobis hanc oblationem ascriptam rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod est Figura corporis & sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

of the King that the ancient Service should be abolished in his Dominions, and the Roman Service established; The execution was found very difficult, by reason of the murmurings and the resistance of the States of the Land. In the end they agreed to decide the difference by a Duel between two Knights. The King chose a Knight that should fight for the Roman Office, and the States of the Land another to fight for the *Mozarabick*. It happened that the Roman Champion was unhorsed and beaten down, to the Kings great discontent: Who yet required that another trial should be made; That both the Offices should be cast into a great fire, and that the Office which should not burn should overcome. Upon that all parties betook themselves to their prayers, and the trial being made, the Roman Office was consumed, but the *Mozarabick* remained whole. Notwithstanding all this, the King being engaged with promise unto the Pope, would have his will; And upon pain of loss, not only of goods, but of life also, it was commanded that the Roman Service, which otherwise was called *Gallican*, should be established in Spain. This History is related by Roderick Archbishop of Toledo in the 6. book, 25 and 26. ch.

(h) Quod Ecclesiam Mediolanensem ad officium revocasset ducentesimo anno ex quo à Romana defecisset.

(i) Mediolanensis Ecclesia jam pridem Romanæ Ecclesie auctoritate relicta, præceptis ejus haud quaquâ obtemperabat.

(k) Non debere Ambrosianam Ecclesiam Romanis legibus subjacere; Nullamque judicandi vel disponendi vim Romano Pontifici in illa sede competere. Nihil indignum (inquit) ut qua sub progenitoribus nostris semper existit libera, ad nostræ confusionis opprobrium auctori (quod absit) Ecclesie sit subiecta.

Damian. Ep. ad Hilderbrand. Sigonius de regno Ital. lib. 9.

(l) Ibid. Quod in Ecclesia Mediolanensi non est novum, quæ semper diversi dogmatis homines habuit initio ab Auxentio et Ambrosio inchoato.

To return to the Church of Milan; They would not obey the Emperor *Charlemagne*, and despising Pope *Adrian* and his Council, retained the Office of their ancient Bishop *Ambrose*, and kept it long after. *Paulus Emilius* in the life of *Philip* the I. praiseth Pope *Steven* (h) for bringing to the obedience of the Roman Church the Church of Milan, which for two hundred years together had stood out disobedient. *Platina* saith the same in the life of *Steven* the IX. who with *Baronius* is the X.

In the year of the Lord 1058. *Guy* Archbishop of Milan assembled a Council at *Fontanet* near *Navarre* in Lombardy, where he condemned the Celibat of the Roman Church. For in that time the Clerks of Milan and Lombardy were married, as (i) *Sigonius* affirmeth in the beginning of the 9. book of the Kingdom of Italy: Where also he saith, that of a long time the Church of Milan despised the authority of the Roman Church.

In the year of our Lord 1059. Pope *Nicolas* the II. to reduce to his obedience the Church of Milan, which till then had not been subject unto the Roman See, sent *Petrus Damianus* Bishop of *Ostia* to Milan to manage that work with dexterity. Then the Clerks of Milan were married, and in many things differed from the Roman Church. *Petrus Damianus* having won *Guy* Archbishop of Milan, and some of the Clergy, began to put his hand to the reformation. But the Clergy and the people of Milan resisted, saying, That (k) the Ambrosian Church must not be subjected unto the Roman Laws, and that the Roman Prelate had no right to judge, or to dispose of anything in that See. It is a thing too unworthy (saith they) that the Church of Milan, which in time of our progenitors hath been always free, now (which God forbid) become subject to another Church, to our disgrace and confusion. But Cardinal *Damian* an industrious and persuasive man, appeased the mutiny, which seemed to tend to sedition: and in an Oration represented to the people that God had given to the Blessed bearers of the keys of eternal life (that is, to *Peter* and to the Popes) the Empire both of earth and heaven. And so prevailed with his practices, that by the help of the Archbishop *Guy* he took from the Clergy their wives, and subjected the Church of Milan unto the Roman. This relation is to be seen in an Epistle of that Cardinal *Damian* to the Archdeacon *Hilderbrand*, who since was *Gregory* the VII. And in the Annals of *Baronius*, an 1059. In that Epistle *Damianus* saith that he laid upon Archbishop *Guy* a penance of an hundred years, redeemable with money; as *Sigonius* saith in the forealledged place. But as soon as *Damian* was gone from Milan, presently the people and the Clergy shook off the yoke, and the Archbishop himself gave leave to the Priests and other Clerks to take their wives again. At which Pope *Nicolas* being fore angry excommunicated the Bishops and Priests of Lombardy. And *Damian* writ Letters to them, wherein among other things he tells them, (l) That this was no new thing in the Church of Milan, where there had been always men of different Doctrines, beginning at *Auxentius* and *Ambrose*. So poor *Ambrose* was condemned many Ages after his death.

The

The Popes would oppose it, but in vain, till by seditious and violent wayes in the time of *Alexander* the second, and *Gregory* the seventh, the people of *Milan* were oppressed and brought under the subjection of the *Roman Church*.

This digression serveth to prove that which I said, that *Ambrose* and the Church of *Milan* were not subject unto the Church of *Rome*. Which considerations, with many more, make it doubtful, whether the books of the Sacraments be of *Ambrose*; For how could he have said, *I desire to follow the Roman Church in all things*, seeing he differed from her in so many Articles?

Here I cannot wink at the Cardinals foul dealing, who in the 25. ch. of the 1. book, alledgeth that testimony of *Ambrose* in these words, *We follow in all things the example and the form of the Roman Church*. But he kept himself from adding that which follows; *Yet we also are men not destitute of sense, wherefore we do well to keep that which is better observed in other places*.

The same usage he offereth to the same Father in the 56. ch. of the first book, where he alledgeth these words of *Ambrose*, ch. 4. of the book of Incarnation, (m) *Peter not forgetful of his place did [or maintained] the primacy*. A discourse maliciously clipt: For *Ambrose* addeth, *The primacy indeed of confession, not of honour; the primacy of faith, not of order*. Pag. 326.

In another place, (n) alledging *Ambrose*, he commits a fault, which I am content to impute to his want of memory. He brings a text out of *Ambrose's* Comment upon 1 *Tim.* 3. which he saith to be either of *Ambrose*, or of a contemporary Author; *Although all the world belong unto God, yet the Church is called the house of God, of which Damascus is now the Governour*. But himself in the 20. ch. of the last*book disputes against these Comments, as false and supposititious, and marks the absurdities that he finds in them; saying that the true Comments of *Ambrose* upon *Paul's* Epistles were already lost in the time of *Cassiodorus*; and that these Comments are Apocrypha and spurious, having nothing of the sense and stile of *Ambrose*. (m) Petrus loci non immemor primatum egit; primatum ut que confessionis, non honoris; primatus fidei, non ordinis. (n) Ch. 25. book 1. Pag. 1025. and 1026.

In the same place he alledgeth this place of *Optatus Milevitanns* in the second book against *Parmenian*; *Thou canst not deny that unto Peter the Episcopal chair was assigned at Rome, in which Peter the head of all the Apostles sate; wherefore also he was called Cephas, &c.* *Optatus* believed that *Cephas* signifieth a head, whereas it signifieth a stone. But what doth that testimony against us, the question between us being not whether St. *Peter* had some superiority or honour among the Apostles? the question is about the power of jurisdiction. Neither is the question whether *Peter* hath been at *Rome*, nor whether the Bishop of *Rome* hath been his successor in the Roman Episcopacy; but whether that Apostle hath constituted the Bishop of *Rome* his successor in the Apostleship, and in the quality of Head of the Church of all the world? *Optatus* is so far from that, that in the same book he calls the Bishop of *Rome* his companion. (o) *Damasus and Syricius who at this day is our companion, with whom all the world agreeth with us, by the commerce of Epistles formed in one communion of society*. (o) Liberio Damasus, Damasus Syricius, bodie qui noster est socius, cum quo nobis totius orbis commercio formatum in una communionis societate Epistoliarum concordat.

In the year of Christ 398. *Syricius* Bishop of *Rome*, the capital enemy of marriage, being dead, *Anastasius* succeeded him, who to please *Hierom*, was adversary to *Ruffinus*, pretending that he had translated some books of *Origen* into Latin.

CHAP. 17.

Contention of Paulinus and Flavianus, Competitors of the Patriarchat of Antioch.

(a) See Sozo.
in the 7. book
11. ch. and
15. ch. And
Soyar. in the
5. book ch. 15

TOWARDS the end of the fourth age (a) *Paulinus* and *Flavianus* were Competitors of the Patriarchat of *Antioch*. Both took that quality, born by contrary factions.

The Bishops of the West, one of them being the Bishop of *Rome*, maintained *Paulinus*, and disapproved the election of *Flavianus* as unlawful. Upon that *Gratian* commanded both the parties to come to *Rome*, and convoked a great number of Bishops to end that difference.

(b) Cum Ori-
entis & Oc-
cidentis Epi-
scopos ab
quasdam Ec-
clesiarum dis-
ensiones im-
periales lit-
tere contrax-
issent, vidit
admirabiles
viros Christi-
que Pontifices,
Paulinum
Antiochenae
urbis Episco-
pum, & Epi-
phanium Sa-
laminæ Cypri
que nunc
Constantia
dicitur.

That the citation of *Paulinus* and *Flavianus*, and that convocation of Bishops was by the only command of the Roman Emperor, *Hierom* shews it in his Epistle to *Eustochium* upon the death of *Paula*. (b) When the Imperial letters had drawn to *Rome* the Bishops, both of the East and the West, upon some Ecclesiastical dissensions, *Paula* saw there the admirable men and Prelats of Christ, *Paulinus* Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Salamina* in *Cyprus*, which is now called *Constantia*. Of a command from the Pope he saith nothing. Wherefore *M. du Perron* in the 25. ch. of the 1. book, made use of his ordinary licentiousness in faigning that which is not, saying that (c) the Pope did evocate the cause unto *Rome*, and that the Popes letters were accompanied with those of the Emperor *Gratian*; As if the Emperors letters had been but a dependance and addition to the Popes letters. All that is false, neither could he bring any witness of it.

In obedience to the Emperors command *Paulinus* came to *Rome*, and many other Bishops. But *Flavianus* knowing that the Bishops of the West, that of *Rome* especially, were contrary to him, and *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* (as it may be seen by his (d) 78. Epistle) would not appear, and used many shifts.

Paulinus being dead, his faction chose *Evagrius* in his place. In the mean while a Council sate at *Capua* by the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*; In that Council *Flavianus* was condemned, and declared unjust possessor of the Bishoprick of *Antioch*. But that Council was not received in the East: And the authority of the Emperour *Theodosius*, *Gratians* successor, intervened, who maintained *Flavianus* in his place, having approved of his reasons, and preferred them to the decision of the Council of *Capua*, and the Bishop of *Rome*. So *Anastasius* Bishop of *Rome*, and his successor, *Innocent* the first, were forced to consent to it, and to acknowledge *Flavian* the lawful Bishop of *Antioch*, after they had persecuted him with all their power (as he also for his part had highly scorned them, and refused to acknowledge them for his Judges.) For the Bishops of *Rome* were very meek and gracious to them whom they could not hurt.

(c) Falsifica-
tion of the
Ca. dinal.
(d) It is the
first Epistle
of book 10.

CHAP. 18.

Observations upon the History of the four first Ages. And how the Cardinal hath found nothing in it for his purpose.

SO we are now come to the year of our Lord 400. In all that time we have found no Appeal from other Churches to the Roman See, no Law given by the Bishop of *Rome* to the Universal Church. No Universal Council convoked by him. No Universal Council where he presided. No care taken by him of the Churches without the Roman Empire. No obedience or subjection of the Bishops of *Asia* or *Africa* to the Roman Prelat, but all disobedience when he offered to exceed his limits. No heretick condemned for disobedience to the Roman See.

See. No execution of the judgements pronounced by the Bishop of *Rome* out of his Patriarchat. Very far was he from deposing Kings or Emperors, or publishing indulgences, or giving pardons of two or three hundred thousand years, or fetching souls out of Purgatory, or boasting of infallibility in the faith, or giving his feet unto Emperors to kiss, or keeping reserved cases to himself, which none but himself could dispense with. In those dayes the Pope wore no triple Crown, had no Court, no guards, and no temporal principality.

Only so much is found in the Fathers of the four first Ages; That *Peter* was called the first and the Prince of the Apostles, yet without power of jurisdiction over his colleagues. That the Bishop of *Rome* was held successor of *St. Peter* in the Office of Bishop of the City of *Rome*, not in the Apostleship, or in the principality over the Universal Church. That the Bishop of *Rome* was the first of the Patriarchs of the Empire; not by Divine right, but by the Ecclesiastical Canons, and because of the dignity of the City. That this dignity did not exceed the limits of the Empire. That it was a primacy without power of jurisdiction over the other Patriarchs, and a precedence without domination. That all the Patriarchs took care of all the Churches of the Empire. That the Bishops of *Rome* of the three first Ages till the year 340. were very low, of small authority, and scarce known.

And that *Julius* the first, was he that begun to offer to raise himself, but gave over presently, having met with resistance. Satan hath been long beating that anvil. One may see in the following ages, how the Roman Prelat hath ascended from degree to degree, but with small progress, as long as he was subject to the Roman Empire.

And this is of perpetual observation, that all the examples alledged by Cardinal *du Perron* to shew what the power of the Bishop of *Rome* was in antient time, are included within the limits of the Roman Empire, and that he could not bring so much as one example, that the Bishop of *Rome* ever medled with the busineses of the Churches of *Persia*, or *Media*, or *Ethiopia*, or the East Indies, or *Assyria*, or *Chaldea*, or *Armenia*, or *Arabia*: because these Churches were without the Roman Empire, and sent no Deputies to the Councils, and acknowledged not the Patriarchs of the Churches of the Empire of *Rome*. Some small portion of *Arabia* hath been sometimes subject to the Roman Emperors, as also *Armenia*, by certain intervals. Of which Nations nevertheless *M. du Perron* brings not any example. This only observation serveth to answer thirty Chapters of the Cardinals first book, from the 25. ch. to the 55. which hold above 500. pages. For all the things which he brings in all these Chapters, although they were as true and faithfully alledged, as they are fraudulently and maliciously disguised, yet they are things happened only within the precincts of the Roman Empire.

Suppose that the Bishop of *Rome* had an absolute Empire over all the Churches of the Empire of *Rome*, what doth that to shew that he is by Divine right the Head of the Universal Church? Nay, doth not that shew that his power hath begun by humane constitutions, since it is limited by the limits of a certain worldly Kingdom, and extends not unto other Kingdoms? How comes it to pass, that of a thousand allegations of the Cardinal out of the antient History, he brings not one testimony of the Popes power over the Churches of *Arabia*, *India*, *Persia*, *Ethiopia*, &c? At least he ought to have brought some passage, or some action, whereby it might appear that the Bishop of *Rome* challenged domination, or power of jurisdiction over those Churches; or some expostulation that those Churches yielded him no obedience. But of that there is no trace in all Antiquity: No wonder that the Cardinal could bring no president for it.

But we have shewed that even the Churches of the Roman Empire did not acknowledge him for their Head; and we will shew it again, with Gods assistance, following the thread of the History unto the last of the first four Universal Councils: Which is the term that the Cardinal hath set to himself, and the time within which he limits himself in the dispute with his Majesty of Great Britain.

The Reader also may remember, that the Cardinal with all his diligence could
find

find no ground for the Popes primacy in three hundred and fourty years after Christs birth, when *Julius* began to put out his horns, but was forced to pull them in again.

Towards the end of this fourth Age, the Monastical profession past from *Egypt* and *Syria* into Europe. To which *Martin* in *Gauls*, and *Hierom* at *Rome* did very much contribute. That profession began by some noble women, to whom *Hierom* writes many Epistles; who living at home, not in a Monastery, wore a course black-garment, instead of the white which the Roman people wore: and they used much abstinence and austerity in their dyet; and would work with their own hands. It is to be observed, that those Monks of *Egypt* and *Syria* were most of them Hereticks Anthropomorphites, and had no communication with the Church of *Rome*, as (a) *Sozomenus* affirmeth in the 11. ch. of the 8. book, and the Author of the life of *Fulgentius*: For he relates that *Eulatus* Bishop of *Saragossa*, dissuaded *Fulgentius* from joyning with the Monks of *Egypt*: (b) *Those Monks* (saith he) *whose admirable abstinence is celebrated, shall not have the Sacraments of the Church common with thee.* *Cassian* in the 10. Collation, 2. and 3. ch. saith that all the Monks of *Egypt* and *Syria* were given to that opinion, and by consequent despised the Communion of the Roman Church, as well as that of the Greek; Against which nevertheless the Bishop of *Rome* used no censure, because they were not subject unto him.

(a) *Sozomenus* in the 2. book. c. 21. relateth that the Monks of the desert came to *Alexandria* to kill the Patriarch *Theophilus*,

because he was contrary to the Anthropomorphites. (b) *Omnes illi Monachi quorum predicatur mirabilis abstinence, non habebunt tecum Sacramenta altaris communia.*

BOOK



BOOK VI.

PROVING BY THE PAPAL HISTORY

From the year of our Lord 400. unto
the Council of *Chalcedon*, which is the IV.
Universal Council, held in the year 451.

That in all that time the Bishop of R O M E was
not acknowledged the Head of the Universal Church.

CHAP. I.

*A Narration of that which hapned to John Chrysostom Patriarch of
Constantinople.*

IN the year 395. the Emperour *Theodosius* being dead, his Son
Arcadius succeeded him in the Empire of the East, and *Honorius* in the Empire of the West. Then *John Chrysostom*,
whose works we have, was Patriarch of *Constantinople*: A man
full of zeal and eloquence, and of a holy austere life, but
somewhat too free in his words.

The Empress *Eudoxia* not able to bear with his bold
speech in his Sermons, (a) and knowing that *Theophilus*
Patriarch of *Alexandria*, a Prelate of great authority was his enemy, sent for him
to *Constantinople*; And he being come, assembled a Council, in which *Chrysostom*
was condemned, and put from his place. But the fervent love of the people to
him, caused him to return soon after, and to do his Office as before. In which,
as he continued to use his former freedom, it happened that the Empress caused
her silver Statue to be set up in the publick place, neer the Church, upon a Pillar
of Porphyry, and that some threatenings of her were reported to *John Chryso-
stom*; who upon that made a violent Sermon, where he said, (b) *Herodias* now
rageth again, again she is dancing, again she asketh that *Johns* head be brought unto
her in a charger, &c. Which moved the Emperour and the Empress to assemble
another

(a) Socrates
l. 7. c. 14. &
seq.

(b) Nicep.
l. 15. c. 18.
Sozom. l. 5.
c. 21.

Πάλιν Ηρω-
δίας μαινέται,
πάλιν ὀρχά-
ται: πάλιν
ἰωάννην τῷ
κεφαλῇ ἐν
πύργῳ
συνδίδου
λαβόν.

another Council, where *Chrysoſtom* was again condemned and depoſed from his Episcopacy, for intruding and re-entring into his charge againſt the forms, after his depoſition in the precedent Council. To that depoſition the Emperour joyned baniſhment, where that golden mouth died a few years after.

Then was *Innocent* the firſt Biſhop at *Rome*, who if he had been Head of the Univerſal Church, ought to have hindered that evil, and ſent preſently Legats to reſtore *Chryſtoſtom* to his place, and cite *Theophilus* before the Papal See to give account of his Actions; and in caſe of diſobedience, depoſe and excommunicate him. But nothing of all that was done. *Sozomenus* in book 8. of his Hiſtory, 26. ch. ſaith that *Innocent* writ conſolatory Letters to *Chryſtoſtom*, and other Letters to the Clergy of *Conſtantinople*, wherein he bemoaned the condition of that holy man ſo unworthily uſed. He ſaid not in thoſe Letters that *Theophilus* had deſpiſed his authority. He uſed no threatenings, he took no knowledge of the cauſe. But this he ſaid, (c) *It is neceſſary that a Synod take knowledge of this, as we ſaid long ago that a Synod ought to be aſſembled: for a Synod onely can ſtill the motions of ſuch ſtorms. Which that we may obtain, it is expedient to commit the remedy of it to the will of the great God and of Jeſus Chriſt.*

Then to obtain that Council of the Emperour, he ſends both to the Emperour *Arcadius*, and to his brother *Honorius* ſome Biſhops and Priests, to beſeech them that a Council might aſſemble by their leave, to judge again of that buſineſs. So did the Roman Biſhops behave themſelves in thoſe days.

But *Sozomenus* in the ſame place relates that the enemies of *John Chryſtoſtom* that were at *Conſtantinople*, gave to that proceeding a calumnious interpretation, ſaying that it was done to affront his Imperial Maſteſty, and cauſed theſe Deputies to be ſent back as diſturbors of the Eaſtern Empire, and *Chryſtoſtom* to be ſent into a remoter exile at *Pityuntia*. *George* Biſhop of *Alexandria* (as *Photius* in his Library affirmeth) ſaith, That (d) *Innocent* ſuſtained many combates for that holy man, although his labour was without effect; and that he ſent Deputies, but they were ſent back ill uſed. And that he writ Letters, but that he could not atchieve any thing of that he laboured for. So weak and ineffectual was the interceſſion of the Biſhop of *Rome* at that time.

Upon that (e) Cardinal *du Perron* heaps up many untruths and forgeries. He ſaith that *Chryſtoſtom* had recourſe by Appeal to Pope *Innocent* the I. If that be true, It is a wonder that all the Hiſtorians of that time are ſilent about it, and that *Chryſtoſtom* himſelf ſaith nothing of it in any of the Epistles which he hath written upon that matter. It is a wonder alſo that he did not appeal to *Innocent* in that very Council where he was condemned. For although he was not preſent, he might have made his Appeal by another, and ſignified his Appeal unto the Council. True it is, that two Letters of *Chryſtoſtom* are found with this ſuperſcription, (f) *To my Lord Innocent, Moſt reverend and moſt beloved of God.* But that ſuperſcription is altogether falſe and ſpurious. For the reading of thoſe Epistles will evidently juſtify that they are written either to the Biſhops of the Weſt, or to all the Biſhops of the Roman Empire, whom he calls *Kueius πικιστάτους & ευλαβεστάτους, My moſt honoured and moſt religious Lords.* As alſo the whole Epistle ſpeaks in the plural. Of *Innocent* or the See of the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor a word in theſe two Epistles; And no more of any Appeal to the Pope. Nay, *Chryſtoſtom* in the firſt Epistle ſaith, that when he was condemned by *Theophilus*, he appealed from his judgement, not to the Biſhop of *Rome* (for he ſpeaks never a word of him) but to another Council, and that he beſought the Emperour to convocate a lawful Council, where his cauſe might be judged. By the ſame Epistle he craveth his Brethren's help, and repreſents unto them the wrong done unto him, beſeeching them that by their means, things ſo unjuſtly done may have no force, and that the doers may be puniſht: To which end he deſireth that a Council may be aſſembled. If theſe be words of Appeal, it is the ſame Appeal which he made in the Council where he had been condemned. Wherefore alſo *Innocent* received not that Appeal, and reſerved not to himſelf the knowledge of this cauſe: Only he mediated with the Emperour for a Council, which he could never obtain. There is yet leſs colour in ſaying that by

(c) *Sozom.* l. 8. c. 26.

Ἀναρχία
ἔστ' ἀναρχία
σὺς συνοδική,
ὡς ὁ πάλαι,
ἐρημὸς συνά-
θεσις,
μὴν γὰρ ἔστ'
ἡ πὶς δύναται
τὰς κινήσεις
τῶν τοιούτων
κατατεῖλαι
καταγινώσκων,
ἢ ἵνα τὴν ἡ-
μεῶν, χρίσι-
μον τῶς ὁ-
μοθυμίας τῆς
ἐκείνου τῆς
βουλῆς τῆς
μεγαλῆς θεῶν.

(d) Ὁ δὲ
Ρώμης Ἰννο-
κέντιος πολ-
λὰ ὡς τὸ
ἀγία ἡγανί-
στατο ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
αὐτοῦ γέγονεν
ἡ σπένδι, ὡς
ἡ δὲ σπένδι-
στος ἐπὶ τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλὰ ὡς
αὐτοὶ ἐκκλῆς
ἐπιτιμωθῆ-
σαν, ὡς
γρομμὰτα
ἐγερθέν,
ἀλλὰ ὡς
ὡν ἐσπεύδον
ἡντιν.

(e) 25. ch. of
the 1. book,
p. 116. and
ſeq.

(f) Τῷ δὲ
σπέντῃ μὲν τῷ
αὐτοῦ σπέντῃ
τῷ δὲ θεοφι-
λεστάτῳ
ἐπιτιμῶν
Ἰννοκέντιος.

the second Epistle *Chrysostom* appealed to *Innocent*: For it was written three years after his condemnation, when he had lived almost three years in exile. And that Epistle like the precedent speaks to Bishops in the plural, and speaks neither of, nor to *Innocent*, nor of his See. So it is again all truth that the Cardinal affirms that *Chrysostom* appealed unto *Innocent*.

A long fragment of an Epistle of *Chrysostom* unto *Innocent* is extant, in the 13. book of *Nicephorus*, ch. 19. where he speaks of no Appeals to *Innocent*, but only of the excesses and insolencies of his enemies. In vain also the Cardinal heaps up some examples of Authors speaking in the plural to one man, as if they spake to many. These examples ought to have been taken out of the writings of *Chrysostom* himself, to shew that it was his ordinary style. Certainly in all languages it would be an absurdity and a trespass against common sense, to say, *My Lords*, or *my Brethren*, speaking to one man.

In the same place our Cardinal will shew himself an *Hebrician*, saying that *Rabbi* Pag. 137. signifieth many. It is true that *Rabbi* comes out of *Rab* which signifieth *multus* and *potens*, and *Rabbim* signifieth *multi*. But *Rabbi* doth not therefore signifie many, and is not a plural word: But it is a singular word, which in the Jewish tongue signifieth *Master* and *Doctor*.

To that Fable he addeth another of the like stuff, He saith that *Innocent* after the death of *Chrysostom* excommunicated the Emperor *Arcadius* and his Wife *Eudoxia*; And his Author for it is *George of Alexandria*, who above 200. years after compiled the life of *Chrysostom* out of several Authors, where he hath gathered many Fables contrary to the truth of the History. It is the testimony which *Photius* gives him in his Library: (g) *It is plain that this Writer relateth many things contrary to the truth of the History: But nothing hinders the Readers to chuse what is good, and leave the rest.* And that which the Cardinal saith is most false, that herein *Cedrenus* followed *George of Alexandria*. For *Cedrenus* saith not that *Eudoxia* was excommunicated by *Innocent* or by any other, but only, ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ μὴ ἐν ἑτέρῳ, that she drew upon her self a curse, and a just hatred. This affirmation that *Cedrenus* saith, that *Innocent* excommunicated *Arcadius* or *Eudoxia*, is a notorious forgery of the Cardinal: That Fable being contradicted by all the Historians next unto *Chrysostom's* time. For besides that *Theodoret*, *Socrates*, and *Sozomenus*, who have exactly written all the passages of this History of *Chrysostom*, say nothing of it; This is more, that *Prosper* and *Marcellinus* in their Chronicles, and *Socrates* in the 6. book, 16. ch. expressly observes, that *Eudoxia* dyed in the Consulatus of *Honorius* and *Aristonetus*, which falls upon the year of our Lord 404. three years before *Chrysostom's* death, who dyed in the year 407. By this account *Innocent* excommunicated *Eudoxia* three years after her death. To oppose to ancient Historians new Authors, as *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*, or *Simeon Metaphrastes*, a Fabulous Writer, as the Cardinal doth, is no sincere dealing. To invalidate the testimony of *Socrates*, the Cardinal chargeth him to be a Novatian, and an enemy to the memory of *Chrysostom*. But I cannot comprehend that *Socrates* doth wrong to the memory of *Chrysostom*, by setting the death of *Eudoxia* before that of *Chrysostom*; especially seeing that *Socrates* doth highly praise and exalt *Chrysostom*, and justifieth him with all his strength. It is false also that *Socrates* was a Novatian; For he blameth the Novatians as Schismatics, in book 5. ch. 19. where he taxeth them of separation from the Church: (h) *Since the time* (saith he) *that the Novatians separated themselves from the Church:* and in the following ch. he puts them among the Hereticks: *It is expedient* (saith he) *to pass in silence over that which hapned among the others, that is among the Arians, the Novatians, the Macedonians, the Eunomians.* This is enough to shew that the Cardinal layeth a false imputation upon that faithful Historian *Socrates*.

In the same place the Cardinal affirmeth many things against the truth: As that Pag. 119. & 320. *Prosper Aquitanus*, and *Marcellinus Comes*, put the death of the Empress *Eudoxia* many years before the death of *Chrysostom*. For *Prosper* speaks not at all of the death of *Chrysostom*, and puts the death of *Eudoxia* one year after she had set up her silver Statue upon a Pillar of Porphyry, against which *Chrysostom* preached.

(g) ὅτι ὁ
συγγράφων
ἔχει ἐν ὁλίγῳ
καὶ ἐν πολλῷ
πιστεύειν, &c.

(h) Ἐπειδὴ
ἀποσχίσαντες
ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
ἀποσχίσαντες.

(i) Chrysost.
Epist. 14.

απαγα-
γον ἡθροῦν
ἰσχυροὺς πα-
θὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ
καταλέχον-
τος τοῦ ἡ-
καίστερον
χρόνου.

(k) Forms of
blessing.

(l) Innocent.
Ep. 17. ad
Alexand. um.

(m) Ἐνόντων
τοῦ πλάσας
ἐκείνου ὡς
ἐπὶ τῆς
μίας ἢ δύο
ἢ τῶν ἢ
ἀνα λυχα-
δων ἡμῶν
σκέψαι νῦν,
ἀλλὰ αὖτις
μυρίσδων
ἀπείρων, αὖτις
καρπαλαῖς τῆς
δικαιώσεως
ἀπὸς.

Verbo Bri-
xiani emen-
data a Fron-
tone Duceo
Jesuita.

Cogita nobis
magnitudinem
&c. sed de
millibus infi-
nitis &c. totius
orbis capite.

(n) ἐχόντων
πρωτον ἐν

Ἀντιοχείᾳ
ὅτι καθήκον
χρηματίσσαι
χρησάμενος
αὐτοῦ ὅδε
μία τῶν χι-
τῶν ἐκκεῖ-
νῶν ἐχει πῶ-
λλον, ὅς
αὐτὴ ἡ Ρω-
μύλη πόλις.
διὰ τοῦτο
πρὸς ἀπὸς
τῶν δικαίων
ἀντιθέσθαι
δύναται.

(o) Ἐμκερὸν
τῆς πόλεως
ἐγκύμων
τῶν πρὸς
ἀπαιτάς
εἶναι δύνα-
ται.

As for *Marcellinus*, he puts *Chrysostom's* death a year before the death of *Eudoxia*. So I do not believe that the Cardinal had seen these Authors, but trusted others that have abused him. With the like untruth he saith in the same place, that the revolt of the *Isauri* happened since the exile of *Chrysostom*: For *Chrysostom* himself (i) Epist. 14. affirmeth the contrary, saying that as he was going into exile, he was sick in his journey with a burning fever, and that the incursions of the *Isauri* frightened him. And if *Arzabacius* who was sent against them with an Army obtained victories over them since the death of *Chrysostom*, the Empress that favoured that *Arzabacius* (as *Zozimus* relateth) cannot be *Eudoxia*, as the Cardinal will persuade us.

We have the life of *Chrysostom* written by *Palladius*, who speaks not of the excommunication of *Arcadius*, and no more of *Chrysostom's* appeal to *Innocent*. It is true, he saith that *Innocent* judged that judgement of *Theophilus* should be reversed and nulled. Not that *Innocent* had pronounced a sentence as a judge; But he judged that it ought to be reversed by a Council. Wherefore also *Palladius* addeth how *Innocent* said, that another irreprehensible Synod of the Prelates of East and West ought to be kept. It is plain then that *Innocent* referred the judgement unto the Council.

It is then an evident lye of Pope *Gelasius*, who writ a hundred years after, that *Innocent* absolved *John* of *Constantinople*. Popes are not credible witnesses in such matters. And the Cardinal ought not to alledge their testimony in their own cause, as he doth a thousand times, having filled all his book with such testimonies. For the Bishops of *Rome* to exalt their own dignity, will lye very liberally. Especially this *Gelasius*, who hath overgone all his predecessors in pride.

It was the custom in those dayes, that the Churches of the Roman Empire would maintain their union by communicatory letters, and send the one to the other the sacred bread, and (k) *Eulogies* as they spake then, in sign of concord. During that discord about the business of *John Chrysostom*, *Innocent* and the Bishops of the West would not receive the communion from the Churches of *Constantinople*, and *Alexandria*, and separated themselves from their communion, as *Theodore* witnesseth in the fifth book of his history, chap. 34. *John* being dead, the Occidental men would never admit the communion of the Egyptians, nor of the Oriental men, nor of the Bishops of *Bosphorus* and *Thracia*, &c. But after they had heard what honour the City of *Constantinople* had done to *Chrysostom* after his death, they were reconciled, as (l) *Innocent* himself witnesseth; Having learned (saith he) by those you sent, that all things had been accomplished according to our desire, I have, with thanks to God, received the communion of your Church. These testimonies shew that the Popes in those dayes did not excommunicate men and Churches out of their Patriarchat, by thundering anathema's as they have done since, but only declared that they would not receive their communion, and separated themselves from their union, for fear of partaking with their sin.

But before I leave that holy man, I will alledge some places, wherein he speaks of the City and Church of *Antioch*, where he preacht many years. In the third Homily to the people of *Antioch*, he speaks thus of them, Consider the greatness of the City, and that it is not here question of one, or two, or three, or ten souls, but of infinite thousands, and of the Head of the whole world. This City is that where Christians were first so called. That holy man believed that the honour which God had done to *Antioch*, that in it the faithful were first named Christians, was a sufficient consideration to make it the first of all, and the head of all the world; and that by consequent it ought to be preferred before the Church of *Rome*. The same Father, in the seventeenth Homily to the same people: (n) In *Antioch* the Disciples were first called Christians. No City in the whole habitable world hath that, no not the City of *Romulus*. Wherefore this City may lift up her sight against the whole earth. And in the 25. Homily upon the Acts, The Disciples have been first called Christians in *Antioch*. (o) This is not a small praise of this Town, whereby She is made able to stand against all. And in the Sermon upon

upon *Ignatius*, he exalteth the dignity of the City of *Antioch*, because *St. Peter* to whom *Christ* gave the keys, and the government of his Church, made a long abode in it. Whence he inferreth that *Antioch* is not inferiour to any City of the world. His words are, Τὴν ἀναξίαν ἀπάντων ἢ πόλιν ἀντίστροφον ἢ ἡμετέραν, that is, *our City is equal in worth, or may be put in the ballance with all the habitable earth.* That good Doctor would never have spoken so, if he had thought that the Church of *Antioch* was subject unto the Church of *Rome*. Wherefore when from a Priest of *Antioch*, he was raised to the Patriarchat of *Constantinople*, it was done without consulting the Bishop of *Rome*, and asking his approbation. To *John Chrysostome*, *Arsacius* succeeded in the Patriarchat of *Constantinople*, and after *Arsacius Atticus Chrysostoms* enemy.

Nicephorus in book 13. chap. 33. saith that *Innocentius* Bishop of *Rome* excommunicated that *Atticus*, who for all that remained peaceable possessor of his place, being much honoured and respected; and there continued the space of four and twenty years. For the judgements of the Bishops of *Rome* out of their Patriarchat were of no effect. Besides, such excommunications were but declarations that one would not communicate with another.

CHAP. 2.

Of the power of the Patriarchs of this fifth Age.

THE great authority which *Theophilus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* used in the deposition of *Chrysostome* without receiving any censure or Ecclesiastical punishment for it, remaining in a peaceable possession of his Patriarchat untill death, giveth us occasion of speaking of the power which that Prelate then had, who aspired unto higher things, and would have raised that See very high, if the events of the following ages had concurred with the grounds which he had laid.

Among the Epistles of *Synesius* Bishop of *Prolemais* in *Cyrene*, there is one to this *Theophilus*. In the sixty sixth Epistle propounding a question to him, he saith, (a) *It is the interrogation to which the authority of the Apostolical succession must simply and clearly answer.* And in the following Epistle, (b) *I will, and it is unto me a divine necessity to hold for a Law, that which that throne decreeth.* He speaks of the See of *Alexandria*: Had he written in these terms to the Bishop of *Rome*, our Adversaries would be sure to make a shew of these texts to the Popes primacy.

That *Theophilus* being dead in the year 412. *Cyrillus* succeeded, whose power was so great, that he durst with his own authority drive the Jews out of *Alexandria*, whose multitude was incredible, & that without the consent of *Orestes* the Emperours Lieutenant in the Province, whom he bearded, raising seditions against him: in one of which *Orestes* being hurt with a stone by a Monk called *Ammonius*, caused the Monk to be apprehended and put to death. *Cyrillus* interred the Monks corpse honourably, and made a funeral Homily in his praise, as for a Martyr. In a short time the power of the Patriarch of *Alexandria* grew so much, that it was objected to *Dioscorus* Bishop of that See, in the Council of *Chalcedon*, that he had boasted himself to be as much Master of *Egypt*, as the Emperour. Of that time after the death of *Theophilus*, *Socrates* speaks in chap. 7. of book 7. of his history in these words; From that time the Bishop of *Alexandria* besides the domination over the Clergy, got to himself the principality in the temporal.

On the other side the Bishop of *Rome* was no less active to raise his greatness. Of these two Prelates *Socrates* in book 7. chap. 11. of his history speaks thus, that (c) *The Roman Episcopacy as well as that of Alexandria had past the bounds of Priesthood, and had exalted its self to a secular principality.* The Cardinals ordinary answer when any thing is objected out of that Author, is to say, that *So-*

Tt 2

crates

(a) αὐτὸ δὲ
ἐστὶν τὸ ἐρω-
τήμα πρὸς
δὲ τὴν αὐ-
θεντίαν τῆς
ἀποστολικῆς
ἐκδοχῆς
ἀποκρίνασθαι
ἐπὶ πᾶσι
σάφως.
(b) ἐγὼ δὲ
βέλτατος καὶ
ἀνδραγαθὸς
καὶ νόμον
ἡγεῖσθαι πᾶν
ὅπου αὐτὸς ἐκεί-
νῳ ἐξουσίαν
ἔσται.

(c) ἡ Ῥωμα-
νὴ ἐπισκοπὴ
ὡμοίως τῇ
Ἀλεξανδρινῇ
ἐκ τῆς
ἐκδοχῆς
ἐπὶ δουρατεί-
αν ἤδη πάλαι
προήλ-
θούσης.

crates was a Novatian Heretick, and therefore enemy to the Roman Church; But we have shewed out of the 5. book and 19. ch. of his History, that he speaks of the Novatians as of Schismatics and Hereticks.

That the Church of *Alexandria* was not subject to the Bishop of *Rome* in that time, it is clear by the 104. Canon of the (c) collection of the Councils of *Africa*. It was decreed that they should write to the most holy Pope Innocent about the discord which is between the Roman Church, and the Church of *Alexandria*, that these Churches might keep that peace among themselves which the Lord commandeth. That Canon commands not that the Church of *Alexandria* become subject to the Roman, but mediating between both, labours to make them agree, that they may live in concord. In that time the Church of *Rome* received every year the order about Easter-day from the Church of *Alexandria*, as we observed before. In that point the Roman Church was subject unto that of *Alexandria*.

(c) Juxta
editionem
Tilli, ἡρεσεν
ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὡς
πρὸς διζωνίας
τῆς Ῥωμαίων
καὶ Ἀλεξαν-
δρείων ἐκκλη-
σίας πρὸς τὴν
ἀριστεράν
Πάπην Ἰννοκέντιον γραφῆσαι ὅπως ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνην φυλάξουσιν ἡν Κύριος παροργίζει·

CHAP. 3.

Of the Milevitan Council, and of the prohibition there made to Appeal unto Rome. The Cardinals answers are examined.

IN the year of our Lord 402. a Council sate at *Milevis* in *Numidia*; and another in the same town in the year 415. Of which two Councils since the Canons are confounded, we will speak here as if the two Councils were but one.

Two evils did vex the Churches of *Africa*. First, the heresie of *Pelagius* and *Celestius*. And in consequence of that first evil, the rebellion of some Clerks, who being condemned by the Church of *Africa*, would cross the Seas and come to *Rome*, to find support in the Bishop of *Rome*, who did greedily receive those Appeals, labouring thereby to raise his authority. Thus after that *Celestius* had been condemned in *Africa*, he had his recourse to Pope *Zozimus*, and that Pope received and defended him for a time against the Churches of *Africa*. But being better informed since, or despairing of his power to restore him, he forsook him.

That being then a new thing not practised before, the Bishops of *Africa* would prevent that evil, and make in the *Milevitan* Council, either in the first or in the second, this excellent Canon which is the 22. It is decreed that the Priests, Deacons, and other inferior Clerks (if in their causes they complain of the judgement of their Bishops) be heard by the Bishops of the neighbourhood, who being adjoyned by the consent of their Bishops shall decide their businesses. (d) And if they think that they ought to Appeal also from their Bishops, let them not Appeal but to the Councils of *Africa*, or to the Primats of their Province, as it was often decreed about Bishops. But who-soever will Appeal beyond the Sea, let him not be received to the Communion by any in *Africa*. This Canon is found set down in these terms in the Greek copies, and in (e) *Balsamon* the most learned of all the Grecians in Ecclesiastical Law, and in *Zonaras*, and in many Latin copies, and is so alledged in the Council of *Rhemes* under *Hugh Capet*, and by *Hincmarus*.

That by the Appeals beyond the Seas, the Appeals to *Rome* are forbidden, it is out of question; And *Balsamon's* words are notable to that purpose, (f) Since

(d) Quod si
ex ab Episcopis
provocandum
putaverint, non nisi
ad Africanam
provocent
Concilia vel
ad Primates
Provinciarum
suarum. Ad
transmarinam
autem qui pu-
tauerit appellandum, a nullo intra Africanam in communione suscipiatur. (e) Apud Balsamonem in collectione Canonum
Carthaginiensium Can. 21. μη διαγίγσκον) εἰς τὰ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης· ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς πρωτεύοντας ἐπὶ ἰσθμῷ παρ-
χόμεναι καὶ ἡς ἐπισκόπων ποταμὸς ἀπέχει, &c. Hincmar. in Ep. 55. cap. 17. Qui provocandum putaverint ad
Primates suarum Provinciarum, sicut ex de Episcopis saepe dictum est, provocent. (f) ἐπειδὴ οἱ παρόντες κανόνες ἐτά-
κτουσιν ἐν Καραγέρη, ἧν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ περιμαρτυρεῖ πάντας διατάγματα κληθίσου) τὰ τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ σημαίνει οὕ-
τως καὶ ἄλλοι, καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ῥώμης, &c.

these

these present Canons were framed in Carthage, that is in Africa, by the judgements beyond the Seas, by all means those of Rome are understood; And hence it appears, that those of the Church of Rome glory in vain, saying that the differences of all the Churches must be judged by them upon Appeal: For if Rome be not allowed to receive the Appeals of Africa, how much less shall she have that right over all other Provinces?

The Reader must not find strange, that *Balsamon* saith that this Canon hath been framed at Carthage. For in the sixth Council of Carthage, this Canon hath been again confirmed, upon occasion of one *Apiarius* a Priest in Africa, who having been condemned by his Bishop *Urban*, had Appealed to Rome; at which the African Bishops were much offended, as we shall see hereafter.

This Canon being made by a multitude of good and holy Bishops, among whom were *Aurelius* Bishop of Carthage, and *Austin* Bishop of Bona, (g) who framed the Canons of this Council, whereby it is forbidden upon pain of excommunication to Appeal unto Rome, it is no wonder that the Advocates of Papacy have done all their endeavour to falsifie it, and to corrupt both the sense and the words. The Roman Decree compiled by *Gratian*, *Causa* 2. Qu. 6. Can. Placuit, hath added an exception in the end which corrupteth the whole Canon. For after those words, *If any will Appeal beyond the Sea, let him not be received by any in Africa to the Communion*, they have sewed up this tayl, *nisi forte Romanam sedem appellaverit, unless perhaps he hath Appealed to the Roman See*. How should the Roman See be excepted, seeing that the Canon is expressly made against those that Appealed to the Roman See?

(g) Bellarmi
l. 1. de Ma-
trimonio c. 17
S. Respondio
Canonis.
Canones Mile-
vitani ab Au-
gustino præci-
pue compositi.

But let us see what *M. du Perron* answereth to this; for he extends himself upon this Subject in the 47. ch. of the 1. book. He saith two things; The one, that this Canon must be understood only of the lesser causes, not of the great, such as are the questions about the faith and the Sacraments. The other, that this Canon meaneth only the causes of Clerks of an inferiour degree, as Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons. He confesseth then that the Bishops of Africa, of whom *St. Austin* is one, prohibit upon pain of excommunication to Appeal to the Bishop of Rome in the causes of Priests and Deacons; And that in such points they did not like that the Pope should meddle with their businesses: But that for the great causes, and for the causes of Bishops, this Council intended not to hinder the Appeals to him. Wherefore he maintains that this clause [*as it was often decreed about the Bishops*] must be razed, as added since. And yet the Greek copies published by our adversaries, and *Balsamon*, and *Zonaras*, and many Latin copies, have that clause, and put the causes of Bishops in the same rank, as the causes of Priests and Deacons. And which is more, we shall see hereafter, that the same Bishops assembled again set down that clause so plain, that the Cardinal himself doth acknowledge it.

Pag. 376.

To prove that clause to be false, he saith that it is not found in the Originals of the Milevitan Council, that is in the Copies written in the Council it self, which no man of this age hath seen. So this Prelat abuseth the Reader. He addeth, that *Gratian* hath not that clause, nor the German Centuriators. But I have lately shewed how wickedly *Gratian* hath falsified that excellent Canon: And the Centuriators of *Magdenburg* have followed the Latin copies (that first came to their hand) corrupted by our adversaries, and wanting that clause. All his other reasons, this among others, that *Austin* in the 162. Epistle affirmeth, that by the antient Discipline of Africa, the Bishops had that right to Appeal beyond the Sea, are likewise false or vain. Whoso will read that Epistle, shall find no such thing. *Austins* words are; (h) *The question was not of Priests, Deacons, or other Clerks of the inferior order, but of the colleagues, who might reserve their whole cause to the judgement of the other Bishops, to the Apostolical Churches especially*. There *Austin* speaks not of Appealing to the Bishop of Rome, but to the Apostolick Sees in general assem-

(h) Neque enim de Presbyteris aut Diaconis aut

inferioris ordinis clericis, sed de collegis agebatur qui possent aliorum collegarum judicio, præsertim Apostolicarum Ecclesiarum, causam suam integram reservare.

bled in Council; such as were the Churches of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, and *Ephesus*. And wheresoever in that 162. Epistle, mention is made of the Churches beyond the Sea, thereby not only the Churches of *Italy* are understood, but also those of *Greece*, of *Gauls*, and of all the East and West assembled in a Council; as *Austin* declares it in the same Epistle saying, *Suppose that the Bishops that judged at Rome were not good Judges, the universal Council of the whole Church remained yet.* And in the same place; *There remained yet unto them thousands of colleagues beyond the Sea, where it was known that they might be judged, since they suspected their African and Numidian colleagues.* Where it is plain, that by the Bishops beyond the Sea the Bishop of *Rome* is not only understood. Thus in the book of the unity of the Church, ch. 2. *It remained that the Bishops beyond the Sea that make the great part of the extent of the Catholike Church, should judge of the dissensions of the Africans.* But to what end should we dispute, whether by that Canon the Bishops of *Africa* be forbidden to Appeal beyond the Sea, since we shall see hereafter that a few years after this Council of *Milevis*, the same Bishops being assembled in the sixth Council of *Carthage*, renew the same constitution? and write to *Celestine* Bishop of *Rome* very expreſs letters upon that subject; where they say, that if the Appeals of Priests and Deacons to the Bishop of *Rome* are not receivable, much less ought he to receive the Appeals of Bishops, which belongs to the jurisdiction of their Metropolitans. The Cardinal acknowledgeth this, and so confutes himself.

Then to come to the Cardinals two answers unto this Canon; We are not ignorant that there are some greater, some lesser causes: All causes are not of the same importance, and there was no need for him to trouble himself to prove that, less yet to employ the testimony of Pope *Innocent* writing to *Vitricius* Bishop of *Roven*, whom he makes to say, that *the greatest causes must be referred to the Apostolick See*, to prove that the greatest causes of *Africa* were referred to *Rome*: For besides that the Decretal Epistles of the antient Popes are suspected of forgery, the testimony of Popes is not receivable in their own cause.

To no purpose he alledgeth in the same place Pope *Gregory* the first, and Pope *Leo*, who are come since, and very often attribute unto themselves a power that belongs not to them. And no witness (say I again) is receivable in his own cause. (1) *P. 776.* To alledge *Charlemagne*, and *Hinckmarus*, and *Gerson*, (1) as the Cardinal doth in the same place, is descending too low, even 1400. years after Christ. That which was done in the late ages in *France*, over which the Pope hath exercised a tyranny these six or seven hundred years, is very different from the condition of the Churches of *Africa* in *St. Austins* time. But the Cardinal not being able to find any antient African witness that reserveth the Appeals in great causes to the Bishop of *Rome*, nor any example in antiquity but such as he forgeth, hath been forced to rake in the dregs of the last ages, and authors of the late *Gallican* Church, to prove the Appeals of the antient Bishops of the African Church unto *Rome*: Whereas we bring antient and famous examples out of *Africa* it self; for it was a principal cause which was handled in the Council of *Africa*, assembled by (k) *Agrippinus* Bishop of *Carthage*, even the doctrine of the Sacrament of baptism. Yet *Agrippinus* made no difficulty to decide such an important point of doctrine without, yea against the Roman Church. And yet the Bishop of *Rome* at that time shewed not himself offended at it, and called not the cause before himself. For the Bishops of *Rome* in those dayes behaved themselves with more humility.

(k) Of *Agrippinus* and *Cyprian*, and the Councils by them assembled see before book 3. ch. 3. of this work.

Cyprian Bishop of the same Church did the same, having purposely assembled a Council against the doctrine maintained by *Steven* Bishop of *Rome*, and did not for that incur any censure of the Roman Pope, but was followed by the most famous Bishops of the East, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and *Firmilianus* of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*. Who knoweth not that the Bishops of *Africa* in *St. Austins* time took great offence when *Celestius* condemned by them, went to *Rome* to *Zozimus* Bishop of the place, who favourably received him, and for a time defended him with his authority? It was about an important point, the Pelagian hereſie. We shall see more examples hereafter, even out of *Africa*. Yet

Yet suppose that this clause of the *Milevitan*-Canon, speaks only of the lesser causes, yet it is contrary to the Bishop of *Rome*, and debaseth his authority. For although the inferiour Courts cannot judge definitively, and without Appeal, but of certain lower causes, and to a certain sum of money: yet it belongs not to them to make those limitations, but it belongs to a Sovereign Judge to set those limits. An inferiour Court cannot prohibit, upon pain of death or fine, Appeals unto higher Courts in certain cases. Likewise if the African Councils had been inferiour Judges, subject to the Bishop of *Rome*, it belonged not to them to prohibit Appeals unto the Bishop of *Rome*, in certain cases, upon pain of Excommunication, nor to write to him, that he should thereafter take heed of receiving such Appeals, or taking notice of them. But it had belonged to the Pope to set limits to them, and to grant them to judge definitively and without Appeal of some Causes of less moment, reserving to himself the knowledge of the Causes of a higher nature.

The Cardinals second answer was, that this *Milevitan*-Canon speaks not of the Causes of Bishops, and that these Fathers meant not to forbid the Episcopal Appeals; and that this clause was falsely added. But we shall presently hear the same Bishops expounding themselves upon that point, so plainly, that all matter of doubt shall be removed. But though this clause quarrelled at were put out, yet it is plain that this Canon forbids that no Appeals from Bishops be made beyond the Sea, that is, to the Bishop of *Rome*. For that Canon prohibits Appealing from the judgement of Bishops, to any but the Primates of *Africa*, or before the Synod of the Province. Now in case of Appeal from the judgement of a Bishop, the said Bishop is accused to have ill Judged, and he that was Judge becomes a party. The Bishop then is forbidden by this Canon to maintain the justice of his own Judgement before any, but the Judges of *Africa*, or before the Primates of his Province.

For these causes *Baronius*, who deals more roundly then our Cardinal, doth freely confess that this Canon displeased the Bishop of *Rome*, as being offensive to his authority. Yet this hindred not the Bishops of that same Council from writing Letters full of respect and love to *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, which are inserted among *Austins* Epistles. To these Letters we will give a Chapter purposely, because Cardinal *du Perron* triumpheth about them, and alledgeth them upon every occasion.

Baron. An.
419. S. 70.

CHAP. 4.

Of the Schism happened at Rome, between Bonifacius and Eulalius.

IN the year of Christ, 417. *Innocent* dyed; *Zozimus* succeeds him, a favourer for a time of the Hereticks *Pelagius* and *Celestius*. *Baronius* relates the Epistle which he writ in their defence. But *Zozimus* soon after changed opinion, being better informed.

Baron. An.
415.

The year following, he sent three Legates, *Faustinus* a Bishop, *Philippus* and *Asellus* Priests, to the Council of *Africa* assembled at *Carthage*. The same year *Zozimus* being dead, two Bishops, *Bonifacius* and *Eulalius* were elected, by two contrary factions of the Roman People and Clergy: For in those dayes there was no Cardinals in the Roman Church, and the election of Popes was made by the Votes of the Clergy and the people. The Prefect of the City, named *Symmachus*, would appease the sedition; but not being able to master the people, he writ speedily to the Emperour *Honorius* about it; who with his sister *Placidia*, and his nephew *Valentinian*, made his ordinary residence, now at *Ravenna*, now at *Milan*. *Symmachus* favoured *Eulalius*, and perswaded the Emperour, who turning both these competitors out of the City, appointed guards to *Bonifacius*, to keep him from raising

raising troubles. So small was then the Popes power, that a few Serjeants served to keep him prisoner. But *Eulalius* having made bold to return into *Rome* without the Emperours leave, and the Roman Clergy having sent to the Emperour, and petitioned for *Bonifacius*, the face of busineses changed, and both were summoned to appear before the Emperour at *Ravenna*, upon the seventh of *February*, to be heard in their Reasons, and to receive Judgement from his Imperial Majestie; which summon they obeyed. And that the Church of *Rome* might not be without conduct in their absence, *Honorius* appointed *Achilles* Bishop of *Spoleto* to discharge the Office of Bishop of *Rome* as a Delegate. The parties being heard, (b) the Emperour gave sentence for *Bonifacius*, and expelled *Eulalius*. For in that time the Bishops of *Rome* were subject to the Emperour, as much as the least of the people; and no man entered into that Office without his approbation.

(b) Baroa.
Aa. 419.
S. 34. & 36.

(c) Distinct. 79.
Can. Si duo.
Si duo forte
contra fas
temeritate
coacerantium

furviri ordinati, nullum ex eis futurum Sacerdotem permittimus, sed illum in sede Apostolica permanfurum censemus
q-cm ex numero Clericorum nova ordinatione divinum judicium & universitatis consensus elegerit:

This trouble gave occasion to the Emperour *Honorius* to make a Law, which is inserted into the 79. Distinction of the Roman Decree, in these terms: (c) *if perhaps two be established against reason, by the rashness of the contenders, we shall suffer neither of them to be Bishop. But we decree, that he who by the judgement of God, and by the consent of the generality, shall be elected among the Clerks by a new Ordination, shall remain in the Apostolick See*

CHAP. 5.

Of the Council of Carthage, called the sixth. Of the Appeals from Africa to Rome. The remonstrances of the Bishops of Africa to the Bishop of Rome upon that subject. Confutation of the XL. Chapter of the first Book of the Cardinal.

LET us follow the thred of the History. In the year 419. happened a passage as memorable, as any thing related in the Ecclesiastical History. The Bishops of *Rome* offended with the exprels order of the *Milevitan* Council, forbidding all Appeals from *Africa* to *Rome*, laboured to heal that sore, and not being able to do it by violence, or censures, (for they should have been laughed at) they would go about it by subtilty.

There was then a Council sitting at *Carthage*, where two hundred and seven Bishops met. To that Council the three above-named Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* were sent, *Fausstinus*, *Philippus*, and *Asellus*. That Council being but a particular Council, without any Patriarch present, it was then or never, that the Legates that represented the person of the Bishop of *Rome*, should have had the precedence, and been placed in an honourable rank; which yet was not deferred unto them: For *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* presided at the Council. And that which grieveth most our Adversaries, is, that after *Aurelius*, they placed *Valentinus* Bishop of the first See of *Numidia*, and after *Valentinus*, *Fausstinus* the first Legate of the Bishop of *Rome*. This is found written in the Tomes of the Councils, in the beginning of the Council, and in the Code of the Canons of the Church of *Africa*, in these words, (a) *After the Pope Aurelius with Valentinus of the first See of Numidia, and Fausstinus Legate of the Church of Rome, were set, &c.* And that which is most remarkable, is, that *Philippus* and *Asellus*, because they were but Priests, were set at the very lowest end, under all the Bishops of *Africa*, although they were Legates of the Roman Pope, at which they were not offended, for they found that just and reasonable. Upon this our Cardinal is storming, in the 40. Chap. of his first Book, and giveth three answers; saying, that either the Copies of the

(a) cum
Aurelius
Papa una
cum Valenti-
no prime
sedis Numi-
die, & Fau-
stino Ecclesie
Potentiane,
prime sedis
Provincia
Italie Piceni,
Legato Ec-
clesie Ro-
mane, &c.

Councils

Councils are corrupted, of which he brings no proofs; or that these Legates represented the negotiating person of the Pope, not his judiciary person. A distinction forged in his brains, which makes the Pope to have two persons: but it is confuted by the Council, where *Faustinus*, *Philippus* and *Asellus* are termed Legates, not Negotiators. Also he suspecteth that their Commission was expired: Which also is confuted, in that they act in the Council as Legates; which they would not have done, had they not been avouched by the Bishop of *Rome*. Of *Philippus* and *Asellus*, put after all the Bishops of *Africa*, he saith nothing, finding no shift to excuse it.

These three Legates were charged in their instructions, to labour that thereafter it might be lawful to appeal from *Africa* to *Rome*, and to the Roman Bishops See, notwithstanding the Canon of the *Milevitan* Council, which had forbidden those Appeals, upon pain of Excommunication. But the contrary came to pass. For in that Council, the same Canon was renewed, and these Appeals prohibited upon the same penalties. And because one *Apiarius*, a Priest of *Sicily* in *Africa*, being excommunicated by his Bishop, was gone to *Rome* to Pope *Zozimus*, who had favourably received him, and admitted him to his communion, this displeased the Bishops of *Africa*, of whom Saint *Austin* was one.

Upon this the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* arose, and laboured to defend the Authority of the Roman Bishop, who had sent them. (b) For that they al-
 ledged no Text of Scripture, and spake not of the Popes Primacy, by vertue of
 Saint *Peter's* succession; for in those dayes they disputed not so: neither had they
 that in their memories: But they produced a forged Canon, which they falsly
 pretended to be of the Council of *Nice*, whereby it is permitted to Bishops to Ap-
 peal unto the Roman See: By a notorious falshood they propounded a Canon of
 the Council of *Sardica*, where there was none but Occidental Bishops belonging
 to the Roman Patriarchat, who to spite the Oriental that had deposed *Julius* Bi-
 shop of *Rome*, conferred as much honour as they could upon *Julius*, but an arbitra-
 ry honour depending upon their will, as we proved before.

(b) Baron.
 An. 419.
 §. 60. & seq.

How little was the authority of that Canon, it was seen by that which followed: For all the Bishops of the Council hearing that pretended Canon of *Nice*, were much amazed, and said that the Canon was unknown unto them, and that they had never heard of such an Order. Among others, *Alypius*-Legate of the Churches of *Numidia*, spake thus in the name of the Synod: Having consulted the Greek Copies, I know not how it came to pass that we have not found all these things in it. Wherefore Holy Pope *Aurelius*, we beseech your reverence, that since the authentic Copies of that Council are held to be in the City of *Constantinople*, you be pleased to send some [Legates] with Letters from your Holiness [to the Patriarch of that See], and not only to him, but also to the Venerable Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, that they may send us that Council, with stipulation [or attestation] by their Letters, that hereafter all ambiguity may be removed: For we have not found it to be as our brother *Faustinus* saith. Yet to appease that *Faustinus*, *Alypius* voted that this pretended Canon might be received promissionally, till the Deputies that were to be sent, should be returned. The Reader may observe by the way, that *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, is called Pope by *Alypius*, and his Holiness: Titles which in our dayes are given only to the Bishop of *Rome*.

That advice was followed; only that provisional reception of the Canon was not admitted. And the twenty Canons of the Council of *Nice* were inserted into the Acts of the present Council according to the truth, without that Canon inserted by *Faustinus*: Who upon that desired the Council that they would not send to *Constantinople*, nor to *Alexandria*, or *Antioch*, for fear of sowing discord between the Churches, but that they should refer themselves about it to the testimony of the Bishop of *Rome*. But his Remonstrances were not received. In those days Popes and their Legats used Supplications and Remonstrances, of which the Assembly judged, but they used no commands.

According to the Councils order, Deputies were sent to the Bishops of the East,

Uu

to

to bring the original Copies of the Council of *Nice*. While they were in their journey, *Bonifacius* Bishop of *Rome* died, and *Celestinus* succeeded. These Deputies brought the Originals to the Council of *Carthage*, which assembled again upon that subject; and in them nothing was found of all that *Fauftinus* had said, and the imposture was discovered. Whereupon these Letters of Remonstrance were sent to *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*.

(c) *Præfatio debita salutationis officio, impendio deprecatur ut deinceps ad aures vestras hinc venientes non facilius admittatis: nec à nobis excommunicatos in communionem ultra velitis recipere; quia hoc etiam Nicæno Concilio definitum facile advertet venerabilitas tua. Nam si de inferioribus Clericis vel Laicis videtur id præcaveri, quanto magis hoc de Episcopis volumus observari? &c.*
(d) Note, in Bishops.

(c) *After our bounden duty of salutation, We instantly beseech you, that hereafter you admit not so easily to your ears those that will come from hence; and that you receive no more to the Communion those whom we have excommunicated. For your Reverence shall also easily acknowledge that this is forbidden by the Council of Nice. For if it appear that this is forbidden to the inferior our Clerks and Laymen, how much more would [that Council] have it practised in (d) Bishops? that they being suspended from the Communion, be not re-admitted to the Communion hastily or unduly by your Holiness. Let your Holiness also reject the wicked refuge of Priests and inferior Clerks. For no constitution of the Fathers hath taken that from the Church of Africk. And the Decrees of Nice have subjected both the Clerks of inferior Orders, and the Bishops to their Metropolitans. For they have most wisely and justly provided that every business be determined in the place where it begun. Being confident that the grace of the Holy Ghost shall not be wanting to every Province, whereby the equity be prudently perceived and constantly kept by Christs Priests. Especially seeing that it is lawful to everyone, if he be offended by the judgement of his judges, to appeal to the Council of his Province, or even to an Universal Council. Unless perhaps some body believe that God can inspire to every one of us the justice of the examination of a cause, and refuse it to a multitude of Bishops assembled in a Council. Or how can a judgement made beyond the Sea be valid, to which the persons of necessary witnesses cannot be brought by reason of the infirmity of their sex or age, or of many other intervening businesses? For thus sending of men [to us] from your Holiness we do not find commanded by any Synod of the Fathers. And as for that which you did long since send to us by *Fauftinus* our fellow-bishop, as belonging to the Council of *Nice*, we could not find it in the truest copies of the Councils, sent by holy *Cyrillus*, our Colleague, Bishop of the Church of *Alexandria*, and by the venerable *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, which also we sent to *Bonifacius* your predecessor of venerable memory, by *Innocent* Priest, and *Marcel* Subdeacon. Take heed also of sending to us any of your Clerks for executors in favour of the first that asketh it, lest it seem that we will bring the (c) famous pride of the world into the Church of Christ, which beareth the light of simplicity, and the brightness of humility before them that desire to see God. That Epistle is excellent, and a precious jewel of Antiquity, which is found in the Tomes of the Councils, in the end of the VI. Council of *Carthage*: and in the Greek Canons published by *Du Tillot*; and in the Code of the Canons of the African Church, and in *Balsamon*: and is acknowledged as true by *Baronius*, *Bellarmin*, and generally by all our adversaries that have written of this controversy. Even in the Council of *Rhemes* held in the time of *Hugh Capet*, *Arnulphus* Bishop of *Orleans* makes use of this piece against the Popes authority. Note by the way that our Cardinal in the beginning of ch. 51. alledgeth this Council of *Rhemes*, and saith that it was held to oppress *Arnulphus* Bishop of *Orleans*: which is false; for this Council was not held against this *Arnulphus* Bishop of *Orleans*, but against another *Arnulphus* Archbishop of *Rhemes*. (f) *Baronius* makes no difficulty to say that the things contained in that Epistle are somewhat hard; but especially that which the Fathers say in that Council, that the Popes should send no more Legats à latere, from his side, to *Africa*. But there are other clauses in it as hard; as that they like not his receiving of those that appeal to him from *Africa*, though they should be Bishops; nor that he send Commissioners or Executors from him, nor that he bring worldly pride into the Church. And their saying that the Canons produced by the Legats are false, and not to be found, is likewise very hard.*

M. du Perron, though he use a thousand tricks to weaken the strength of that Epistle, yet cannot dissemble that it displeaseth him; and endeavours to shew that these Fathers are in the wrong. He saith they have taken that licence, and that

(e) *Fumosum typhum.*

(f) *An. 419. S. 78.*

that the heat of choler fetched these words from them, and that their ignorance is excusable. But that which he brings against that excellent Epistle, where above two hundred Fathers speak with one accord, deserveth a Chapter by it self.

CHAP. 6.

Examination of the LII. Chapter of the first Book of Cardinal du Perron, about the above mentioned Epistle of the VI. Council of Africa, written by the Fathers of the Council to Celestinus Bishop of Rome, concerning the Appeals from Africa to Rome.

IN that excellent Epistle of the VI. Council of *Carthage* to *Celestinus*, which we have inserted in the precedent ch. that which most displeaseth *M. du Perron*, is, that the Appeals of the Bishops of *Africa* to *Rome*, are put in the same rank as the Appeals of the least Clerks; yea that these Fathers say that it ought to be less permitted to Bishops to appeal to a Judge beyond the Sea, then to other inferior Clerks. (a) If (say they) it appeareth that this (meaning the Appeals beyond the Sea) be forbidden to inferior Clerks, how much more did [the Council of Nice] intend that it should be practised in the Bishops, that they being suspended from the Communion, be not hastily and unwidely received to the Communion by your Holiness? In vain then did the Cardinal labour so much to prove that this clause was added to the *Milevitan* Council, since it is found so plainly and expressly approved by the same Bishops assembled at *Carthage* a few years after.

(a) Nam
[&] si de inferioribus Clericis vel Laicis videtur hoc præcaveri, quanto magis hoc de Episcopis voluit observari? &c.

To weaken the authority of that Epistle, he maketh eight observations in his LII. Chapter. In the first he saith that after that Council the Appeals from *Africa* to *Rome* did continue. Which he proveth by an Epistle of the Emperor *Valentinian*, of which we shall shew hereafter how it was extorted by the flattering arts of the Bishop of *Rome*; for it is much posteriour to this Council of *Carthage*. He will prove it also by a Law of *Marciannus* made in the time of the Council of *Chalcedon*; which is nothing to this purpose; for it speaks not at all of Appeals of Bishops to the Roman Bishop. The Synod of *Chalcedon* (saith *Marciannus*) by the authority of the most blessed Bishop of the City of *Rome* eternal in glory, deferreth to *Flavianus* the reward of his life past and the palm of a glorious death. There no mention is made of Appeals. Besides, he takes this from the *Tomes* of the Greek Councils, newly published by our adversaries, brought forth out of the Popes Library, and framed according to the Popes pleasure: So these Greek *Tomes* are but a collection of forgeries and absurdities. Wherefore also between the Greek and the Latin Copies there is a perpetual disagreement; although both are alike absurd and forged, ill-agreeing with the Canons made in those Councils, which are of undoubted truth, and which were read in the entry of Councils. But in these new *Tomes* you shall find in the same Council Canons that tie short and bring low the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*; and together Preambles, Orations and Epistles of some private men which exalt and raise it; being forged long after to invalid the strength of the said Canons that are so troublesome to our adversaries: That will be seen especially in the Council of *Chalcedon*, out of whose Preambles that Law of *Marciannus* is taken, of which we shall speak when we come to the time of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

Of the like nature is the Epistle of *Theodore* to *Leon*, and the Appeal of *Flavian*, of which (b) *M. du Perron* speaks in the 25, and 52. ch. Of them we will speak also when the order of the History brings us to it.

(b) Pag. 126
& 437.

His second Observation, is, that the Appeal of *Apiarius*, which was the thing in question, was none of the great causes. To this I have answer'd in the ch. before. If the cause of *Apiarius*, was of small moment, yet it drew another cause

(c) Pag. 452.

of the greatest importance; whether the Bishop of Rome ought to send Legats into Africa, and receive the Appeals of Bishops. Here *M. du Perron* returns to his ordinary faults, alledging *Innocents* testimony in his own cause. If the Popes must be believed, and received for Judges in their own cause, they cannot but win their cause. A little after, he saith, (c) that the *Milevitan* Council sent back unto the Pope the final judgement of *Celestins*; which is altogether false, and no trace of that in *Austins* Epistles, 106. and 92. which the Cardinal quoteth in the margin. Indeed the Fathers of that Council desire *Innocent* to joyn with them, and to help them with his authority; but they acknowledge him not for their Judge, and suspend not the conclusions of their Council, till the Pope hath approved of them. All that he adds out of *Zozimus* is of the like nature: it is true that *Zozimus* condemned *Celestins*, but herein he did not bear himself as a superiour Judge above the *African* Councils; and the long allegations which the Cardinal brings to that end, speak not of Appeals. This Prelat fills the Paper and tireth the Reader with useles authorities which concern not the question at all. Only he brings a place of *Paulinus* which he never saw, but alledgeth it upon the faith of *Baronius*, who is very liberal of his lyes in these matters.

His third Observation, is that the *Africans* disputed not with the Pope about the evocations which came from his own motion. This is confuted by the same Epistle of the Council to *Celestinus*, wherein they warn him that he send no more Legats or executing Commissioners into Africa; for such delegacies were done by the proper motion of the Bishop of Rome. The evocation of the cause of *Athanasius* made by *Julius*, which *M. du Perron* brings for example, is false, as we have shewed. And we have seen how *Julius* being chosen for an Arbitrator, would make himself a Judge, and that having cited the adversaries of *Athanasius*, they derided him with taunting Letters, and refused to appear.

And *Valentinians* constitution, of which he speaks next, is a fraud and a trick of the Roman Bishop, as we hope to shew. The example which he adds of *Gregory* the I. is of the end of the VI. age; and *Hinckmarus* whom he alledgeth, is neer three hundred years after *Gregory*. The Cardinal who had limited himself within the time of the first four Councils, goeth lower when proofs fail him in antiquity. Besides, there is no doubt but that the Bishop of Rome did his utmost to evocate to himself the causes of the remote Provinces. But all that he desired was not done, and that which he commanded was not executed. And that which was done in France under *Charles* the Bald, is very different from that which was done in Africa four or five hundred years before.

52. ch. pag.
461.

We must not here omit a notorious falsification of the Cardinal, who alledgeth thus the words of *Innocents* Epistle, which is the 96. among those of St. *Austin*, *Pelagius* must not expect to be called by us, but he must come to us that he may be absolved. The Original runs thus: *Non à nobis accersi, sed ipse debet potius festinare ut possit absolvi: He must not be called by us, but he ought rather to make haste that he may be absolved.* *Innocent* is so far from willing or hoping that *Pelagius* would appear before him, that he adds that *Pelagius* will never submit himself to his judgement, and that it is better that others call him that are neerer the place where *Pelagius* was. And when all is said, it is unjust to alledge the Popes in their own cause.

Pag: 462.

His fourth Observation, is that it was not out of set purpose and first intention, that the *African* Fathers stirred the controversie of the Transmarine Appeals of Bishops, but by accident. Suppose that this is true, though it be false; Is it material upon what occasion they have stirred that Question? all is to know how they decided it.

The Reader also shall observe the Cardinals confession, that this Council hath opposed the Appeals of Bishops, which he made a shew to doubt of in the 47. ch.

In the same place he returneth to his ordinary and fifty times repeated falsification, that *Austin* in the 162. Epistle, saith that *Cecilianns* might have reserved the Definition of his cause to transmarine judgements, that is (as *M. du Perron* under-

understands it) to the Bishop of *Rome*. Truly in the Canon of the *Milevisan* Council confirmed in the VI. Council of *Carthage*, where the transmarine Appeals are forbidden upon pain of excommunication, the Appeals to *Rome* are forbidden. For the *African* Bishops did complain only that some Clerks condemned by the Bishops of *Africa*, were fled to *Rome* there to find refuge. But *Aufsin* in the 162. Epistle, by the transmarine judgements understands the judgement of the Churches out of *Africa*, which are beyond the *Mediterranean* Sea in respect of *Africa*, such as are the Churches of *Gauls*, *Italy*, *Greece*, *Asia*, &c. These are *Aufsin's* words in the said Epistle, (d) *Thousands of transmarine Colleagues remained, where it was evident that they might be judged that seemed to suspect the Africans and the Numidians*. It is a great want of brains to think that by thousands of colleagues, that is Bishops, the Bishop of *Rome* alone must be understood. The same appears by this other passage of the same Epistle, (e) *They might reserve their whole cause to the judgement of other Colleagues, especially of the Apostolick Churches*.

The Cardinal adds that the Bishops of that Council besought the Pope to send into the East, to see whether that order should be found among the Copies of the Council of *Nice*. But he should have added that *Fauftinus* Legat to the Bishop of *Rome*, desired the Council to desire the Bishop of *Rome* alone to do that without sending to the other Churches, saying, (f) *It is sufficient that the most blessed Bishop of the City of Rome, as your Holiness now deals with him, make himself the inquiry, lest that it seem that contention is moved among the Churches; but that rather you may deliberate with brotherly kindness, he writing back to you that which is most expedient for you to observe*. But that was not granted to him: and the Council judged that it was not reasonable that the Bishop of *Rome* alone be trusted about that matter: but they writ to the Bishops of *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*. Note by the way that the Legats of the Bishop of *Rome*, give him no higher title then that of Bishop of the City of *Rome*, which in these days would be a word of contempt and a mark of heresie. And that in that Council *Aurelius* is called Pope, and his Holiness. That *Aurelius* presiding in the Council, having heard the Proposition of *Fauftinus*, decreed only that *Bonifacius* Bishop of *Rome*, whom he calls (g) *his Brother and Companion*, should be made to understand by Letters all that was done. And against the will of *Fauftinus* and his fellows, The Council sent to the East for the said Copies, which soon after were sent to the *Africans*.

Fifthly, *M. du Perron* goes about to excuse Pope *Zozimus*, saying that it was not out of fraud, nor for his own advantage that he supposed the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, as if they had been of *Nice*; For the Popes use to walk in great humility and simplicity: and the *African* Fathers were much to blame to accuse him that he would bring worldly pride into the Church. But none will believe, but he that will study to deceive himself, that the Council of *Sardica* was held an appendix of the Council of *Nice*, or that the Canons of *Sardica* were held in the Roman Church of those days to be the Canons of the Council of *Nice*. That is not only false, but also ridiculous, as was proved before. (h) For that *Hofius* did preside in both, doth not make both one. In many Councils of *Carthage*, *Aurelius* is President: Which Councils nevertheless are counted for divers Councils. *Athanasius* also was present in both, but in that of *Nice* he was but a Deacon; and it is doubted with good reason, whether he had a deliberative voice in it. *M. du Perron*, to prove that it was the same Council, saith that the Council of *Sardica* was assembled to confirm the doctrine of the Council of *Nice*. But that very instance shews that they are divers Councils. For a Council is not convoked to confirm it self. Besides, other matters were treated at *Sardica*: For the business of the Council, was the restitution of *Athanasius* and some other Bishops into their Bishopricks. But the principal consideration is, that the Council of *Sardica* though convoked out of the Universal Empire, yet consisted only of Occidental Bishops, the Oriental having withdrawn themselves from the beginning of the Council. So that of a Council which in its convocation was Universal, were made two particular Councils, which condemned and excommunicated one another.

(d) *Millia collegarum transmarina restabant, ubi apparebat eos judicari posse qui videbantur Africanos vel Numidas habere suspectos.*

(e) *Qui possent aliorum collegarum iudicio, praesertim Apostolicarum Ecclesiarum, causam suam integram reservare.*

(f) Concil. Carthage. VI. c. 5. *Sufficit ut & ipse Beatissimus Episcopus urbis Romae, sicuti vestra sanctitas apud se tractat, ita & ipse inquirat, ne contentio inter Ecclesias nata videatur.*

(g) *Fratri & consecratori nostro.*

(h) Book 5. ch. 1. of this work.

another. Certainly an Universal Council cannot be the same thing as a particular. And if these Canons of *Sardica* had been held the same as those of *Nice*, so many learned *African* Bishops had heard of it, and had not been ignorant of such a noted thing. It is to no purpose to say that the Canons of the Council of *Trull*, are called the Canons of the VI. Council: But that may be said with good reason, because the VI. Council had made no Canons; and to supply that defect, the Bishops were by little and little gathered in the same Town; and most of those Bishops were the same that had been in the precedent Council.

The Cardinal ought to have forborn, for shame, to justify *Zozimus* by the example of *Gregory of Tours*, who by oversight or ignorance mistakes the Canons of *Gangra* for those of *Nice*. That good man did it out of simplicity, in a cause where he had no interest. But here the Bishop of *Rome* was interested, who knowing that the Council of *Sardica* was of small authority, would make the Canons of *Sardica* to pass for those of *Nice* to make them of greater weight. Which if *Zozimus* did without fraud, his Legats cannot be excused of a notorious malice and perverseness, that they would suffer the Council of *Carthage* to send Deputies such a great way to clear themselves of a doubt, about which they could have satisfied the Council, declaring that those Canons had been made indeed at *Sardica*, not at *Nice*, but that the *Roman* Church received them as if they had been made at *Nice*.

The same is confirmed by the sixth Observation which the Cardinal addeth, though without proof, That the Copies of the Council of *Sardica* were lost in *Africa*, being suppressed by the Donatists. For if the Council of *Sardica* had ever been esteemed to be part of that of *Nice*, that would have raised it to such a credit that the Donatists could never have suppressed it. But this is but a conjecture of the Cardinal, forged by him without any witness. There is no more truth in that he saith in the 466. pag. That it was the custom of the *Roman* Church to cite the Canons of the Council of *Sardica* under the title of the Council of *Nice*. Whereas in the 8. book of *Sozomenus* ch. 26. there is an Epistle of *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome* to the Clergy of *Constantinople*, where he alledgeth the Council of *Nice*, and the Council of *Sardica* as two different Councils. And the testimonies of *Zonaras*, and *Balsamon*, and *Glycas*, which the Cardinal alledgeth in the 467. pag. say only that in the Council of *Sardica* the doctrine of the Council of *Nice* was confirmed, but say not that the Council of *Sardica* was a part, or an Appendix of the Council of *Nice*. And most false it is that *Justinian* confoundeth the Council of *Sardica* with that of *Nice*, in the 131. *Novel* related by *Leunclavius*; For *Justinian* neither there nor any where else doth confound these Councils: The Cardinal ought to have added *Justinian's* words.

His seventh Observation, is, that these *African* Fathers made no decision about the Episcopal Appeals. Suppose that it be so; It is enough that they suppose that it was done already, saying, As it was oftentimes decreed concerning Bishops. And in their Epistle to *Celestinus*, saying, that the Council of *Nice* hath decreed it so; not only for inferior Clarks, but also for Bishops.

(i) *Aurelius* prafate Carthaginenfis Ecclefia olim Epifcopus, cum colligis suis infligante Diabolo, fupervire temporibus predecessorum noftrorum Bonifacii atque Celeftini contra Romanam Ecclefiam cepit.

That which he addes for the eighth Observation, that after the VI. Council of *Carthage*, the Pope did nevertheless remain in possession of the Episcopal Appeals, shall not be found true, neither could he bring any example of it. We find the clean contrary in the II. Tome of the Councils, by an Epistle of *Bonifacius* Bishop of *Rome*, written about 187. years after that Council, to *Eulalius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, which sheweth that *Aurelius* and his successors long after would not bear the yoke of the Bishop of *Rome*. (i) These are the words of the Epistle, *Aurelius* sometimes Bishop of the foresaid Church of *Carthage*, by the Devils instigation, in the time of our predecessors *Bonifacius* and *Celestinus*, began with his colleagues to grow proud against the *Roman* Church. But now *Eulalius* [Bishop of *Carthage*] seeing himself separated from the Communion of the *Roman* Church, humbling himself, made his acknowledgement. Note by the way that in the title of the Epistle there is a fault crept in: for that *Eulalius* to whom it written, was Bishop of *Thessalonica*, not of *Alexandria*. Harding the Buckler of Popery in *England*, observeth

(k) observeth that in some copies there is Bishop of *Theſſalonica*; For the name of the Bishop of *Alexandria* of that time was not *Eulalius*. That which confirms the truth of this Epistle, is, that a form of *Anathema* is added to it again all those that are risen against the Church of *Rome*. Which form without question had been prescribed by the Bishop of *Rome* to *Eulalius* Bishop of *Carthage* and to his Clergy, when they were reconciled with the Roman Church. These writings we have only from our Adversaries, who to make them more authentical, have inserted them in the *Tomes* of the Councils, and among the *Decretals* of the Popes, of which it is said in the 19. Distinction in the Canon, *In Canonicis Inter Canonicas Scripturas Decretales Epistola connumerantur*; The *Decretal Epistles* are reckoned among the *Canonical Scriptures*. Especially a fragment of that Epistle of *Bonifacius* the second, is inserted in the Roman Decree, in the 89. Distinction in the Canon *Ad hoc*.

Another passage happened in *Africa* since the sitting of that Council at *Carthage*, sheweth evidently that the *African* Church was not subject to the Roman Bishop. For *Victor Tonensis* in his *Chronicle* relateth, that in the year 549. ten years after the (m) Consulat of *Basilius*, the Bishops of *Africa* assembled in Council, pronounced a sentence of *Anathema* and excommunication against *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome*, yet reserving unto him place of repentance, having learned that the said *Vigilius* had condemned three heads or points which had been approved by the Council of *Chalcedon*. At that time *Reparatus* was Bishop of *Carthage*.

After these eight observations, *M. du Perron* spends many pages to relate the history of *Apiarius*, and to speak of the presenting of the Canons of *Sardica*, as if they had been of *Nice*; and he labours to make the Council of *Sardica* (though unknown to the *Africans*, and confisting only of Occidental Bishops) more authentical than that of *Nice*. All that more then needeth: For after all his bustling, he grants us what we ask, which is that in that Epistle the Fathers of that Council of *Carthage* writ to the Bishop of *Rome Celestinus*, such things as displease him, and such as he finds fault with, almost in every clause, and which oppose the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. He saith that they took upon them to write to *Celestinus*, as taxing them to have written too boldly. He saith that the heat of the contention fetcht those words from their mouth. Whereby he confesseth that these Fathers were contending with the Bishop of *Rome*. He saith also that they are excusable, and labours to excuse their ignorance. As also (n) *Baronius* saith that the things contained in those Epistles are somewhat hard. See then these men, who boast to have the consent of the Fathers on their side; and yet when they examine the actions of the Fathers, they make bold to condemn them. Now which shall I rather believe, either above two hundred *African* Bishops, in whose number those two holy and famous men were, *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, and St. *Austin* Bishop of *Bona*, who made this Canon against the Appeals at *Rome*, which Canon was confirmed in the sixth Council of *Carthage*; or two Cardinals of this age, as *Baronius* and *du Perron*, whom the Pope kept tyed by the belly, and who were slaves of the Roman See?

Among all this discourse many things scape our Cardinal, which must be pardoned him. In the 474. page, he falls again into that falsification which is so ordinary with him, saying that the ground of the *Africans* in their dispute against the *Donatists*, was, that *Cecilius* after he had been deposed by the Bishops of *Africa*, could reserve the judgement of his cause to the transmarine Churches: Where he will have those words of transmarine Churches to be taken in the 162. Epistle of St. *Austin* in the same sense as in the *Melevitan* Council, that is, for the Roman Church. But there *Austin* by the transmarine Churches, understands the Churches both of East and West, and the Apostolick Sees; and saith, that *Cecilian* after the judgement of the *Africans* could yet Appeal to the transmarine Churches, and to the Apostolick Sees assembled in an Universal Council: Over which Apostolick Sees *Austin* ascribes no superiority to the Bishop of *Rome*.

In the 478. page, to prove that the Pope sometimes sent his delegats into *Africa*, who with souldiers and force of arms executed his orders, he alledgeth the 261.

Epistle

(k) Sect. 28.
de primatu
Papæ.

Anathematizamus omnes
qui contra
sanctam Ro-
manam &
Apostolicam
Ecclesiam su-
perbiendo su-
as erigunt
cervices.

(m) Post con-
sulatum Ba-
silii V.C. an.
X. Africani
Anathematis Vi-
gilium Roma-
num Episcopum
damnatores
trium capitulorum synoda-
liter à Catho-
lica commu-
nionis, reser-
vato ei peni-
tentie loco,
excludunt.

(n) An. 419.
S. 78.

Epistle of *Austin*, saying that *Antony* Bishop of *Fussal* in *Numidia*, being condemned by the inhabitants of *Fussal*, having Appealed to the Pope, threatened them to bring troops of souldiers from the Pope to execute the judgements of the Apostolick See; so that these poor inhabitants feared to suffer worse things from a Christian Bishop, than from the Emperors Laws. But that Epistle is basely forged; for in the antient copies of *Austin* there is but 206. Epistles; To which they have added of late 21. Epistles, and since 22. more; so that they are in all 249. Epistles. But *Baronius* speaks of other Epistles newly forged; so it is from *Baronius* that our Cardinal hath taken this false piece of coyn as many others. And yet he often studies to confute them, and bestows whole Chapters upon that business, as the 48. ch. which fills fourty pages. But how could the Pope have that power in those dayes, to send bands of souldiers into *Africa*, whereas we have seen, that at the same time Pope *Bonifacius* was kept prisoner by a few Sergeants, by the command of the Emperor *Honorius*. None but a raw novice in the history of those dayes, will believe that then the Bishop of *Rome* had the command of bands of souldiers, and could send them into far Countries, in the Emperors fight and without his leave. Should those *Africans*, who in the Epistle to *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome* forbid him to send Legats into *Africa* to judge of their businesses, have been afraid that he should send bands of souldiers upon them?

In the same page he expounds *sumosum typhum*, a *sumous* whirle-wind, whereas it signifieth the fumous pride. He taketh *νέφος* & *νέφως* for the same thing, according to his ordinary ignorance in the Greek tongue, for *νέφος* signifies not a whirle-wind. That in that Epistle *typhum* must be expounded pride, it appears, because *typhus* is opposed to humility; (o) for fear (say these Fathers) that it seem that we will bring in *sumosum typhum*, the *sumous* pride of this world, into the Church of Christ, which beareth the light of simplicity and the brightness of humility, before them that desire to see God. This word is *Austins* style: as ch. 3. of the 2. book of baptism against the *Donatists*, *sine ullo typho sacrilega superbia*, without any swelling of sacrilegious pride. Which shews that this excellent Epistle of the Council was made by *Austin*.

In the same 52. ch. towards the end, he alledgeth some testimonies according to his ordinary faith. We spake before of an Epistle of Pope *Bonifacius* to *Eulalius*, whereby he saith, that *Aurelius* and his fellows at the Devils instigation did rise against the Roman Church; of which fellows of *Aurelius* St. *Austin* was one. Whence it followeth, that *Austin* dyed out of the communion of the Roman Church. This seems to be contradicted by an Epistle of Pope *Celestinus* alledged (p) by M. du Perron, where *Celestinus* saith, We had alwayes *Austin* in our communion. But there is an Annotation in the margin of that (q) Epistle, which accuseth that Epistle of falshood from the 3. ch. to the 13. and last. Now there is no likelihood that five parts of the Epistle be false, and the sixth true. For my part, I choose rather to acknowledge that Epistle for true, seeing that *Vincentius Lirinensis* and *Prosper* against the Collator have copied passages out of it. And I easily believe that *Celestinus* might speak so. For the Popes not able to oppose themselves to *Austins* authority, have been sometimes constrained to speak of him with honour. And it is possible, that this Epistle was falsified with some additions.

A little after he alledgeth these words of *Fulgentius* in the book of incarnation, 11. ch. The Roman Church is the head of all the world. That traduction is false. *Fulgentius* saith, *Romana (qua mundi cacumen est) tenet & docet Ecclesia*. He calls the Roman Church not the head, but the top and most eminent of all the world. If I say that *Paris* is the capital and the most eminent City of all the Kingdom of *France*, I do not thereby ascribe to it an Empire over *Toulouze* or *Bordeaux*. Thus in the 142. pag. he translateth *summam Ecclesiam* the Sovereign Church, instead of the most honourable and eminent.

It is usual with this Cardinal, to wrest the places of Fathers to his advantage by a false interpretation (r) As in the 26. ch. he corrupts *Opatius*, whom he makes to say, (s) by whom [Pope *Syricius*] all the world hath communion with us, as if the union of Christians was only by the Popes means; but there is in *Opatius cum quo*, not

(o) Executores clericos vestros quibusque potentibus nolite mittere; nolite concedere, ne *sumosum typhum* seculi in Ecclesiam Christi que lucem simplicitatis & humilitatis diem Deum videre cupientibus praestet, videamur inducere.

(p) Ch. 52. p. 480.

(q) That Epistle is found in the 1. Tom. of the Councils.

(r) Pag. 145.

(s) *Syricius* hodie qui non est socius: cum quo nobis totus orbis commercio formatarum in una communionis societate Epistolarum concordat.

not *per quem*. Wherefore also in the same place he calls *Syricius his fellow*; *Syricius* (saith he) *who is our fellow*.

Thus in the 34. ch. he translates these words *τιμωσον εἰς σους ψήφους τὴν κρίσιν*. *Page 247.*
We beseech thee to honour our decree with thy judgement: But *ψήφους* signifieth not judgement, but only *suffrage* or *vote*. He will perswade that the Council of *Chalcedon* submit their decrees to the Popes judgement. In the 25. ch. pag. 117. he alledgeth an Epistle which *Chrysostom* writeth generally to Bishops, and will perswade us that it is written to Pope *Innocent*. In that Epistle *Chrysostom* saith to them *ἐπιστάται δεκλινῆτε, be ye intreated to write letters*. But the Cardinal to draw this to the Popes advantage, translateth, *Be pleased to send word, or to command*, as if *Chrysostom* desired the Pope to send his *Mandates* or *Commandements*. For although *ἐπιστάται* signifie sometimes, but very seldom, *I command*, yet it cannot be so translated here; because these Bishops to whom *Chrysostom* writeth, had not the power to command. All his book swarms with such faults.

Towards the end of the Chapter he addeth the words of *Eugenius* Bishop of *Carthage* to *Cubadus* Lieutenant to *Humerick* King of *Africa*, which saith that *the Roman Church is the head of all the Churches*. I answer, that these words import no superiority nor power over the other Churches. So we say that *Virgil* is the head and Prince of Latin Poets, and that *London* is the head and capital City of *England*, that is, the most noble and illustrious.

Note also that *Eugenius* speaks of none but of the Churches of the Roman Empire, and that this preeminence of the Church of *Rome* over the other Churches of the Roman Empire, was by reason of the towns dignity, it being decreed by many Councils, that Bishops should keep their ranks according to the civil order of the dignity of their towns; and that this is related by *Victor* of *Utica*, as happened the seventh year of *Humerick*, which falls upon the year of the Lord 484. thirty three years after the fourth Council, which *M. du Perron* had set for his limits, having undertaken to prove his cause by the antient Church in the time of the first four Universal Councils.

CHAP. 7.

Notes upon the forty eighth and forty ninth Chapters of the first Book of Cardinal du Perron. His Ignorance in Greek.

THE forty eighth Chapter of *M. du Perron* treats of the order and distinction of the Councils of *Carthage*. All that Chapter is employed to dispute against Cardinal *Baronius*, and to shew that *Baronius* misreckoned himself in the supputation of times, and in the distinction and order of the Councils of *Carthage*, and to muster up his exact knowledge in Ecclesiastical History: which he doth with such a tedious diligence, that I have much ado to perswade my self, that any Reader can obtain of his Patience to read that Chapter to the end. As for our part, it is nothing to us which of these two Cardinals ought to be believed; for that Dispute concerns not our Controversies.

The same I say of the XLIX. Chapter, where he contends with the Grecians, and with some Authors of the Roman Church, which hold that the Council of *Africa* is a Council by it self; as also in the Tomes of the Councils, that Council is put in its order, having a hundred Canons in the Latin Tomes, and a hundred thirty five in the collection made by the Grecians. But the Cardinal maintaineth that it is a *Rapsody* compiled out of many Councils by some African Canonist, and perhaps he is in the right for that. But that is nothing to our controversy. Wherefore we leave those two Chapters unanswered, and let him alone disputing with men of his own Church.

Only we will observe that in that *African* Council the sixth Canon is such;

XX

(a) *Let*

(a) Ut prima
sedis Episcopus non appel-
letur Princeps
sacerdotum
aut summus
sacerdos, aut
aliquid ejus-
modi, sed tan-
tum prima
sedis Episcopus.

(b) Pag. 418.
 Ἰνα ἐν τοῖς
 ἀγίοις καὶ ἐν
 πλείοσι σω-
 ματις καὶ
 αἵματι τοῦ
 κυρίου θρο-
 νισθῇ. 5 καὶ
 καὶ ἐν σω-
 ματι παρὲς
 τοῦ, τοῦ ἐστ
 ὅτι καὶ οὕτως
 ὁ ἄνθρωπος μα-
 κρῶς.

(a) *Let not the Bishop of the first See be called Prince of Bishops, or Sovereign Bishop, or some such name, but only the Bishop of the first See; Which order, purposely made to keep in modesty the Primates of Africa which took proud titles, yet reflects upon the Bishop of Rome, whose ambition these Fathers laboured to restrain.*

The same Council in the 4. Canon decreeth that in the *Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, nothing be offered but bread and wine mingled with water.* Which Canon is set down in more exprets terms, in the (b) 37. Canon of the Code of the *African Church* in these words; *That nothing be offered in the Sacraments but the body and blood of the Lord, as the Lord himself hath delivered unto us, that is, bread and wine mingled with water.* Where these Fathers declare that by these words, *the body and the blood of the Lord in the Eucharist, bread and wine* must be understood. And the same Canon repeated in the same words in the Council of *Trull*, Can. 32. But in the Latin copies these last words, *That is bread and wine,* have been maliciously pared away, because they overthrow transubstantiation.

I will also observe by the way, that the Cardinal in the same 49. ch. translates *σπουδῶς studios*, taking *σπουδῶς* for *σπουδαῖο*. For *σπουδῶς* signifies not *studiosus*, but *expertus* & *quod studiose appetitur*; whence comes *μετ᾽σπουδῶς* and *ἀξιόσπουδῶς* desired by every one, and worthy to be desired.

С H A P. 8.

Of st. Austin Bishop of Bona in Africa. Whither he did acknowledge the Bishop of Rome Head of the Universal Church. And what was in his time the order and dignity of Patriarks, and Apostolick Sees.

IN that time *St. Austin* lived, a man of holy life, and of great learning. In whose writings a great humility and meekness is shining; who in his Controversie with *Hierom* sheweth as much charity and patience, as *Hierom* doth choler and impatience, although *Austin* had the right on his side. Whosoever hath carefully perused this Author, will acknowledge that he was not subject to the Bishop of *Rome*; and that in those days the Pope had no rule over the Church of *Africa*, nor over the Universal Church.

This is that St. *Aufin*, who being in the Milevitan Council, made the Canon wherein the transmarine Appeals, that is, to the Bishop of *Rome*, are forbidden upon pain of excommunication; These are the words, *Whosoever shall appeal beyond the Sea, let him not be received by any in Africa to the Communion.*

This is that same *Austin*, who hath assisted in all or most Councils of *Africa* held under *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*. In the sixth of which the prohibition of the Appeals to *Rome* was reiterated, and the Bishops of *Africa* writ Letters to *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*, warning him that thereafter he should not receive the Appeals of Priests, Bishops and other Clerks of *Africa*; and that he should send no more Legats, nor executing Commissioners into *Africa*, and that he should not bring the pride of the world into the Church: And that the Canons which he produced by his Legats as Canons of *Nice*, that by vertue of them he might draw to himself the Appeals of *Africa*, were false and supposititious. It is true, that the name of *Austin* is not among the subscriptions to that Epistle; but that hinders not but that he was present at that Council; for seldom would all the Bishops put all their names to the Epistles of a Council. And though he had been absent from that sixth Council, yet the Council was purposely assembled to confirm the Canon of the Milevican Council made by *Austin* about those Appeals. And seeing this sixth Council represented all the *African* Churches, it is without all doubt that *Austin* was subject to the orders made in the same, and did approve them.

This is that *Austrian*, who by the judgement of Pope *Bonifacius* the II. dyed out of

See these
Letters in
the 6. ch. of
this present
book.

of the communion of the Roman Church, for rising against the Church of Rome by the Devils instigation: For these are the words of *Bonifacius* in the forealledged Epistle; *Aurelius with his fellows began in the time of our predecessors Bonifacius and Celestinus, to grow proud against the Church of Rome by the Devils instigation.* Now *Austin* was one of the fellows of *Aurelius*, and he that made the Canon against the Appeals to Rome. That which made that Epistle of *Bonifacius* dubious, is, that in the title *Eulalius* is called Bishop of *Alexandria*, whereas he was Bishop of *Theſſalonica*, as we shewed before. It is true, that between *Austins* time and this *Bonifacius*, many godly men lived in *Africa*, who suffered Martyrdom, and spake honourably of the Church of Rome: For the Bishops of Rome that lived in that interval, bore with patience the censure of the *Africans*, and did not take it so hainously as this *Bonifacius*. Howsoever, we had that Epistle from our adversaries, who have inferred it in the Decretal Epistles of the Popes. And it is alledged in the Roman Decree, in the 89. Distinction (a).

It is the same *Austin*, who in the first book against *Julian*, ch. 2. saith that *Julian* being condemned by (b) *Innocent* Bishop of Rome, appealed to the Oriental Churches. Then or never the Bishop of Rome should have condemned *Julian* for appealing from the Sovereign Head of the Universal Church to inferiour judges subject to the Roman Pope. But *Austin* saith no such thing, but saith only that in vain he had appeal'd to the Oriental Churches, seeing that they agreed with the Occidental, and held the same faith.

It is the same *Austin* who in so many places, as in the 162. and 166. Epistles, in the book of the unity of the Church, ch. 16. and in the first book against *Julian*, ch. 2. relates how the Donatists condemned by *Melchiades* Bishop of Rome, and by his associates, had their recourse to the Emperor *Constantin*, who would have the cause to be revised by other Judges; and commanded that a Synod should meet at *Arles*, where the judgement of *Melchiades* was examined: who complained not that the dignity of his See was wronged by subjecting his judgement to the judgement of a particular Council, convoked by another then himself. That action of *Constantin* is very sharply condemned by Cardinal *du Perron*, so far as to say that it was done against all order, and to tax the Emperors Decree of irregularity and nullity; whereas *Austin* relates that action of *Constantin* with praise and approbation. For in that 162. Epistle, he saith, that (c) the business belonged chiefly to the Emperors care, of which he was to give an account unto God. And that if it be not a crime to appeal to the Emperor, it was not a crime to be heard by the Emperor.

It is the same *Austin*, who in the Epistle 162. saith that *Cecilianus* and the Donatists after the judgement of the Africans, (d) might reserve the whole judgement of their cause to the Apostolical Churches: And (e) that there were yet thousands of transmarine Bishops where they might be judged. The same he saith in the book of the unity of the Church, ch. 2. He believed then that *Cecilianus* and the Donatists might appeal to others then the Bishop of Rome.

It is the same *Austin*, who in the 118. Epistle to *Januarinus*, teacheth that in his time (f) the Church of Rome fasted upon Saturday; but that the Church of *Milan* did not fast on that day; a certain proof that the Church of *Milan* was not subject unto the Roman. In which custom the Church of *Milan* followed the judgement of St. *Ignatius*, who in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, saith that whoso fasteth on the Lords day, or upon Saturday, one only excepted, is a murderer of Jesus Christ. And in the (g) 64. Canon of the Apostles, which expressly forbideth to fast upon those two days: And the Greek Churches that since that time assembled in the Palace of *Trull* at *Constantinople*, in Council, condemned the Roman Church by name for fasting upon Saturday, as *Cassianus* witnesseth; who in

(a) Dist. 89.
Can. Ad
hoc.

(b) Non est
ergo cui pro-
voces ad Ori-
entis Anti-
stites, cum &
ipsi utique
Christiani
sint, & utri-
usque partis
terrarum fides
una sit.

(c) Ac non
Imperator ita
queri iusse-
rit, ad cuius
curam, de qua
rationem Deo
redditurus
esset, res illa
maxima per-
tinebat? &c.
Si autem cri-
minis non est
provocare ad
Imperatorem,
non est crimi-
nis audiri ab
Imperatore.

(d) Restabat
utique ut E-
piscopi trans-
marini, que
pars maxima
diffundebatur
Ecclesie Ca-
tholice, de A-
fricanorum
collegiarum
dissenſionibus
judicarent.

(e) Millia quippe collegiarum transmarina restabant, ubi apparebat eos judicari posse qui videbantur Africanos vel Numidas habere suspectos. And a little before, De collegis agebatur, qui possent aliorum collegiarum iudicio, præsertim Apostolicarum Ecclesiarum, causam suam integram reservare. (f) Cum Romam venio, jejuno sabbatho; cum hic sum, non jejuno. (g) Εἰ τις κλημένος εὐρεθῇ τῶν κυριακῶν ἡμερῶν ἢ τῶν σαββάτων, πάλιν ὅτι ἰσὺς μένος, καὶ θεορεΐδω. εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς αὐτοῖς ᾄδω.

(h) Sabbatho.
esse jejunan-
dum ratio e-
videntissima
demonstrat. Et
ibidem, De-
mentis est vi-
dui agere
consuetudi-
nem Sabbatho
prætermisso.

the 10. ch. of the 3. book, blameth the Roman Church for fasting upon Saturday. The same *Cassian* in the 10. Collation, ch. 2. saith that the Egyptians and Lybians celebrated the *Theophania*, or Christs birth upon the sixth of *January*. An evident proof that the Church of *Egypt* was not subject unto the Roman. And that one may not say that the Roman Church suffered that diversity of observations about fasting as a thing indifferent, *Innocent* the I. who lived in *Austins* time, in his Epistle to *Decennius*, ch. 4. doth expressly enjoin fasting upon Saturday; (h) saith it is madness to have another opinion. But the Church of *Milan* did not change her custom for that, and would not submit to the constitution of the Roman Bishops. See *Socrates* in the 5. book of his History, ch. 21. and *Zozomenus* book 7. ch. 19. about the several customs then observed in the Churches of the Roman Empire.

Whosoever hath read *Austins* life written by *Possidonius*, and who so is acquainted with *Austins* writings, knows that this holy man did not come to Episcopacy by the means without which none in these times can be made a Bishop in the Roman Church; For he was not promoted to that degree by the approbation of the Bishop of *Rome*; He took no Letters of investiture from the Pope; He paid no Annates for his reception; He took no Oath of Allegiance to the Pope in his Ordination, as all Bishops of this age do in the Roman Church, who in their reception take that abominable Oath which is inserted in the Roman Pontifical, whereby they promise not to preach the word of God faithfully according to the holy Scriptures, and speak neither good nor evil of God; but swear only to be faithful and obedient to the Pope, to maintain his rights, and defend his authority with all their power; and to dispose of no Ecclesiastical goods without his leave. That tyranny was not known in *Austins* time, as also none spake in his days of kissing the Popes feet, or of bestowing adoration upon him, or of going to *Rome* to gain pardons, or of reserved cases to the Papal See, or of the Popes authority to depose Kings, and draw souls out of Purgatory, or of the Popes priviledge to be unerring in the faith, or of the triple Crown of his Holiness. Neither did *Austin* ever beg of the Pope any Bulls of indulgence for his Town of *Hippona*, that he might thereby draw the peoples contributions. He was not afraid of a lapse to be thundered out from *Rome* upon his livings; and after his death he was not Canonized by the Colledge of the Roman Cardinals; for then the world had not heard either of Cardinals or of Canonization.

Indeed *Austin* according to his wonted meekness and humility, speaks of the Bishop of *Rome* with respect. For both the Church and the Bishop of *Rome* (though he styled himself Bishop of *Rome* onely, not the Head of the Universal Church) were very much respected by reason of the dignity of the City, which was the Capital of that great Empire, and the most eminent and flourishing of the world, to which therefore there was a resort from all parts. Besides it was the common belief that *St. Peter* had founded the Church of *Rome*, and that the Bishop of *Rome* was his successour, though not in the Apostleship, yet in the Episcopacy over that City. In the same manner the Patriarch of *Antioch* and that of *Alexandria* said themselves to be successours to the same Apostle; and the Patriarch of *Jerusalem* called himself successour of *St. James*. Wherefore all these Churches were called Apostolical Churches, & the Sees of the Bishops of those Churches, Apostolick Sees. Among which the Bishop of *Rome* was the first in order, by reason of the dignity of the City, yet without any power of jurisdiction over his fellows. All that only within the precincts of the Roman Empire; For the Churches without that verge did not acknowledge those Patriarks at all, and sent no Deputies to the Councils within the Empire of *Rome*; and had no communication with the Bishop of *Rome*, so far were they from being subject unto him.

Now that order among the Patriarks was established by an Ordinance from the Emperors, and by the constitution of Councils, but was not held to be of Divine right, or grounded in the word of God. Wherefore also the order was sometimes altered; and the Patriark of *Constantinople*, who was the last, was made the second by the Council of *Chalcedon*, and by the Imperial Laws, without the consent of the

the Bishop of *Rome*: And sometimes those Imperial Laws would prefer the Bishop of *Constantinople* before that of *Rome*, as we shall see hereafter.

That the precedence of the Bishop of *Rome* was without power of jurisdiction over the other Patriarchs, besides the experience and so many examples which we have brought, and will bring again, we have a Law of *Justinian*, in the 31. *Novell.* ch. 2. which speaks thus, *We decree according to the definitions of the four Councils, that the most holy Pope of the old Rome be the first of Bishops; and that the most high Archbishop of Constantinople, which is the new Rome, have the second place: But mark the title of that Law, De ordine sedendi Patriarcharum, Of the order of sitting of Patriarchs.* Precedence and power of jurisdiction are several things: The one is *cesarea*, the other *cesaria*. Thus Christian Kings have or ought to have some order, how they must go or sit when they or their Embassadors meet, although none of them have power over the others.

Still the Emperors reserved to themselves the power of convocating Councils; and would not suffer any to be chosen Patriarch without their leave and consent; and set limits unto Patriarchs, and defined what Provinces must belong to every Patriarchat. Thus in *Austins* time, in the year of our Lord 421. *Theodosius* the second made a Law, whereby he decreed that *Illyricum* which is now *Slavonia*, should belong to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, notwithstanding the pretences of the Bishop of *Rome*. (i) *All innovation ceasing, we command that the antiquity and the ancient Ecclesiastical Canons which hitherto have been observed, be observed over all the Provinces of Illyricum. And if some difference arise, it shall not be reserved to the sacred judgement of the sacerdotal Assembly, without the knowledge of the most Reverend Prelat of the Church of Constantinople, which enjoyeth the same prerogative as the ancient Rome.* That Emperor conformably to the constitution of the Council of *Chalcedon*, (of which anon) would have the Bishop of *Constantinople* to be equal in all things to the Bishop of *Rome*. But of those Imperial Laws, and how the Emperors have sometimes raised the Bishop of *Rome* above that of *Constantinople*, sometimes that of *Constantinople* above that of *Rome*, we shall speak hereafter.

(i) *Lege 6. Cod. de Sacros. Ecclesiis. Et Lege 45. de Epif. & Clericis Cod. Theodos. Omnis innovatione cessante, vetustate, &c.*

CHAP. 9.

Of the Epistles of the Bishops of Africa (of whom St. Austin was one) to Innocent the first Bishop of Rome. And that our Cardinal labours without ground to draw them to his advantage.

ALL that was said before, is not contradicted by the Epistles of the *African* Bishops of *St. Austins* time to *Innocent* the first Bishop of *Rome*, which the Cardinal mustereth up so often, making a great flourish with them, alledging the same testimonies above fifty times. For either he hoped not that the Reader would read his whole book, or he believed that they wanted memory. But these Epistles are rather against then for the Popes primacy.

Among *Austins* Epistles, the 90. is an Epistle of the Bishops of the Province of *Carthage* to *Innocent*: Whereby they represent to him, what they have done against the Hereticks, *Pelagius* and *Celestius*: And fearing lest that the Bishop of *Rome* should support them, and receive them to his communion (a) (as it happened soon after) they desire him to joyn with them, and approving what they had done to help them with his authority. The humblest words which they use, and of which our Adversaries labour to take advantage, are these, (b) *Sir and holy brother, We thought fit to make known to your charity that which was done, that to the ordinances made by our mediocrity the authority of the Apostolick See may be joyned.*

(a) *Zozimus Innocentis successor, maintained for a time Pelagius and Celestius. His Epistles to*

that subject are to be seen in *Baronius*. Anno 417. (b) *Hoc itaque gestum, Domine frater sancte, charitati tue intimandum duximus, ut statutis nostrae mediocritatis etiam Apostolica sedis adhibeatur auctoritas.*

This

This place saith nothing that can serve the Cardinals turn. These Fathers, indeed, speak of the authority of the Bishop of Rome. But whosoever hath some authority, is not therefore Head of the Universal Church. In that time the authority of *Austin* was great, yea greater then that of *Innocent*; yet he did not for that challenge any superiority over his brethren and colleagues. As for the title of Apostolick See, it was common to many other Bishops. Thus *Sozom.* book 1. cap. 16.

(c) Ἐκκλησίαν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ
ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰερουσαλὴμ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀντιοχείᾳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κωνσταντινουπόλει
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἐφέσῳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Σμύρῳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Τροίᾳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἐπίδωρῳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀρκαδίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κιλικίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Βιθυνίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀφρικανίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀσιανίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Γαλιλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Συρίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀρμενίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰβηρίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰταλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Γαλλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀγγλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰρλανδίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Σκωτίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀφρικανίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀσιανίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Γαλιλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Συρίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀρμενίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰβηρίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰταλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Γαλλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀγγλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰρλανδίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Σκωτίας

(d) Apud
Alexandriam
Timotheus, in
Hierosolymis
Iohannes,
Apostolicas
reperant
sedes.

(e) Κύριε
Ἐπιτολὴ
Ἀποστολικῆς
ἐκκλησίας
ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἰερουσαλὴμ

(f) Τῆς
ἐκκλησίας
ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἰερουσαλὴμ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἀντιοχείᾳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Κωνσταντινουπόλει
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἐφέσῳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Σμύρῳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Τροίᾳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἐπίδωρῳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
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καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Κιλικίας
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Γαλλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἀγγλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἰρλανδίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Σκωτίας

(g) Σὺ δὲ ὁ
ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἰερουσαλὴμ
ἐκκλησίας
ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἀντιοχείᾳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Κωνσταντινουπόλει
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἐφέσῳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Σμύρῳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Τροίᾳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἐπίδωρῳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἀρκαδίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Κιλικίας
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καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἀρμενίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἰβηρίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἰταλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Γαλλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἀγγλίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Ἰρλανδίας
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Σκωτίας

(h) Hieron.
Epist. ad
Evagrium.
Omnes sunt
successores
Apostolorum.

(i) Sic omnes
primi, omnes
Apostolice
dam nam
omnium pro-
bant unitatem
communicatio
pacis, & ap-
pellatio fra-
ternitatis, &
conferentia
hospitalitatis,
quæ iura non
alia ratio re-
git quam ejusdem Sacramenti una traditio.

(k) Salve rex gloriose; sedes enim Apostolica eminentia tua salutem mittit
uberrimam. (l) Præter officium quod incomparabiliter eminenti tuo Apostolatu sine fine debetur. (m) In Apostolica
sede novem cum decursa quinquennia. (n) Ad Apostolatus tui plenioris notitiam accedo. (o) Si ergo Pelagius Epis-
copalibus gestis quæ in Oriente confecta dicuntur etiam tuæ venerationi iuste visus fuerit absolutus, error tamen ipse, &
impietas quæ tam multos habet assertores per diversa dispersos, etiam autoritate Apostolicæ sedis anathematizanda est.
(p) Audivimus esse in urbe Romæ ubi ille diu vixit, nonnullos qui diversis causis ei faverant, quidam scilicet, quia vos
alia persuasisse perhibent. (q) This clause is put out in the Edition of Nouvelle at Paris 1571.

(c) In that Council [of Nice] among the Bishops that held the Apostolick Sees, Macarius Bishop of Jerusalem, Eustathius Bishop of Antioch upon the river Orontes, and Alexander near Mæotides paludes, did meet. *Ruffinus* book 2. ch. 21. (d) In Alexandria Timothy, in Jerusalem John, repair the Apostolick Sees. (e) *Cyrillus* also is called Prelat of the Apostolick See, that is of Jerusalem, in the 4. book, ch. 24. of *Sozomenus*. *Theodoret* in the 5. book, ch. 9. calls the Church of Antioch (f) the most ancient and wholly Apostolical Church. And *Basil* in the 55. Epistle, saith that (g) *Ambrose* Bishop of Milan was called to the Apostolical precedence. And *Austin* himself in the 162. Epistle, speaks of the Apostolick Sees in the plural, saying that *Cecilian* might reserve his cause to the judgement of Apostolick Sees, *Hierom* goes further, saying that (h) all Bishops wheresoever they be, are successors of the Apostles. And *Terrullian* in his book of Prescriptions, ch. 20. (i) saith that all Churches pure in doctrine, and joyned together by the bond of peace and of the same doctrine, are all first Apostolical. And ch. 21. he calls all the Churches founded by the Apostles immediately originales & matrices.

Wherefore *Gregorius Turonensis* in the 4. book of his History, ch. 26. makes no difficulty to call the See of the Bishop of Tours the Apostolick See: For there the Legats sent from Tours to King *Heribert* speak thus, (k) God save the glorious King; the Apostolick See sends most ample greeting to thine excellency. And *Sidonius Apollinaris* in the 4. Epistle to the 6. book, writes thus to *Lupus* Bishop of Troyes, whom he calls Sir Pope, (l) Besides the duty which is perpetually due unto thine Apostleship, which is incomparably eminent. And in the 1. Epistle he saith, *Lupus* (m) had past already nine times five years in the Apostolick See, that is, he had been Bishop 45. years. The same title he giveth to the Bishop of *Vaison* (n) in the 6. book Epist. 7. and in the 7. book Epist. 4.

To return to the Epistle of the African Bishops, one cannot see that the Bishops of the Province of Carthage by that address to *Innocent* subject their judgement unto his, or that they suspend their judgement till *Innocent* hath pronounced his, or that they acknowledge him Head of the universal Church.

That which moved them to write to *Innocent*, was, their fear that *Innocent* should undertake the defence of *Pelagius* and *Celestius* against them; and their fear was justified by the event, his successor *Zozimus* having for a time laboured to excuse *Celestius* who was fled to him. The words of the Epistle shew their fear; for they speak as having understood that *Innocent* held *Pelagius* to have been justly absolved by the Synod of Palestine. (o) If then (say they) your reverence esteemeth that *Pelagius* was justly absolved by the Episcopal acts, which are said to have been made in the East; yet the erroneous doctrine and the impiety which hath so many assertors scattered in many places, ought to be anathematized by the authority of the Apostolick See. As if they said, If thou wilt favour the person of *Pelagius*, at the least thou must condemn the heresie which is put to his charge. And in the 95. Epistle *Austin* and his colleagues say, that some that favoured *Pelagius*, affirmed that they did it by the perswasion of *Innocent*.

To that Epistle the answer of *Innocent* is added, which hath this clause put in the title in many editions; *Innocent the Roman Pope answereth this Epistle.* (q) In

this Epistle we find wanting the style, the spirit and the learning convenient to so great a Prelat. And that Epistle is justly thus branded on the forehead, for the style of it, ridiculous, barbarous, and vainly puffed up.

In that Epistle *Innocent* speaks like a Master, and receiveth the honour which the African Bishops had done him, to impart unto him what they had done against *Pelagius*, as a submission of subjects and inferiour Judges, submitting their judgement to the authority of the Roman See, to which (if he may be believed) the knowledge of all things belonged. Which power nevertheless he groundeth not upon the Word of God, but upon (r) the institution of the Fathers. Already the Bishops of *Rome* as well as those of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, wanted no pride, and would spread their Feathers like Peacocks, aspiring to raise themselves, although their power was very little out of their Patriarchate: And I wonder how *M. du Perron* made no conscience to fill his book with a thousand of the like allegations, taken from the Epistles and Decretals of Popes, where they ascribe to themselves far more power than they had really.

The next Epistle, which is the 92. among St. *Austins* Epistles, is an Epistle of the Milevitan Council in *Numidia* to *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*: Where there is not one word founding the language of subjects to their Superiour. And whereas that Milevitan Council is the same that makes that excellent Canon, whereby it is prohibited upon pain of excommunication to appeal from *Africa* to *Rome*, yet these Fathers make no mention of that, writing to the Bishop of *Rome*. They make no excuse about it, as not bound to give him account of that or any of their actions: But fearing that he should favour *Pelagius*, whom they had condemned, they desire him to joyn with them, and to assist them with his authority. In that Epistle is found that text which our Cardinal inculcates and repeats so often:

(f) *We believe with the mercy of the Lord, who is pleased to govern you when you consult him, and to hear you when you pray to him; that they that hold such perverse and pernicious tenets, will more easily yield to the authority of your Holiness drawn out of the holy Scriptures.* But in that there is nothing that can serve to establish the Popes primacy over the Church of the whole World; and there is nothing there but may be said to any faithful Pastour. For the authority of the least Pastours it founded in the Scriptures. Observe that the word *deprompta*, drawn, which this Epistle chuseth rather to use than *fundata*, grounded, sheweth the meaning of these Fathers to be, that if *Innocent* will take the pains to write against the Pelagians, they shall more easily yield to the authority of the texts, which he shall draw out of the holy Scriptures.

To these Letters *Innocent* answereth in an arrogant and barbarous way: Wherefore also that Epistle is stigmatized in the forehead like the other. For there is in the title, *Ejusdem genii epistola est*, This Epistle is endited by the same Spirit as the former. There he commendeth the Fathers of the Milevitan Council for submitting themselves unto him, for acknowledging his authority, and for coming to draw an Answer from the Apostolical spring. And truly the Fathers of the Milevitan Council foresaw that he would make a wrong use of the honour which they deferred unto him, knowing the presumptuous humor of that Prelat; for in their Letters these words are found, (t) *It would serve rather to make us guilty of negligence, if we were silent to your reverence of those things which ought to be represented to you for the good of the Church by representing them to you to make you receive them disdainfully or negligently.* For by making a shew that they fear not that he receive their Letters with pride, they make him a tacit Remonstrance and exhortation to humility. And in the end of their Letters they say that by writing to him, they would follow the example of the Bishops of the Province of *Carthage*, intimating that they had writ to him what had been done in their Council, not by duty or obligation, but to imitate the example of their neighbours. But *Innocent* followed rather his humor than their exhortations. And that in the same Epistle it might appear that the Bishop of *Rome* can erre in the Doctrine, *Innocent* hath, by the way, put in a false doctrine; teaching that the Eucharist [or Lords Supper] is necessary unto little children, that they may be sayed: And there is in the

(r) *Patrum instituta.*

(f) *Sed arbitramur, adjuvante misericordia Domini quicquid & regere consulentes & orantes exaudire dignatur, auctoritatis sanctitatis tue de sanctarum Scripturarum autoritate deprompta facilius eos qui tam perversa sentiunt, esse cessuros.*

(t) *ut nobis potius ad culpam negligentiam valeat, si apud tuam venerationem que pro Ecclesia suggerenda sunt tacerimus, quam ea tu possis vel fassidiose vel negligenter accipere.*

margin,

(u) Synod.
Trid. Sess.
Can. 5.

Si quis dixerit, varialis anequam ad annos discretionis pervenerint, necessariam esse Eucharistiæ communionem, anathema sit.

(x) Audivimus enim esse in urbe Romæ ubi ille diu vixit, nonnullas qui diversis causis ei faverant, quidam scilicet quia vos talia persuasisse perhibent:

Plures vero qui cum talia credere non sentiant.

(y) Innocentius superiori respondit suo more, sacras potius quam eruditus, & ad damnandum quam docendum instructior.

margin, *Etiam Romana Ecclesia credidit Eucharistiæ pueris necessariam*, The Roman Church also believed that the Eucharist is necessary to children. *Austin* also beareth him this testimony, in the first book against *Julian*, ch. 2. *Innocent* (saith he) hath defined that little children, unless they eat the flesh of the Son of man, cannot have life. The successors of *Innocent* would not follow his doctrine; (u) And the Council of *Trent* doth condemn and anathematize it by an express Canon, in the 21. Session. Thus the Roman Church hath anathematized that Pope, above eleven hundred years after his death.

There is yet one Epistle of five Bishops of *Africa*, *Austin* being one of them, to the same *Innocent*, upon the same subject, that is, about the heresie of the Pelagians: It is the 95. Epistle among those of *Austin*. That Epistle is an excellent one, and filled with good doctrine, and relisheth *Austin's* style altogether. In that letter there is not one word of submission, nor any mention of the Popes authority. But these Fathers endeavour onely to represent unto *Innocent* the true doctrine concerning free will, and concerning grace, and nature: declaring the cause why they write to him about it, even because they had heard that at *Rome* many favoured *Pelagius*, being perswaded to it by *Innocent*. We have heard (say they) that in the City of *Rome*, where he lived long, some favour him for diverse causes, some give for their reason that you have perswaded them so; but most believe not that *Pelagius* holds such tenets. The truth is that they that taxed *Innocent* of favouring *Pelagius*, did calumniate him; Yet that report being come to *Austins* ears and to his colleagues, moved them to write these Letters to *Innocent*: That was the true reason, not to give him an account of their actions. For excepting only the case of *Pelagius*, we do not find that the Bishops of *Africa* ever writ to the Bishop of *Rome* about the controversies in the doctrine agitated in *Africa*, but only to contradict him, as *Cyprian* did, and the VI. Council of *Carthage*.

To these last Letters *Innocent* answers by an Epistle, which is the 96. among those of *Austin*, in which he speaks more kindly, and sets his pride a pin lower: There he saith, that he never received any Letter from the Council of *Palestina*, where *Pelagius* had purged himself; and that he had no communication about that. Yet because that Epistle is rude and dry, and very far below the worth of the Epistle of the African Bishops; either *Austin* or some other that first published *Austins* works, have set this title in scorn over that Epistle of *Innocent*, (y) *Innocent* answereth the precedent Epistle after his manner, being more violent and peremptory then learned, and more ready to condemn then to teach.

CHAP. IO.

A place examined of Austins, 162. Epistle.

(a) Cum se videret & Romane Ecclesie, in qua semper Apostolica Ecclesia viguit principatus, & ceteris terris unde Evangelium ad ipsam Africam venit, per communicatorias litteras esse conjunctum.

BESIDES these Epistles about which the Cardinal keeps such a coil, there is a place in the 162. Epistle of *Austin*, which the Cardinal repeats without end, and thinks he can never alledge it enough. The text is this, *Carthage had a Bishop of no mean authority, who might very well not care for the conspiring multitude of enemies, (a) seeing that he saw himself conjoynd by Letters of communication with the Roman Church, in which the principality of the Apostolick See hath always been in vigour; and with the other Countries whence the Gospel came into Africa.* The words of this place which seem to favour the Bishop of *Rome*, are, that in the Roman Church, the principality of the Apostolical Chair hath always been in vigour. But we have shewed already in the precedent ch. that many other Churches had the same principality, and were called *Apostolical*, and their Chairs *Apostolick* sees. As for the title of *Principality*, it was a degree which all the Patriarchal Chairs did challenge, pretending to have the Superintendency over all the Churches. We shall see in the following Chapter, that *Theoderet* giveth to *Nestorius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*

Constantinople the title of Governour of the Churches of all the world. Wherefore also the Patriarch of Constantinople took a little after Nestorius, the title of Oecumenical Patriarch, that is, the Prince of the Fathers of all the habitable earth; although his authority did not extend beyond the Roman Empire. Gregory Nazianzen speaks thus of Athanasius Patriarch of Alexandria, in the Oration made of his praises, *The Government of the people of Alexandria, which is as much as if one said, The Government of all the World, is given him in charge.* And in the same place, (b) Athanasius giveth Laws again to the habitable earth. Basil in the 50. Epistle, saith, that Meletius Patriarch of Antioch (c) did preside over the whole body of the Church. Thus in the works of Athanasius there is an Epistle of Arsenius, where he speaks thus to him, (d) *We embrace peace and union with the Universal Church over which thou preside.* And we have shewed by many examples, that every Patriarch had an eye over all the Churches of the Roman Empire, and that their care was not limited by the limits of their Patriarchate. No wonder then if to the Roman Patriarch that title of principality is given, since it was common to all the other Patriarchs, which is signified by the word *Patriarch*, which is as much as *Prince of Fathers*, that is of Bishops. Observe that Austin saith not that in the Roman Church the principality over the Apostolick Sees had always been in vigour. That would be exalting the Bishop of Rome above other Patriarchs, and making him their Prince; but only he attributes to the Bishop of Rome this honour, to have the principality of the Apostolick See. As then he that would say that the family of Capers had the pre-eminence of Royalty these six hundred years, should not thereby deny that all that time there was a Monarchy in England, and in Spain where the Kings had the like pre-eminence. Likewise, he that saith that the Bishop of Rome had in St. Austins time the principality and pre-eminence of the Apostolick See, doth not deny that in other places there were Bishops having, within their verge, the same Principality, of which we need not seek far for proofs. For Austin in the same Epistle 162. speaks of the Apostolick Sees in the plural number, to which he saith, that the Bishops of Africa could appeal as well as to the Bishop of Rome. They (e) could (saith he) reserve their whole cause to the judgement of their other colleagues, and chiefly to those of the Apostolical Churches. As it is one thing to have the pre-eminence of a King, another thing to have pre-eminence over Kings; so it is one thing to have the Principality or pre-eminence of Apostolical chair, another thing to have the Principality among, or over, the Apostolical chairs.

We have another place of Austin much like this, in the 2. book of the merit of sins, and of pardon, ch. 13. where he saith that St. Paul, *tanti Apostolatus meruit principatum*, obtained the principality of such an excellent Apostleship. He means not that St. Paul hath obtained to be Prince of the Apostles, but that he hath obtained the principality and dignity of an Apostle.

Truly although those titles were then common to many, and were taken in a more moderate sense, and less advantageous for ambition than in the latter ages: yet it must be confessed that these titles of honour given to a few Prelates in such a great Empire as the Roman, have been steps to raise them by degrees to an excessive power; And that hence the dissensions are come, and the incredible pride whereby the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople did since tear one another for so many Ages, and the Oriental Churches were made to juggle against the Occidental. Had not the Saracens first, and the Turks next, beaten down the greatness of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, and brought them very low, yet to this day we should see them crossing and daring the Popes of Rome, although the Popes have been unmeasurably enriched by the immense liberalities of the Kings of France, who having undergone the Popes yoke (which did insensibly grow from age to age) have brought also their Subjects to the like servitude. Yet to this day these Patriarchs, as low as they are, refuse to submit themselves unto the Pope: And the Patriarch of Constantinople doth now style himself Oecumenical, that is, Universal Patriarch.

Y y

CHAP.

(b) Ἀθανάσιος τοῦ νομοδοῦναι τῇ τῇ αἰκλῇ. (c) Πάντες τοῦ σώματος ἐκκλησίας αὐτὸν πρῆσιν.

(d) Pag. 610. Ἀσπὶς οὐδὲν πῦρ ἐν ἡμῶν περὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡμετέρας ἐν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔστι πρῆσιν.

(e) Qui possent aliorum collegium in judicio praefertim Apostolicarum Ecclesiarum, causam suam integram reservare?

CHAP. II.

Of Nestorius Patriarch of Constantinople. Of the Convocation of the first Council of Ephesus, which was the third Universal: And that the Emperours by their own single Authority convoked the Councils.

IN the year of Christ 428. *Sisinnius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* dyed. *Nestorius* succeeded him, the greatness of whose dignity (a) *Theodoret* sheweth in the 4. book of *Heresies*, saying, *The Government of the Catholick Church of the Orthodox people of Constantinople, yea of the whole habitable earth, was intrusted to Nestorius.* Had the like been said of the Bishop of *Rome*, *M. du Perron* would alledge that testimony a hundred times, and would triumph about it. But *Theodoret* takes the Roman Empire for the whole World, and speaks thus, because every Patriarch had an eye to all the Churches of the Empire of *Rome*.

That *Nestorius* being exalted to honour, began to spread the venom of a dangerous Heresie, dividing the natures of Christ, and making one Christ man, and another Christ God, as if they had been two persons. Then was *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*, who assembled a particular Council in that City, where the Heresie of *Nestorius* was condemned: and writ Letters to *Cyrillus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, whereby he exhorted him to assemble also a Council and there to depose *Nestorius*, unless within ten days after the signification he renounced his Heresie. *Cyrillus* did so, and assembled a Council at *Alexandria*, where he framed twelve Articles of Anathema against *Nestorius*. But for all that, *Nestorius* was not deposed; and notwithstanding the sentence of *Celestinus* and *Cyrillus*, he kept his place, because he was not subject unto them. Such depositions were but declarations that such a Patriarch would not acknowledge such a man for a Bishop: of which we have seen many examples. There was need then that the Emperours authority should intervene to assemble a Council from the whole Roman Empire, to judge definitively of that business.

CHAP. II.

Of the Convocation of the first Council of Ephesus. The Cardinals falsifications.

IN the year of Christ 430. the Emperour *Theodosius* the II. assembled a Council at *Ephesus*, which is the III. Universal. If the Bishop of *Rome* had been Head of the Universal Church, his sentence of deposition against *Nestorius* ought to have been sufficient; Or if there had been a necessity of convoking an Universal Council, it belonged to him to convocate it, and to call to it, not only the Bishops of the Roman Empire, but also those of *Persia*, *Assyria*, and other Churches without the Empire: Yet nothing of that was done. But the Emperor *Theodosius* called that Synod by his meer and sole authority. So saith *Evagrius*, book 1. ch. 3. (a) *The first Council of Ephesus was convoked by the command of the young Theodosius.* And *Nicephorus*, book 14. ch. 34. (b) *Theodosius by his Imperial Patents commanded that the Bishops from all places shoul meet in the Capital City of Ephesus.* (c) *Socrates* saith the same, book 7. ch. 34. And that I may not multiply witnesses for a vulgar thing, the very Council testifieth so much; *bus literis suis in Metropoli Epheso locorum omnium Episcopos convenire jussit.* (c) *Τὸς πανταρχῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐπέταγμα τῷ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσὶν συνίεναι ἐκέλευε.*

for

CHAP. 13.

That none but the Emperor could or ought to convocate an Universal Council; and that the Bishop of Rome did not meddle with that.

BESIDES so many testimonies out of Antiquity, that the Emperours alone with their single and absolute authority convocated the Universal Councils, reason it self sheweth it, and permitteth not that the convocating of a Council should belong to any other.

For since the Universal Councils were composed of Bishops of the Roman Empire only, it appears that a Council limited with the same limits as the Empire, was convocated by the Emperour. For if the Roman Pope in quality of head of the Church of the whole world had convocated the Universal Councils, he would have called to them, as well the Bishops without, as within the Roman Empire. This sheweth evidently that the cause why the Bishops of *Persia, Assyria, Ethiopia, &c.* were not present in those Councils, was, because the Emperour had no right to command them. It was therefore at the Emperours, not the Bishop of *Rome* cost, that the Bishops came. The Emperours furnished them with Horses, Coaches, and all that was called *parangarias praestationes*, and defrayed them during their sitting: He had his *Comites* and Officers that presided in the Assembly, representing the Emperours person. Which is seen by the Acts of this Council of *Ephesus*, in which the *Comes* or Count *Candidianus* did preside: And by the Council of *Seleucia*, as *Socrates* relateth in the second book, chap. 39. And it will appear yet more evidently by the Council of *Chalcedon* when we come to it. Hence it is that the Universal Councils have been greater or smaller, according to the largeness or diminution of the Empire. I measure the greatness of a Council, not by the multitude of Bishops, but by the greatness, and number of the Provinces, that send Deputies to it. But nothing gives more light to this question then the commands which the Emperours made to the Bishops of *Rome* to go or to send Deputies to the Council. Before the VI. Universal Council, the letters patent of the Emperour to *Donus* Bishop of *Rome* are prefixed, which speak thus to him, (a) *We make an absolute command to your fatherly beatitude, to be no hinderance, but to send Legats.* And before the second Council of *Nice*, which is put among the Universal Councils, there is an Epistle of *Tharasius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who saith expressly that (b) *the Vicars of the Roman Pope came to that Council, by the command of the religious Emperours.*

The same appears by the humble requests of the Bishops of *Rome* to the Emperour for the calling of a Council, which supplications very often were rejected. For either it pleased not the Emperours to assemble a Council, or they assembled it not at the time and place which they desired. Thus in the second book of *Theodoret* ch. 16. *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome* beseecheth the Emperour *Constantinus* to assemble a Council: but the Emperour did not so much as give him an answer: *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, as we saw before, (c) sent to the Emperour *Arcadius* five Bishops and two Priests to beseech him that a Council might be called to examine the cause of *John Chrysostom*; but his Legats were sent back with disgrace and ill words, as disturbers of the publick peace. *Leo* the first beseecheth *Theodosius* to assemble a Council in *Italy*, saying (d) *All the Bishops beseech your meekness with sighs and tears, that you command that a general Council be celebrated in Italy.* But *Theodosius* would have the Council to be kept at *Ephesus*. And the same (e) *Leo* makes the like request to *Marcianus* successor of *Theodosius*, supplicating that at least it might please him to put off the Council: but he could obtain nothing of that he desired.

Of all these things the Cardinal saith nothing in chap. 41. of book 1. where he speaks of the convocation of Councils, and smothereth all that with silence.

It

(a) Per omnia jubemus paternam vestram beatitudinem minime esse impedimentum voluntati Dei, sed eos dirigere.

(b) In quam Synodum & nos & sacerdotes, veri Vicarii scilicet Papa & Roma, secundum mandatum piorum Imperatorum conveniunt.

(c) See Nicephorus.

book 3. ch. 31. & 35.

(d) Leo Ep. 23. & 31.

Omnes mansuetudinem vestram cum gemitibus & lachrymis supplicant sacerdotes generalem Synodum intra Italiam jubentis celebrari.

(e) Epist. 19. ad Theodos. Si pietas vestra suggestioni ac supplicationi nostrae dignetur annuere ut intra Italiam haberi jubentis Episcopale Concilium.

It is not to be said how negligently he handleth a thing so important to the Papal Monarchy. He is too wise to alledge *Hierom* speaking thus to *Ruffinus* in his second Apology; (f) Tell me who were the Consuls that year? What Emperor commandeth that such a Council should be assembled? or *Socrates* in the Preface of book 5. Since the Emperours began to be Christians, the businesses of the Church have depended from their will. And the great Councils were convoked, and are convoked still by their command.

(f) Dico qui eo anno Consules fuerint, quis Imperator hanc Synodum iusserit congregari.

CHAP. 14.

Of the Patriarchs that were present in the first Council of Ephesus; and of the strife between *Cyrillus* Patriarch of Alexandria, and *John* Patriarch of Antioch.

TO this Council of *Ephesus*, *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome* came not. For the Bishop of *Rome* would never come to any of the antient Universal Councils: Because he feared that the precedence should be deferred to some Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Alexandria*, or *Antioch*, who also bore it very high, and were not deficient in ambition. Which might have been done very easily, because in those Universal Councils all was done in Greek, which the Bishops of *Rome* understood not. (a) Wherefore the Letters which *Celestinus* writ to that Council of *Ephesus* were Latin, and were read by an Interpreter.

(a) Baronian: 431. Sect. 80.

Then *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome* sent three Legats to that Council, *Arcadius*, and *Projetus* Bishops in *Italy*, and *Philippus* a Roman Priest, to represent his person: There also was *Cyrillus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and *Juvenalis* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and *Memnon* Metropolitan of *Ephesus*. *St. Austin* was called to it by the Emperour, but he was then near his last gasp, being fallen sick while *Bona* his See was besieged by *Gensericus* King of the Vandals.

John Patriarch of *Antioch* came also, but too late, the Synod having proceeded to the condemnation of *Nestorius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*: Which the said *John* interpreted as a contempt of his Patriarchat and Apostolick See, pretending that such a judgement could not have been given without him; and that without him the Council could not sit, nor do a decision that concerned the Universal Church, such as the condemnation of a Patriarch. For that cause the said *John* having assembled the Bishops of East subject unto his Patriarchat, pronounced a sentence of deposition against *Cyrillus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and against *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus*, and degraded them from their charge. *Cyrillus* also in revenge pronounced the like sentence of deposition against *John*. All that without expecting the advice of the Bishop of *Rome*, which in those dayes was not thought necessary. But by the intervention of some persons that loved peace, these two Prelates were reconciled, and as *Socrates* saith (b) having laid down their quarrels, they restored the one to the other their Sees.

(b) Socrat. lib. 7. c. 37. Depositis inimicitia reconciliati sibi invicem sedes restituerunt. (c) Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 7. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ ἰδιῶν ἐκκλῆσιον ὁ αὐτὸς ἔσπευσε.

The example is worth observing; for it sheweth that all the Patriarchs of the Roman Empire challenged the same right and power, as *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* had assumed in the cause of *Athanasius*, namely that Councils could not be assembled, nor Canons made without his advice. The same example teacheth how *Sozomenus* must be understood, when he saith that (c) *Julius* restored to *Athanasius* his See, and to some other Bishops dispossessed from their places by *Constantinus* and by the Oriental Bishops. Also how the same *Sozomenus* must be expounded when he saith, that the Oriental Bishops deposed *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Ofus*, and *Maximus*, from their charges. For neither were *Athanasius* and the other Bishops restored to their places by the decree of *Julius*, (for they were restored long after upon other occasions) Nor was *Julius* dispossessed of his Bishoprick

In chap. 2.
of book 5.
towards the
end of the
chapter.

rick by their censures. But that deposition of *Julius*, as also that which *John* and *Cyrillus* pronounced the one against the other, were but declarations, whereby they declared that they would not acknowledge such a one for a Bishop, and as far as in them was, pronounced him deprived of his right to his Episcopacy. Likewise the restoring of *Athanasius* by *Julius*, was but a declaration that he acknowledged *Athanasius* to be a lawfull Bishop, and worthy to be re-installed. He put him in his charge as much as it was in him, although his judgement was without effect. The same was done by *Maximus* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who having consented to the deposition of *Athanasius*, restored him afterwards, as we saw before.

CHAP. 15.

Of the order of sitting in the first Council of Ephesus. And in what quality Cyrillus did preside in it. How M. du Perron corrupteth this History.

THE Acts of the Council of *Ephesus* shew that the Comes or Count *Candidianus*, Officer of the Emperour *Theodosius*, did preside in it with absolute authority, as representing the Emperours person: and that he commanded the Bishops of the Council to proceed with order, and not to take a matter in hand before they had decided the precedent, and forbad them to treat of any Civil or criminal matter, reserving to himself the knowledge of such cases.

But among the Bishops, *Cyrillus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, a man of great authority, both for his courage and learning, and because of the dignity of his See, had the precedence. He was elected President by the Council, eighteen dayes before the coming of the Legats of *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*. An evident proof that in those dayes they thought not that for the keeping of an Universal Council the presence of the Bishop of *Rome* or his Legats was necessary.

(a) See the
subscriptions
of the Bi-
shops to the
Council, and
Baron. an.
431. Sect. 51.

(a) When the three Legats of the Bishop of *Rome* were come, their place was assigned unto them. *Arcadius* the first Legat sat after *Cyrillus*: after *Arcadius*, was *Juvenalis* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, after *Juvenalis*, *Projectus* second Legat of the Bishop of *Rome*; after him *Theodorus* Bishop of *Ancyra*: and after *Theodorus* *Philippus* the third Legat of *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*. For in that Age, although one was a Legat of the Bishop of *Rome*, he might be placed after many Bishops.

It is a thing out of all controversie, that *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* presided in that Council. This is certified by the Acts and superscriptions of the Council, and by the first Action of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where many things of that Council are repeated. In the preambles of the same, *Flavianus* Patriarch of *Constantinople* saith, that the Council of *Ephesus* was held under *Cyrillus* of holy memory; and *Evagrius* towards the end of the second book; (b) *The Council of Ephesus where Cyrillus Primat of Alexandria (who is among the Saints) presided.*

(b) *ἡ ἐκκλησία
ἐν τῇ ἐκ-
κλησίᾳ τοῦ
κυρίου
ἀλεξάνδρου
ἐν τῇ ἐκ-
κλησίᾳ τοῦ
κυρίου.*

But the dispute is under what name, and in what quality *Cyrillus* had the precedence: whether in his own name, and as a Patriarch of *Alexandria*, or as a Lieutenant of *Celestinus*, and holding his place by his concession, as *Cardinal du Perron* will have it, in chap. 36. of book 1. For we must know that about a year before the sitting of the Council, *Celestinus* had writ to *Cyrillus*, exhorting him to proceed vigorously against *Nestorius*, and desiring him to act both for him, and for himself, and to deal for him in his absence. The like had never been done by any Bishop of *Rome*. But in that time there was no speech as yet of the Council of *Ephesus*: And they are deceived that say that *Celestinus* desired *Cyrillus* to hold his place in that Council. Yet it is manifest that so much as *Celestinus* desired of *Cyrillus*, was done in policy. For knowing the authority of

Cyrillus,

Cyrrillus, and foreseeing that in all that should be done against *Nestorius*, *Cyrrillus* should have the chief hand and the principal honour, he devised to yield the place to *Cyrrillus* of his own accord, and to desire *Cyrrillus* to act for him against *Nestorius*, and to do all Acts in his name in his absence. Howsoever, it was by entreaties that *Celestinus* prevailed with *Cyrrillus* to do so much, not by any authority that he had over him; and *Cyrrillus* accepted of that Commission before the Council of *Ephesus* was called or spoken of. But though *Cyrrillus* had received a Proxie from *Celestinus* to deal for him in the Council in his absence, that could not have taken from the Council of *Ephesus* the liberty of choosing such a President, as they judged to be fittest to moderate. And by all the Acts of the Council, it appears not that the Council had deferred that precedence to *Cyrrillus* in consideration of his Commission from *Celestinus*. In effect, *Cyrrillus* was elected President many dayes before the coming of the Legates of *Celestinus*, to which Legates it belonged to declare upon that point, the will of him that sent them. And sure, if such a thing had been, the Letters of *Celestinus* to the Council, would have mentioned it. But in those Letters, which are extant, he saith only that he had sent *Arcadius*, *Proiectus* and *Philippus*, to represent his person in that Council; without any mention of the Commission given to *Cyrrillus* to hold his place in the Council. Wherefore also in the Greek Acts (c) of that Council, *Cyrrillus* and *Memnon* are often called *ἐπιστάται*, Presidents of the Council. But as for *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*, the Bishops say, *ὡσαύτως*, that he sits with them: That is to be seen especially by the subscriptions added to the Acts of that Council;

(c) In the Epistle of the Council to *Theodosius*, whereby they desire him to release *Cyrrillus* and *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who were prisoners.

Cyrrillus Episcopus *Alexandria* subscripsi,
Arcadius Legatus sedis Apostolicae subscripsi.
Juvenalis Episcopus *Ierosolymitanus* subscripsi,
Proiectus Episcopus Legatus sedis Apostolicae subscripsi.

Had *Cyrrillus* presided as Legate or Vicar of *Celestinus*, had he not subscribed as a Legate of *Celestinus*, would he have omitted in his subscription that quality whereby he had presided in the Council? And if the title of Legate of the Bishop of *Rome*, gave necessarily the precedence in the Council, had *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Ierusalem*, been preferred before two Legates of *Celestinus*? And who ever heard that in the ancient Councils, the Bishop of *Rome* absent, deferred the Presidency of the Council by Commission to any? In all the Council, *Cyrrillus* speaks alwayes in his own name, not as a Lieutenant or Vicar of *Celestinus*. *Leo* himself in the 47. Epistle 3. chap. saith that (d) *Cyrrillus* of holy memory presided in the Synod of *Ephesus*. Had he presided there in quality of Legate of the Roman Prelate, *Leo* would not have forgotten it.

(d) *Ephesine Synodi cui sanctae memoriae Cyrrillus Episcopus tunc praesedit.*

To so many and so strong proofs, taken from the Council it self, Cardinal *du Perron* opposeth the testimony of *Marcellinus Comes*, a Latine Author, and a favourer of his Patriarch, who writ a hundred years after that Council. Also *Balsamon* and (e) *Nicephorus*, new Authors, who tell tales to this purpose, which *Baronius* laughs at: But with *M. du Perron* Fables go for grave Histories, if they concur with his ends: All his other witnesses, as *Liberatus* and *Theophanes*, and the Acts of the Council, speak of the Deputation given to *Cyrrillus* by *Celestinus*, long before the Council of *Ephesus*, and speak not of that imaginary Commission to hold his place in the Council of *Ephesus*.

(e) *Nicephor. l. 14. c. 34.*

The truth is, it was a legerdemaine of *Celestinus*, like to that which the Bishops of *Rome* have oftentimes practised since the time of *Gregory* the VII. which was to give to a Prince, that which they could not take from him; or to give some Countrey or Kingdom to a King, upon condition that he shall conquer it, as if the same Princes would have presented the Pope with the Moon, upon condition that he should go and take it. If a Prince so presented by the Pope, suffers some harm for going about to obey the Pope, and comes short of his undertaking; his Holiness doth not bear him harmless. But if the enterprize is achieved, as when *Charles* of

Anjou

Anjou effected the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, and atchieved it, then the Pope will have that Prince to hold the conquered Kingdom in Fee from the Papal See, and to make homage for it to the Pope, as to his Landlord and Leige.

CHAP. 16.

Some incidencies happened in the first Council of Ephesus, or by occasion of the same, conducing to this question.

IN this Council, in the entry of the Action, according to the custom, the Book of the holy Gospels was laid upon the Table, that the matters propounded in the Council, might be judged according to the doctrine contained in that Book. A custom which the Pope hath changed, having brought in of late an impious Ceremony of laying the Scripture at the Popes feet, himself sitting on a Throne, as it were to say, that the Word of God is subject unto him: And next to make the Officers of the Council, to come and take an Oath of Allegiance and Obedience unto him, with their hand upon the Book, laid at the feet of his Holiness. This is found practised in the last Council of Lateran, under Julius the II. In the first Session these words are found; *Officiales ad pedes sanctissimi Domini nostri tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliiis, prastiterunt corporale juramentum.* The Officers having touched the holy and sacred Gospels, at the feet of our most holy Lord, took their corporal Oath.

(a) Bayoz.
An. 431.
S. 120. &
128. & 129.
C. 146.

(a) Divers relations being made to the Emperour Theodosius, about things done in the Council, with little order and much animosity: that good Emperour not knowing which of them he might believe, writ Letters to the Council, whereby he forbid the Bishops to go out of the Council, and commanded that Deputies should be sent to him from the Council, to give him an account of all the passages, and to inform him of the truth. And being prepossessed with the complaints and calumnies of Nestorius and his adherents, he sent John Count of the sacred Largitions, to Ephesus with Imperial Letters; whereby he declared, that his Majesty held Cyrillus and Memnon as justly deposed, and commanded that they should be apprehended and detained prisoners: Whereupon the Council sent seven Deputies to the Emperour, among whom were Arcadius and Philippus, the Roman Bishops Legates, who having informed the Emperour of the truth, made him alter his opinion, so that he approved the condemnation of Nestorius, and took from him the dignity of Patriarch of Constantinople.

By this it appeareth that Cardinal du Perron doth very little for the Bishop of Rome, by affirming that Cyrillus in that Council represented the person of Celestinus. For thereby he declareth that the Emperour made no great account of the Bishop of Rome, since he made no difficulty of committing that man prisoner, that represented the person of the Bishop of Rome. Had Celestinus been present, he had been served in the like manner. The Reader shall observe also, that the Popes Legates did not take it for a disparagement of their dignity, to be sent by the Council, as Deputies to the Emperour, with other Bishops, to appease his wrath.

(b) Niceph.
l. 14. c. 35.

Four years after the condemnation of Nestorius, John Patriarch of Antioch, according to the relation of (b) Nicephorus, writ to the Emperour Theodosius with a remonstrance, that for the good of the Church he ought to expell Nestorius, and put him out of the Oriental Empire. Which was presently executed by Theodosius, who relegated Nestorius to Oasis. Had the Bishop of Rome done that which John of Antioch did, our Adversaries would triumph about it, and say, that the Emperours are subject to the Popes Decrees, and that they can bring the greatest Patriarchs to condigne punishment, according to their pleasure.

The same Author relateth, that the said John sent to Cyrillus his Confession of Faith

Faith in writing. When some Bishop sends his Confession to the Bishop of Rome, our Adversaries take that for a most certain proof of subjection to the Papal See; to which they will have all obliged to give a reason of their Faith. But we have seen before, that *Liberius* Bishop of Rome, sent his Belief and Confession of Faith to *Athanasius* Bishop of Alexandria: and *John* being not subject to *Cyrrillus*, yet sends his Confession to him.

CHAP. 17.

Occasion of the second Council of Ephesus, and by whom it was Convoked.

IN the year of our Lord 448. this occasion of new trouble arose in the Churches of the Roman Empire. That *Flavianus* Bishop of Constantinople, degraded and expelled a Priest named *Eutyches*, for confounding in one, the two natures of Jesus Christ. Which was the cause that the Emperour *Theodosius* convoked another Universal Council at *Ephesus*, and writ Letters about it to the Bishops of all the Provinces of the Roman Empire. His Letters to *Dioscorus* Patriarch of Alexandria, are to be seen in the first Action of the Council of Chalcedon, in which he speaks thus, (a) *If any let pass a Synod so necessary and truly pleasing to God, and will not use all his endeavour to come to the appointed place, at the prefixed time, he shall find no excuse, neither with God, nor with our piety.*

The same Emperour writ Letters to the same purpose to *Leo* Bishop of Rome: to which the said *Leo* answereth in the 9. Epistle, where he saith, that he hath sent to *Theodosius* his Confession of Faith: which in others is taken by our Adversaries as a testimony of subjection. In that Epistle he endeavourerth to dissuade the Emperour from assembling a Council at *Ephesus*, and beseecheth him to assemble it rather in Italy. Wherefore (saith he) *if your piety will do so much as to consent to my counsel and supplication, that you command that a Council of Bishops be held within Italy, &c.* These words teach us four things. 1. That this Council of *Ephesus* was not convoked by *Leo* Bishop of Rome, since it sate against his counsel, and notwithstanding his humble supplication to the Emperour, that it might rather be in Italy. 2. That the Bishop of Rome speaks to *Theodosius*, as to his Master, with submissive entreaties, beseeching him to command the assembling of a Council: and by consequent, acknowledging that the right of Convocation belonged to the Emperour. 3. Above all it is notable, that *Leo* was denied by the Emperour, who believed not that the consent of the Bishop of Rome was of necessity requisite for the assembling of a Council. 4. It is to be noted also, that the Bishop of Rome being denied, obeyed nevertheless the Emperours Order, and against his own will sent Legates to *Ephesus*.

(b) *Leo* then writ the second time to *Theodosius*, That to obey his command, he had sent three Legates to the Council: *Julianus* a Bishop, *Renatus* a Priest, and *Hilarinus* a Deacon, to represent his person, and to keep his place. And in another Epistle to the same Emperour, which is the 16. he saith, (c) That although, for causes grounded upon good reason, it had been better not to call a Council, yet that he might in some manner obey the Emperours commands, he had sent Legates to supply the defect of his presence. Which he saith to excuse himself for not coming in person, according to the Emperours command.

The same *Leo* writes to *Flavianus* Bishop of Constantinople, and tells him that he thought it needful to have a Council, and yet that to obey the Emperour, he had sent Legates to the Council.

It is then a thing out of question, that *Leo* did not convocate that Council since himself did dissuade it; and yet by sending his Deputies to it, he approved the Convocation of the same.

The cause why *Leo* did so much desire that the Council should rather be assembled

(a) Si quis vero tam necessariam & verè Deo amicam Synodum prætermiserit, & non omni virtute secundum prædictum tempus ad præfinitum locum pervenerit nullam excusationem neque apud Deum, neque apud nostram inveniet pietatem.

(b) Leonis Epist. 12.

(c) Rationalibus causis ab indicenda Synodo fuisset abstinendum, tamen in quantum Dominus juvare dignatur meum studium commodavi, ut clementie vestre statuta aliquatenus pareretur.

bled in *Italy*, is, that *Italy* was of his Patriarchate, and that he could have gathered a great number of Occidental Bishops; also that the language of the Council should have been Latine, and the President one that spoke Latine, who in all likelihood could have been no other but the Bishop of *Rome*: Whereas in *Greece*, the Grecians surpassing in number, all was done in Greek, and a Greek President was chosen; and they made the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome*, to sit after many Bishops: Which was the cause that the Bishop of *Rome* never would be present in the antient Universal Councils.

Here then is justified the saying of *Pius* the 11. in the first Book of the Acts of the Synod of *Basil*; That in old time for the Convocation of Councils, the authority of the Popes was not much requisite.

CHAP. 18.

Of the things happened in the II. Council of Ephesus, and who presided in it.

THIS Council, though justly infamous, and called by the Grecians *ἡ εὐτυχική*, the *thievish Council*, because in the same, *Flavianus* was not only unjustly condemned, and Eutychianism established, but *Flavianus* was also cruelly beaten, of which he dyed a year after in exile. Yet that Council had all that was requisite to make an Universal Council: For it was Convocated by the Emperour from all parts of the Empire; and there all the Patriarchs met, either in person, or by their Deputies. *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* had there his Deputies; and *Dioscorus* of *Alexandria*, *Flavianus* of *Constantinople*, *Domnus* of *Antioch*, and *Juvenalis* of *Jerusalem*, were there in person.

It happened that the Deputies of the Bishop of *Rome*, passing by *Constantinople*, were feasted by *Flavianus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, which furnished *Eutyches* and his faction with a cause of recusation of the said Deputies: This with other considerations, was the cause that *Theodosius* posselt with the perswasions of *Chrysaphius* Prefect of the Imperial Pallace, gave order that *Dioscorus* should have the precedence among the Bishops: To which also the Council consented. So *Dioscorus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* was elected President, and the Deputies of the Bishop of *Rome* put under him. This History is related in the first Action of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where the things passed at *Ephesus* were examined and made void. There an Epistle of *Theodosius* to *Dioscorus* is recorded, where he tells him, *We give the authority and the primacy to your beatitude*. Of which we find not that the Deputies of the Bishop of *Rome* made any complaint, or that they took it as a contempt or an injustice, that the Primacy should be deferred to any but the Bishop of *Rome*: For *Liberatus* an African Deacon, and a flatterer of the Bishops of *Rome*, who writ about twelve hundred years after, is not a credible witness, when he saith that *Leo's* Deputies would not sit, because the precedence was not deferred unto them. For the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, made for the advantage of the Bishop of *Rome*, are more to be credited in this matter. And *Leo* an aspiring man, and desirous to raise the dignity of his See, would not have forgotten to expostulate of the wrong done to him. *Liberatus* himself saying, that the Deputies of *Rome* opposed all that was done in the Council, and protested against it, thereby presupposeth their presence. It is false also (though (d) *M. du Perron* affirms it as true) that the Primacy which *Dioscorus* had usurped was declared a tyrannie. That cannot be found, and the testimony which he alledgeth to prove that, saith nothing of it; but saith only that *Dioscorus* by his tyrannie absolved *Eutyches*, and restored to him his dignity, and rose against the Bishop of *Rome*: which was, when he excommunicated *Leo*. Besides, that place is taken from the Greek Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which are but a Collection of lyes: As that which is said in that place, that *Leo* deposed *Eutyches*;

(d) *Ch. 37.*
of the 1. book
p. 298.

Eutyches; Or that was done by *Flavianus*, before that *Leo* was made acquainted with it. Deposing a man who is already deposed, is stripping a naked man: Though *Leo* would have restored *Eutyches*, he could not have done it.

Besides *Dioscorus* President of the Council, the Emperor had there Count *Helpidius*, with some other *Patritii* and Officers that represented his person, and presided as for the exterior order. To that *Helpidius* the Emperor sent letters, where these words are found. *I command thee, that if thou seest any factions and raiser of tumults, to the prejudice of the truth, that thou commit him prisoner, and reserve unto me the knowledge of the cause.* From that penalty he excepteth not the Legats of the Bishop of *Rome*, who were no less obnoxious to be punished by the Emperors then the other Bishops.

CHAP. 19.

Of the Appeal of Flavianus, and of Theodoret Bishop of Cyr, to Leo Bishop of Rome. And of the Appeals in general. That the Cardinal did not understand the nature of those Appeals.

Liberatus a Deacon of *Carthage*, who writ some six score years after that Council, saith that *Flavianus* being condemned by the second Council of *Ephesus*, Appealed to *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*. This obligeth us to speak of the Appeals to the Bishop of *Rome*, and to examine those Appeals which Cardinal *du Perron* produceth in the 43. ch. of the 1. book.

He brings in the first place the example of *Athanasius*, of whom (a) *Theodoret* speaks thus, *Julius according to the Law of the Church, commanded them to come to Rome, and cited the Divine Athanasius to judgement.* But for that it is better to believe *Julius* himself and *Athanasius*, by whose testimony we have shewed before that *Julius* would take knowledge of that business, not because the judgement of it belonged to him, but because the *Eusebians* had desired so much of him, for they being parties against *Athanasius*, had requested him to arbitrate that difference. We shewed also how these *Eusebians*, seeing that *Julius* abused insolently the power which they had deferred unto him, would not undergo his judgement, but writ to him letters full of scorn and threatnings, saying that they were not inferior to him: yea that they came so far, as to degrade and depose *Julius* from Episcopacy in the Council of *Philippolis*. We have seen also by (b) *Hieroms* testimony, that *Athanasius* came to *Rome* not as cited to appear, but as not able to subsist in *Egypt* or in the East, which made him to retire to a Bishop of his communion, and to the protection of *Constans*, an Orthodox Emperor. The same is seen in the Oration of *Gregory Nazianzen* concerning *Athanasius*.

That which (c) *Sozomenus* saith, that *Julius* restored unto *Athanasius* and *Paulinus*, and other expelled Bishops, to each of them his See, must be so understood, that he pronounced judgement that they ought to be restored, and gave them restitution as far as in him was: For in effect, they were not re-installed for that. That restitution was done some years after, by the intervening of the Emperor *Constans* then reigning in the West; Who partly by threatnings, partly by entreaties caused *Athanasius* to be put in his place again, till the sitting of a Council, which should decide that business. But a little after, *Constans* being slain by *Magnentius*, *Athanasius* having lost his support, was expelled again, and constrained to fly: So that not only the judgement of *Julius*, but the assistance of *Constans* were without effect. Read *Theodoret*, and *Socrates*, and *Sozomenus*, and the Annals of *Baronius*, you shall see that *Athanasius* recovered not his See by the judgement of *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*. See also what we have said before in ch. 2. of our 5. book.

The example of *John Chrysostom* Appealing by letters to *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*;

(a) *Theod. l. 2. c. 4.*

(b) *Hieron. Epitaph. Marcellæ. See before, ch. 2. of the 5. book. where this matter is treated at large.*
(c) *Sozom. l. 3. c. 7.*

(d) In ch. 2.
of this
book 6.

was examined before, (d) and upon that point we have convinced the Cardinal of manifest falshood, and shewed that these letters are not written to *Innocent*: and that though these letters had been written to him, yet it is not spoken there of any Appeal but to a Council, in which the proceedings of *Theophilus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* against him might be disannulled. And in effect *Innocent* took not upon him the judgement of that matter, but only sent to the Emperor *Arcadius* to beseech him to grant them a Council, which he could not obtain, but his Legats were sent back with contempt and disgrace.

The Cardinal insisteth much upon the Appeal of *Flavianus* Patriarch of *Constantinople* to *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*. That will be found repeated fifty times over in his book. Although I could call the truth of that History in question for many reasons, *Liberatus* being a witness much posterior in time, and suspected, and of small authority; yet I will receive it as true: and shew that *M. du Perron* never understood well Ecclesiastical History in this point of Appeals.

For in the antient Ecclesiastical history the word *Appeal* is commonly taken otherwise then in civil matters. The Appeal of *Flavianus* to *Leo* was not to desire him to take knowledge of his cause, and to make himself Judge, as superior of the Council of *Ephesus*: That was beyond *Leo's* power: Wherefore also he did not undertake it: But by that Appeal he had recourse unto *Leo*, that by his mediation and request to the Emperor another Council might be called, where his cause might be revised, and the Acts of the Synod of *Ephesus* made voyd. Neither did *Leo* himself understand it otherwise: For upon that Appeal he writ to the Emperor *Theodosius*, in these words; (e) *All the Churches of our parts are suppliant to your meekness with groanings and tears, that because our Deputies faithfully opposed themselves [to heretical decrees] and that Flavianus hath given them a bill of Appeal, you command that a Synod be celebrated in Italy.* Experience is the strongest proof of all. For upon that Appeal *Leo* made not the parties to appear. He used no citation. He pronounced no sentence of condemnation, or deposition, or Anathema against *Dioscorus*: Only he assembled a particular Council at *Rome* of the Bishops of his neighbourhood, in which the proceedings of the second Council of *Ephesus* were disapproved: and acknowledging that such a judgement was not sufficient, he urged the Emperor to obtain a general Council. Neither did *Liberatus* understand it otherwise. For he saith that *Leo* in consideration of that Appeal petitioned the Emperor to assemble a Council. Of this, *Leo* himself is a witness, and his particular Council assembled at *Rome* of the Italian Bishops, who writ thus to the Emperor *Theodosius*; (f) *We beseech thee to command that all things be put again in the same state that they were in before the judgement, untill a greater number of Bishops be convoked out of all parts of the world.* Which words evidently demonstrate that *Leo* and his Council did not hold their judgement to be determining in that cause, and that there was need of a Council of greater authority; which *Leo* doth not command, but petitions for it in all humility. To this the Cardinal giveth an answer of the greatest absurdity that can be devised, saying that this petition of *Leo* and his Council to the Emperor, that all things might be put in their state again, was only intended for the temporal; Whereas there was question only of Ecclesiastical matters, the deposition of a Bishop, and the approbation or abrogation of a Council.

It is plain, that if *Flavianus* Appealed to *Leo*, he did it in the same manner as *Julianus* condemned by *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome* Appealed from his judgement to the Oriental Churches, as *Austin* saith in the first book against *Julian*, ch. 2. And in the same manner as *Pelagius* condemned by the Bishops of *Africa*, caused his cause to be revised in the East by the Council of *Palestina*, where he was cleared and absolved: And in the same manner as *Austin* saith in the 162. Epistle, that after the judgement of the *African* Bishops, there were many thousands of Bishops beyond the Sea, and Apostolick Sees, to which *Cecilianus* might reserve his cause, and have it judged again. All which Appeals to others then the Bishop of *Rome*, the Cardinal would not take as Appeals to a superior Judge; for indeed they were but a recourse to other Bishops, that by their mediation and authority a Council

(e) Epist.
Leonis 23.
Omnes parti-
um nostrarum Ec-
clesie, omnes
mansuetudini
vestre cum
gemitibus &
lachrymis
supplicant
sacerdotes, ut
quia & nostri
fideliciter re-
clamant, & ei-
usde a libelli
appellationis
Flavianus
Episcopus
dedit, genera-
lem Synodum
intra Italian
jubatis
celebravi.
(f) And a
little before;
Omnia in eo
statu esse ju-
beatis in quo
fuerunt ante
omne judicium,
donec major
ex toto orbe
numerus
sacerdotum
congregetur.
And Liberat.
cap. 12.
Leo Theodoretus
que velas sus-
cipiens,
litteris suis
Theodosium
petit, ut fieret
intra Italian
generale
concilium.

cil might sit, in which the condemned might be heard in their justifications, and might complain of their former Judges.

The Appeal of *Theodore* is of the same nature, and must be understood as that of *Flavianus*. Yet it must be observed, that in the works of *Theodore* there is no mention of that Appeal of *Theodore*, but in an Epistle which is found in the second Tome of the Councils, and in the Acts of *Chalcedon* in the same Tome; which as well as the first, is top-full of falsifications, and where the most part of the Epistles are suspected, and rejected by *Baronius* and *Bellarmin*. I pass by the Manuscript Epistles which *Baronius* saith he hath seen in the Popes library, for that allegation hath no authority. Now whatsoever *Theodore* hath done or said in the praise or exaltation of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, can be no more then what he saith of *Nestorius* (g) Patriarch of *Constantinople*; that he governed the Church of all the world. What the Cardinal saith in another place, that *Eutyches* being near to be deposed, Appealed to the Pope, is false. For the Acts of the Council of *Constantinople*, rehearsed in that of *Ephefus* and *Chalcedon*, say that he (h) Appealed to a Council, where the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Jerusalem*, and *Thessalonica* should be.

In the fame 43. ch. *M. de Perron* alledgeth the Council of *Sardica* thus decreeing, *If a Bishop hath been depofed by the judgement of the Bifhops of the neighbouring Provinces, and pretends to be heard again; let not another be fubftituted in his room, till the Bifhop of Rome hath pronounced his fentence about it.* (i) But we have feen before that this order was made only by the Occidental Bifhops, which were of the Roman Patriarchat, and that it was of no force in the other parts of the Empire, much lefs in the Churches without the Empire; and that it was unknown unto the Churches of *Africa*. Also that the conftitution was only for the perfon of *Julius* Bifhop of *Rome*, not for his fucceffors, and under favor of the Bifhops of the Council, to whole pleafure that conftitution is fubmitted. And that the Occidental Bifhops in the Council of *Sardica* did gratifie *Julius* with all their power to difpleafe the Oriental Bifhops, who had degraded and depofed him in their Council which they held at the fame time.

The other examples which the Cardinal alledgeth, are no Appeals. *Valens* and *Ursacius* desired the Bishop of *Rome* to forgive them, because they had offended him. The Council of *Tyane* restored to *Eustathius* his Bishoprick at the recommendation of *Liberius*. Such examples are nothing to the purpose; for they are no examples of Appealing to the Bishop of *Rome*.

He adds the Epistle of *Valentinian*, to which we will give a Chapter apart; And heaps up many things out of the Greek Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which are all forged things, made to contradict the Canon of the same Council, whereby, notwithstanding the oppositions of the Legats of the Bishop of *Rome*, the Bishop of *Constantinople* is equalled unto the Roman in all things and without exception, as we shall see in the proper place.

The other examples which he brings, are much posterior in time to the fourth Universal Council, which is the term which he hath fixed to himself. And none of them is beyond the limits of the Roman Empire. Neither is all that any thing in comparison of so many Councils of *Africa* where *St. Austin* was present, in which the Appeals to *Rome* are forbidden upon pain of excommunication; and the Bishops of *Africa* writ letters to Pope *Celestinus*, warning him to abstain from receiving any Appeals from *Africa*, not to take knowledge of their businesses, not to send Legats or Commissioners into *Africa*, and not to bring the famous pride of this world into the Church of Christ, trusting that the Spirit of God shall not be wanting unto them to conduct their own businesses. Of which Councils we have spoken above in the sixth and seventh Chapters.

Let all that have some equity, judge whether the reasons and examples, which I will now bring, be not of far greater force then all that the Cardinal brings to establish the Appeals to *Rome*.

I. First the Reader may take notice, that the Cardinal could not bring any divine Ordinance, nor one word of Scripture whereby the Bishop of *Rome* is constituted a Sovereign Judge of the Universal Church, or *Peters* successor in the quality of head of the Universal Church.

II. Observe

(g) Lib.
Hareseon cap.
de Nestorio.
(h) Conci.
Chalcedon.
A^{ff}. I. p. 114.
Ἀναγιγνω-
σκομένης τῆς
ἐκκλησίας τοῦ
κύριου ἡμῶν
συνοδόν τῇ
ἀγμῶν τῶν
ἐπισκόπων
Ρώμης καὶ
Ἀλεξανδρεί-
ας καὶ Ἱεροσ-
λύμων.
lib. see above
book 5, ch. 3.

II. Observe in the second place, that all the examples which the Cardinal brings are since the 340. year of Christ; so that three whole Ages since Christ and more, afford no example, and no mention of Appealing to *Rome* from the remote Provinces.

III. Consider in the third place, that all the examples of Appealing to *Rome* which the Cardinal brings are taken from within the verge of the Roman Empire: But over all his book he could not produce one example of any Church, or any particular man, without the precincts of the Empire, that ever Appealed to the Pope.

IV. We have proved that those very examples which he sets forth with so much shew, are false and against the right history. That *Athanasius* never Appealed to *Rome*, and came to *Rome* without calling, seeking refuge against persecution. That *Chrysostom* never Appealed to *Rome*, and that there is no trace of that in Antiquity. That the Appeal of *Flavianus* to *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, was but a request whereby he had recourse unto him, that by his intercession he might obtain from the Emperor another Council where his cause might be examined again; As also *Leo* did not understand it otherwise, seeing that he cited not the parties to appear, and bore not himself as a Sovereign, but applied himself only as an earnest Petitioner to the Emperor for the convocating of another Council.

V. It is easie to discern what the antient Church thought of those Appeals, I say not to the Bishop of *Rome* (for none were made then in the sense that the Cardinal takes it) but to Councils and superior Assemblies. For *Socrates* in the 2. book, ch. 40. (k) speaks thus of *Cyrillus* of *Jerusalem*, *In this place we must know that Cyrillus was since accused, I know not why, and put down from his Bishoprick. Now he was deposed, because being many times cited in judgement for the space of two years, he would not appear, fearing accusations. But being (l) deposed, he signified in writing his Appeal to them that had deposed him, Appealing to a superior judgement; which Appeal the Emperor Constantius approved. Now Cyrillus alone did that, and was the first, who against the custom of Ecclesiastical rule made use of Appeals as in a civil judgement.* That *Cyrillus*, condemned and deposed by a particular Council, had Appealed to an universal Council, a thing unusual before that time. How strange then had it lookt if he had Appealed to the Bishop of *Rome*? The Cardinal could not rid himself of this difficult passage, but by breaking a gap to get out with a falsification, his ordinary way: For he disguiseth this history with incredible boldness. He saith that these words are not the words of *Socrates*, but of *Sabinus*, an heretical Author related by *Socrates*. A thing utterly false. In all that Chapter there is not one word spoken of *Sabinus*. And *Socrates* manifestly speaketh as from himself, and as desirous that his narration should find belief; saying, *We must know that Cyrillus was accused.* He saith not, *We must know that Sabinus saith, &c.* We must know saith he, that *Cyrillus* was accused and deposed, and that he Appealed contrary to the Canons, &c. It is true, that three pages before he sends the Reader to *Sabinus*, who makes a more particular relation of the things happened in the Council of *Seleucia*, and saith that he will content himself to say the principal things summarily. He saith, not as the Cardinal makes him speak, *We running over, will extract only the heads.* *Socrates* speaks not of (*) extracting, but saith, *We will only relate the principal things, as running.* But suppose that *Socrates* had extracted that out of *Sabinus*, it is enough that he relates it as true. Shall we reject *Iustin* or *Xiphilinus* because they have abbreviated *Trogus* and *Dion*? Doth he not himself condemn those that reject the book of *Maccabees*, because it is a summary of *Iason*?

VI. To that falshood he joyns another, saying that *Cyrillus* is condemned, not for Appealing to a greater Synod, but for getting a writ of Appeal from the Imperial Chancery. And as he saith a little after, for obtaining letters from the Emperor to get his appeal accepted. All that as false as the allegation of the words of *Socrates*, which he untruly saith to be the words of *Sabinus*; For of that writ of Appeal there is not one word in *Socrates*: Only he saith that the (†) Emperor Constantius consented to the Appeal of *Cyrillus*, or had approved it. In effect *Cyrillus* Appealed not to the Emperor, but to a superior Council. Had

(k) Is the 32. in the Latin version.

(l) Κατατίθε-
ται ὁμοῦ ἐν
ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ
δικασθέντος ὅ
τι ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς
Κωνσταντῖνος
ἐχάρηται σὺν
τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ
τοῖς ἐκ-
κλησιαστικῶ
καὶ οὖν
Κωνσταντῖνος
ἐπίνισεν.

(*) τὰ κεφα-
λαῖα μόνον
ἐπιτρέχον-
τες ἐκδοῦ-
μεθα.

And in the version.
Nos capita
rerum breviter perstringe-
mus.

(†) ἐπὶ ἐκ-
κλησίᾳ καὶ ὁ
βασιλεὺς
Κωνσταντῖνος
ἐχάρηται
σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις.

Had it been then the custom to Appeal to the Bishop of Rome, two Councils of Africa, the *Milevitan* where S. *Austin* was present, and the sixth Council of *Carthage*, had not prohibited to Appeal from Africa to Rome upon pain of excommunication.

VII. *Austin* in his 162. Epistle speaks thus to the *Donatists* concerning the judgement pronounced against them by *Melchior* Bishop of Rome, and by the other Bishops his associates; (m) *Let us suppose that those Bishops that judged at Rome were no good Judges; there remained yet the full Council of the universal Church where the cause might be debated with the same Judges, so that if they could be convinced to have judged amiss, their judgement might be reversed.* By these words doth he not presuppose that one might have appealed from the judgement of the Bishop of Rome to a Council? which is very far from appealing from the judgement of the Council to the Pope. The same *Austin* taught us before that *Julianus* condemned by the Bishop of Rome, had appealed to a particular Council of the Oriental Churches; so little account they made in those days of the judgements of the Bishop of Rome.

VIII. We alledge also the VI. Canon of the first Council of *Constantinople*, which is the second Universal; *If they say that they have some Ecclesiastical accusation against a Bishop, the holy Synod decreeth that they propound first their accusation before all the Bishops of the Province, &c.* (n) *But if it happen that the Bishops of the Province be not sufficient to redress such accusations, let them address themselves to a greater Synod of Bishops of that Diocese, &c.* And if any despising the things decreed according as it was declared before, make bold to trouble the Emperors ears, or the judicial Seats of secular Magistrates, or disquiet the Universal Council, &c. Let him not be heard at all in his accusation. That Canon decreeth that the Synod of the Diocese judge definitively and without appeal of the causes of Bishops. It is not material whether he speaks of the accusers of Bishops, or of the accused Bishops; for the Pope now pretends that both the accusing and the accused Bishops may appeal to him.

IX. The 9. Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon* is more exprefs yet to this purpose. (o) *If a Clerk hath some business against his own Bishop, or against some other Bishop, let him cause it to be judged in the Synod of the Province. But if a Bishop or Clerk hath some difference with the Metropolitan of the Province, let him address himself to the Exarch of the Diocese, or to the See of the City of Constantinople, and there let him be judged.* The Reader may observe that this Council is Universal, and by consequent gave orders for the whole Roman Empire, and that the Legats of the Roman Empire were present, who past this Canon without murmuring, wherein it is decreed that from the Synod of the Province one might appeal to the Exarch of the Diocese (for then a Diocese contained many Provinces, and the first Bishop of the Diocese was called an Exarch) and that he that would decline the judgement of the Exarch might appeal to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who judged ultimately, and without appeal. But of appealing from him to the Bishop of Rome, the Synod speaks not; for it was not the custom.

This Canon displeased Pope *Nicolas* the I. so much, that to break the strength of it, he corrupted it with a notorious depravation. (p) For in his Epistle to the Emperor *Michael*, by the Exarch or Primate of the Diocese he understands the Bishop of Rome; but because the Bishop of Rome (if he may be believed) hath the command of all Dioceses, that venerable Pope will have that word *Diocese* to be understood plurally, as if the Council of *Chalcedon* had said, *Let him address himself to the Primate of Dioceses*, that is, to the Bishop of Rome: *Let none find it strange (saith he) that the word Diocese is put in the singular, for it must be known that it is as good as if he had said of the Dioceses.* The Scriptures are

(m) Ecce putemus illos Episcopos qui Romæ judicaverunt non bonos judices fuisse, restitui adhuc plenarium Ecclesie universæ Concilium ubi etiam cum ipsius iudicibus causa posset agitari, ut si male iudicassent eorum sententia solveretur.

(n) Εἰ δὲ συνελθόντες οὐ δύναται τὸς ἐπαρχοὺς τὰς πρὸς διόκεσιν αἰτήσεις μετανοήσαντες ἐκείνους ἐπιδοκῶντες, &c. Εἰ δὲ τις κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἀντιτάξῃ, οὐ δύναται τὸν ἀντιτάξαντα ἐκείνους ἐπιδοκῶντες, &c. Εἰ δὲ τις κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἀντιτάξῃ, οὐ δύναται τὸν ἀντιτάξαντα ἐκείνους ἐπιδοκῶντες, &c. Εἰ δὲ τις κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἀντιτάξῃ, οὐ δύναται τὸν ἀντιτάξαντα ἐκείνους ἐπιδοκῶντες, &c.

(o) Εἰ δὲ κληρικὸς ἀντιτάξῃ, οὐ δύναται τὸν ἀντιτάξαντα ἐκείνους ἐπιδοκῶντες, &c.

οὐδὲν ἢ πρὸς ἑτέρου ἐπισκόπου πρὸς τὴν συνέδρον τὴν ἐπαρχίας διακρίνεται. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας μητροπολίτην ἐπισκόπον ἢ κληρικὸν ἀμφισβητήσῃ, καταλαμψάμεντο, ἢ τὴν ἐπαρχίας διοικήσας, ἢ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως ἔχοντα, ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν διακρίνεται. (p) Quem autem primatem dioeceseos sancta Synodus dixerit prater Apostoli primi Vicarium nullus penitus intelligitur, &c. Nec vero moveat quia singulari numero dioeceseos dictum est. Sciendum est quia tantundem valet dixisse primatem dioeceseos quantum si peribississet dioeceseon. Plene sunt enim Scripturae talia locutionis.

full with speeches of that kind. And he brings for example that which is said, Gen. 2. that a fountain sprung up out of the earth, instead of saying, the fountains.

(q) In the same Epistle.

This is that Pope who being proud and false in the highest degree, (q) groundeth his primacy upon that which was said to Peter, Kill and eat; and upon the command made to the same Apostle, Job. 21. to draw to the shore the Net full of Fishes: also upon Christ's saying to him, When thou art converted, confirm thy brethren.

(r) Pag. 513. & 514.

Cardinal du Perron in the same chap. alledgeth against himself a Law of Justinian, commanding that (r) Clerks be judged first by their Bishops, next by their Metropolitans, and next by the Patriarch of the Nation, &c. Because against the sentences of Bishops the precedent Emperours had decreed that there should be no Appeal. The Cardinal suspecteth, after Balsamon, that the text of that Novell is corrupted; or that this ought to be understood only of the causes of inferiour Clerks. But there are many other Laws of Emperours, so expresse, that they admit none of those shifts; as the Law of Leo and Constantinus related by Lemnclavius, in these words, (f) The judgement of the Patriarch is not subject to appeal, and is not obnoxious to revision, or to be retracted by any other, seeing that he is Prince of the Ecclesiastical judgement, and that from his judgements all Ecclesiastical judgements depend, and are resolved into it, and thither do return. But it depends from none, and is not referred to any other: For such is the nature of principality. But that judgement is judged by it self by a spiritual judgement. That Law, in my opinion, is expresse enough.

(f) Lib. qui inscribitur, ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, &c. Tit. 10. cap. 6. pag. 99. Ὁ τὸ πατριάρχης κρίνει τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς κρίσεις, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐστὶν ἀποκατασταθῆναι τὰς κρίσεις, &c.

CHAP. 20,

Of the excommunication that Dioscorus Patriarch of Alexandria fulminated against Leo Bishop of Rome; and other censures pronounced against the Bishop of Rome.

Dioscorus Patriarch of Alexandria displeased that Leo Bishop of Rome had assembled a particular Council at Rome, in which he had condemned Eutyches and his doctrine; to be revenged of him, assembled a Council at Alexandria, in which he excommunicated Leo, and declared him excluded from the communion of the Church. This was a very perverse, proud and unjust action; for which, as also for his Heresie, and for his violence against Flavianus, he was condemned a little after, and deposed by the Council of Chalcedon.

Socrat. l. 2. c. 16.
See before book 5. ch. 2.

Yet such examples shew how little the other Patriarchs respected the Roman Prelate. With the like boldness Steven Patriarch of Antioch, with the Oriental Bishops (that had separated themselves from the Council of Sardica to make a Council apart,) deposed Julius Bishop of Rome, as we shewed before. It is true, they were Arians, and Dioscorus an Eutychian; But we find not in any of the antients that have written against these Hereticks, and exactly examined their errors, as Epiphanius, Theodoretus, Ausin and Philastrius, that this was ever put among the errors of the Eutichians or Arians, that they did not subject themselves to the Bishop of Rome, and had not acknowledged him Head of the Universal Church.

(b) Ann. 1626. he means Lewis the XIII. of France.

Wherefore not only the Hereticks, but also the Orthodox Bishops used the like boldness, and feared not to use censures against the Pope of Rome. Of that we have a notable example in St. Hilary, in his fragments alledged by Baronius, and published by Mr. Faber Tutour to the King (b) now reigning. Where Hilary repeateth these words often, Anathema tibi à me Liberi. O Liberius, anatheme is denounced unto thee by me. The reason was, that Liberius Bishop of Rome, bowing under the persecution, had subscribed the confession of the Arians made at Nicaea.

Nicephorus in the Ecclesiastical History, book 17. ch. 26. relateth how (c) *Vigilius Bishop of Rome* grew so insolent as to exclude from the Communion for four moneths *Menas Patriarch of Constantinople*. *Menas* did the same unto *Vigilius*. But *Justinian* provoked to anger with such actions, sent men to take *Vigilius*, who being afraid, fled to the Altar of *Sergius Martyr*, and there embracing the holy Organs, could not be drawn from them without breaking them.

Victor Tunensis in his Chronicle, in the 10. year after the Consulat of *Basilius*, saith, that (d) the African Bishops assembled in Council, hearing that *Vigilius Bishop of Rome* had condemned three Articles confirmed by the Council of *Chalcedon*, excommunicated *Vigilius*, yet reserving unto him time of repentance.

A little before, that is, in the year 484. two fierce beasts troubled the rest of the Church, *Acacius Patriarch of Constantinople*, and *Felix Bishop of Rome*, striving to exceed one another in pride. *Felix* assembled a Council at *Rome* of 77. Bishops, where he declared *Acacius*, not Heretick, but polluted with the communion of Hereticks. *Liberatus* in the 18. ch. of his Breviary, saith, that the Legats sent to signifie that sentence unto *Acacius*, durst not appear, but caused it to be surreptitiously delivered by a contemptible Monk. *Nicephorus* addeth, that some of them were killed, the others committed prisoners. Upon that *Acacius* fulminated against *Felix Bishop of Rome*, and commanded that his name should be put out of the (e) *Diptychs* or Ecclesiastical Tables; as of an execrable and excommunicated man, not to be named in the Church. Which censure was for a long time observed, till the coming of an Emperour that was favourable to the Roman Bishop.

nium Episcopum damnatorem trium capitulorum Synodaliter à Catholica communione reservato ei penitentiae loco excludunt. (e) The diptychs were certain Tables with two pages, in which the Names of the dead and the living were written, which for honours sake were named in the celebration of the Mysteries.

(c) *Et insolentia progressus est, ut & Menam à communione quatuor mensibus excluderet. Idem sane & Menas adversus eum fecit. Sed enim Justinianus ejusmodi rebus ad iram commotus qui eum comprehenderent misit. Vigilius autem sibi metuens ad Sergii martyris aram fugit, &c.*

(d) *Post consulatum Basilii V. C. an. X. Africani Antistes Vigilium Romanum*

CHAP. 21.

Of the Letters, and of the Law of Valentinian the third. And of the Law of the Emperor Leo, contrary to that of Valentinian.

IN that time *Theodosius* the second reigned in the East, who was a rare example of piety, meekness, and integrity of life. The Ecclesiastical Writers think that they can never praise him enough. See *Sozomenus* in the Preface of his History. And *Theodoret* book 5. ch. 37. where they exalt the vertues and the godliness of that Prince.

In one thing he cannot be commended, that in the latter end of his life he suffered himself to be too much posselt by *Chrysaphius* an Eutychian; by whose instigation he approved the condemnation of *Flavianus*, and the actions of *Dioscorus* in the Council of *Ephesus*. Of which yet he repented a little after, putting in the room of *Flavianus* an Orthodox Bishop, called *Anatolius*.

But in the same time a monster for vices reigned in the West, *Valentinian* the third, a base and effeminate man, a follower of Magicians and Wizards, as (a) *Procopius* affirmeth, and so abandoning the care of his busineses, that by his idleness and cowardize the Empire fell, and became the Prey of barbarous Nations, and could never recover since. *Sidonius Apollinaris* in his verses calls him, *semivir amens*, a mad half man. It was he that killed *Etius*, whose vertue was the bulwark of the Empire of the West, and ravisht the wife of *Maximus*, a *Patriarchian*, who in revenge conspired against his life, and having killed him, usurped the Empire.

As much as *Valentinian* was idle and careless of his busineses, so much was *Leo Bishop of Rome* vigilant to do his, and industrious to advance the dignity of the Roman See. He had the care of *Valentinian*, and of his mother *Galla Placidia*,

Aaa

and

(a) *Procopius de bello Vandalico, l. 50. Baron. An. 455. S. 2.*
(b) *Sidonius Apollinaris in carminibus. Etius placidum mactavit semivir amens.*

and abused the brutish understanding of that Emperour to further his own interest.

Valentinian and his mother being at *Rome*, *Leo* so prevailed with them by supplications and flatteries, that they writ to the Emperour *Theodosius*, to beseech him to permit that a general Council should assemble in *Italy*. The conformity of these Letters with the request which *Leo* made unto *Theodosius* for a Council in *Italy*, and the titles of praises and greatness which in *Valentinian's* Letters are bestowed upon *Leo* and his See, shew evidently that the Letters were written at the suggestion of *Leo*. It were an error to think that an Emperour that cared not for the ruine of his Empire, took the pains to read these Letters, and to examine the terms. There *Leo* is styled (c) the Prince of Bishops, *Peter's* successor, to whom it belongs to be judge of Bishops.

(c) *Princeps sacerdotum, Petri successor, cui fas sit de sacerdotibus judicare.*

But the Emperour *Theodosius* that governed the East, made little account of these letters, and regarded not all these high titles. For he would not grant to *Valentinian* nor to *Leo* that a Council should be held in *Italy*.

Another occasion was presented to *Leo* to abuse the stupidity of *Valentinian*. And that was a quarrel between *Leo* & *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, who called himself Primat of the Churches of *Gauls* subject to the Roman Empire, that is, of *Province* and *Daulfine*. For the rest of the *Gauls* was then held by the *Wissgoths*, and by the *Franks*. The quarrel was, that *Hilary* conferred the degree of Bishop in his Diocese, not expecting the consent and approbation of the Bishop of *Rome*: But *Leo* would oblige him to acquaint the Roman See with it, & to get his approbation.

Upon that *Leo* sends Letters to the Bishops of *Daulfine*, where after he hath exalted in magnificent words the dignity of the Roman See, he adds, (d) *Hilary* to trouble the state of the Church and the concord of Bishops by new presumptions, hath exceeded measure, desiring so to subject you to his power, that he will not suffer you to be subject to the blessed Apostle *Peter*, challenging to himself the Ordination of all the Churches in *Gauls*.

(d) *Epist. 87. ad Episcopos per Vienneensem provinciam constitutos.*

(e) *Non enim nobis ordinationes provinciarum vestrarum defendimus.*

In the inscription of these Letters, though puffed up with pride, as also in other Letters, he takes no higher title then that of, *Bishop of the City of Rome*. And to soothe up the Bishops of *Daulfine*, he tells them, (e) *We will not challenge the ordination of your Provinces*. That is, he would not himself confer Orders, or the Degree of Bishop in *Daulfine*, but he was contented that the Bishops elected and created might not do the functions of their charges, but after his approbation.

In that strife *Leo* according to his custom had his recourse to *Valentinian*, who presently without hearing what *Hilary* could say for himself, gave sentence for *Leo*, and made a Law which is extant in the *Theodosian Code* among the *Novell* constitutions, in the 24. title. That Law *M. du Perron* sets forth with much ostentation, and speaks of it very often; especially in the 25. ch. of the 1 book, where he alledgeth these words of that Epistle, *Whereas the merit of Peter, who is the Prince of the Episcopal society, and the dignity of the Roman City, and the authority of the sacred Synod, have established the Primacy of the Apostolick See: Let not presumption attempt any unlawful thing against the authority of that See; for then shall the peace of the Churches be maintained every where, if the Universality do acknowledge their Governour*. In which words the Reader may observe by the way, that *Valentinian* doth not ground the Popes primacy upon the word of God. He addeth, *We Decree by a perpetual Ordinance, that it be not lawful either to the Bishops of Gauls, or to those of other Provinces to attempt anything against the ancient custom, without the authority of the venerable Pope of the eternal City; but that to them and to all, whatsoever the authority of the Apostolick See hath decreed, or shall decree, may be a Law; so that what Bishop soever being evoked to the judgement of the Roman Prelat shall neglect to appear, he be constrained by the Governour of the Province to make his appearance.*

(f) *Author vitæ Hilarii Arelatenfis apud Cujacium, Obser. l. 15. c. 38.*

(f) An unknown Author who hath written the life of that *Hilary*, saith that he was forced to bow under the Emperors will, and to go to *Rome* to make his peace with *Leo*. So the Myserie of iniquity advanced it self by the support of impious Emperours: for never such language was spoken before.

But *Valentinian* being deprived of *Africa* by the *Vandals* of *Africa*, and of *Spain*

Spain and Guienne by the Goths, and of most part of Gauls by the Franks, nothing remaining to him but Italy, Sicily, Province and Dauphine, all the East being in the power of Theodosius; that Law had but small vigour, and but a short extent.

In vain *M. du Perron* to augment the force of that Law, saith, that it beareth the title of Theodosius and Valentinian; for whensoever two Emperors reigned in the same time, the one in the East, the other in the West, as in the time of Valens and Valentinian the first, or of Theodosius and Gratianus, or of Arcadius and Honorius, or of Theodosius the II. and Valentinian the III. the Laws of the one bear the title of both, although one of them had made a Law without the communication or approbation of the other. Thus in the second Council of Ephesus all the Letters of the Council were written to Theodosius and Valentinian, although they were addressed to Theodosius alone, who alone convoked and governed that Council; while the age, the course of life, the weakness, and the remoteness of Valentinian made him incapable to think of those matters:

How much that Law was despised in the Empire of the East, it is easie to see. For in the year 472. that is about 22. or 23. years after that Law of Valentinian, a contrary Law was established by the Emperor Leo, which is the 16. Law in the Code, *de Sacrosanctis Ecclesiis*; the words of the Law are these, whereby the Emperor decreeth that the Church of Constantinople be the first of all Churches, and the Bishop of Constantinople the first of all Bishops. These are the words of the Law. (g) *We Judge and Decree that the most holy Church of this Town, which is Mother of our piety, and of all Christians of the Orthodox Religion, and the most holy See of the same most Religious City, have all the privileges and honours concerning the creations of Bishops, and the right of sitting before others; And that the said Church may have perpetually and firmly, in consideration of the Royal City, all that she had before we were Emperors, or in time of our Empire. See also the 24. Law, bearing this title.* (h) *The Church of Constantinople is the Head of all other Churches.*

Baronius upon the year 472. of his Annals declaimeth against that Law of Leo; and saith that it proceeded from him, who is the Head over all the sons of pride, which is the Devil. Wherein I will not contradict him; for both that Law, and that of Valentinian have been suggested by those Prelats, who emulating one another, raised their Sees, and insinuating into the favour of Emperors, wickedly abused their simplicity. Thus a little before that Law of Valentinian, the Patriarch of Constantinople had suggested a Law to Theodosius, whereby the (i) *Illyric* [now Slavonia] which the Roman Bishops claimed, is subjected unto the Patriarchate of Constantinople; and the Emperor *Mauritius* (k) maintained the same Patriarch against Gregory Bishop of Rome, and approved that he should style himself Universal Bishop, calling Gregory a fool for making so much noise about a word.

For my part, I am of opinion that these Laws and Imperial Epistles are of no force in this question; and the force which they might have, if they had any, can have no strength beyond the precincts or the duration of the Roman Empire; neither can it serve to make the Bishop of Rome Head of the Universal Church. Rather these Laws serve to shew that the greatness of the Popes came by the concession, and by the stupidity of Emperors, not by the word of God, of which not one word is alledged in this matter.

Then lived *Sidonius Apollinarius* Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, of whom we have the Epistles, great part of which are written to the Bishops of Gauls his Colleagues: But in none of them is there any trace of subjection to the Roman See, or of communication with the Bishop of Rome. The same (l) *Sidonius* calls *Lupus* Bishop of Troyes, Pope and Bishop of Bishops, and the first Bishop of the World, and saith that he is sitting in the Apostolic See.

Note also that in the same time great part of Gauls was posselt by the Franks and Wisigoths, who had invaded them upon the Roman Empire; without whole limits the Bishops of Rome claimed no Superiority.

(g) *Sacrosanctam quaque hujus urbis Ecclesiam & matrem nostram pietatis & Christianorum Orthodoxae religionis omnium, & ejusdem religiosissima urbis sanctissimam sedem privilegia & honores omnes super Episcoporum creationibus & jus ante alios residentis, & cetera omnia quae ante imperium nostrum vel nobis imperantibus habuisse dignoscitur, habere in perpetuum firmiter regie urbis intuitu, judicamus & sancimus.*
(h) *Constantinopolitana Ecclesia omnium aliarum est caput.*
(i) *Lege 6. Cod. de Sacrosanctis Ecclesiis. Omnis innovatione cessante vetustatem & Canones pristinos, &c.*
(k) That is seen in the Epistles of Gregory the first.
(l) *Sidon. l. 6. Epist. 1. & saepe alibi.*

CHAP. 22.

Of the Ordination of the Patriarch of Antioch by that of Constantinople.

IN the year 449. a little after the dissolution of the Council of *Ephesus*, *Anatolius* an Orthodox Bishop, and free of Eutychianism, was promoted to the Patriarchate of *Constantinople* by the Emperor *Theodosius*: a certain proof that the Emperor was no Eutychian.

Anatolius raised to that dignity, created *Maximus* Patriarch of *Antioch*, and conferred the Ordination upon him. If *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* had done so much, *M. du Perron* would triumph about it, and would take that for an undoubted proof of the primacy of the Bishop of *Rome* over the Universal Church. That which is most considerable in that business, is, that *Anatolius* did that without asking *Leo's* counsel; wherefore *Leo* complains of it in an Epistle to the Emperor *Martianus*, saying, that it was a presumptuous action of *Anatolius*: Yet in spite of *Leo*, *Maximus* remained in his place, and *Leo* durst not take upon him to displace him. Already *Valentinian's* Law was vanisht, and no more mention made of it. If that Law of *Valentinian* had been of some authority, *Leo* ought to have employed it in that occasion; but he knew that the Greek Churches, and all the Churches of the East received not that Law.

CHAP. 23.

Of the assembling of the Council of Chalcedon, which is the IV. Universal Council.

IN the 450. year of Christ, dyed the good Emperor *Theodosius*, having reigned 42. years. *Martianus* succeeded him: that Emperor upon the instant request of the Bishops, resolved to convocate an Universal Council from all parts of the Empire. *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* was the least forward of all the Bishops to desire that Council, foreseeing that it should not be assembled in *Italy*, and that the Emperour would have it neer him; he petitioned then that at least the Council might be put off till another time. But the Emperor *Martian* prest by the Patriarch *Anatolius*, and by other Bishops, resolved to assemble it with speed. This is seen in the 41. Epistle of *Leo* to that Emperor, where he speaks thus to him,

(a) Poposce-
ram à glorio-
sissima clemencia
vestra ut synodum
quam pro
reparanda
pace Orienta-
lis Ecclesie
à nobis etiam
petita necessa-
riam judi-
catis ali-
quantisper
differri ad
tempus oppor-
tunius jubere-
tis.

(a) I had petitioned your most glorious clemency, that you would be pleased to command that the Synod which you judged necessary to restore the peace of the Oriental Church, should be put off to a more seasonable time. Although then *Leo's* advice was, that the Council should be put off, yet to obey the Emperor, he sent Legats to it to represent his person, as he saith in the same Epistle. One may see also by his Epistle to the Empress *Pulcheria*, that he had petitioned that the Council should be assembled in *Italy*: But the Emperor would have it to sit at *Nice*; afterwards altering his resolution, he would have it to sit at *Chalcedon*. In the preambles of the Council of *Chalcedon* the Imperial Patents of *Martian* are set down, written to the Bishops of the Empire, where he commands them to be at *Nice* upon the appointed day; and threateneth them together, *Whosoever will reject this Universal Council, which shall be altogether useful, he sins against God himself, and offends our piety.* And *Leo* was so little informed of the alteration of the Emperors will about the place, that the Letters which he writ to the Council, of which his Legats were the

the bearers, were written to the Bishops assembled at Nice in Council, as we learn of *Evagrius*, book 2. ch. 2. See also *Liberatus*, in the 13. ch. and *Nicephorus* in the 15. book, ch. 2. (b) *Baronius* himself acknowledgeth that the Council was assembled by the Emperors command: *The Emperor* (saith he) *upon the tenth of the Calends of June publisht an Ordinance for the Universal Synod, to which he convocated the Bishops.* Here is then an Universal Council, which not only was not convocated by the authority of the Bishop of Rome, but was also convocated to another place, and in another time then he had requested. For he had been a suppliant to the Emperor that it should be put off, and that it might sit in Italy. So the saying of Pope Pius the II. (c) is made good. *When I read the antient Histories and the Acts of the Apostles, I find not this custom, that the Popes alone assembled the Councils;* and a little after, *Since the time of great Constantine and of the other Emperors, the consent of the Roman Pope was not much required for the assembling of Councils.*

Concilia congregaverint, &c. Nec post tempora Constantini magni & aliorum Augustorum ad congreganda Concilia que situs est magnopere Romani assensus Papæ.

(b) *Baron. an. 451. S. 8.*
(c) Pius II. lib. 1. Hist. Concil. Bafilienfis.
At ego dum veteres lego historias, dum actus perspicio Apostolorum hunc equidem usum non invenio ut soli Papæ

CHAP. 24.

Who presided in the Council of Chalcedon.

THis Council is one of the most grave and famous that have been at any time. For there the Emperor himself was present, and there 630. Bishops met from all parts of the Empire. From the Kingdoms of France, Spain and Great Britain no Deputies were sent; because those Countries were no more in the Roman Empire, nor in the Patriarchate of the Bishop of Rome. And yet that Council is called Universal, because it was convocated out of all the Roman Empire.

Some Patritians and Counts representing the Emperors person, presided in that Council, sitting in the highest place, in the midst, between two rows of Bishops. This is seen in every Session of the Acts of the Council, where they are always named the first. And it is evident by the Acts that the Bishops spake only by their leave, and that they repress by their authority the Bishops that behaved themselves with insolence and importunity. Thus in the first Action, a confused clamour being raised, (a) *The most glorious Judges and Senate said, These popular acclamations neither become Bishops, nor do good to the parties: have patience then till all be read.* So in *Evagrius*, book 2. ch. 4. (b) *The Senators have thus decreed.* In the 16. Action the Legats of the Bishop of Rome, speak thus to the Judges: (c) *Yesterday after that your highness was risen, and our lowness followed your steps: And a little after, (d) We petition that your magnificence command that these things be read again.* The Bishops had not so much power as to read a Paper the second time, without the leave of those Judges. A Bishop presenting a Petition, said unto them, *We fall down, petitioning before the knees of your Highness;* as *Evagrius* relateth in the 18. ch. of his 2. book. *Liberatus* in the 13. ch. saith that (e) *the Legats of Rome having formed an opposition, the Judges and Bishops would not regard it:* a certain proof that those Legats were not Judges.

Those Senators had at their right hand *Dioscorus* Patriarch of Alexandria, and *Juvenalis* Patriarch of Jerusalem: and at their left hand *Paschasius* and *Lucenius* Legats of the Bishop of Rome, and *Anatolius* Patriarch of Constantinople. And although in the Acts of the Council these Legats be often named before *Anatolius*, yet *Anatolius* is also in many places named before them. And in all the actions generally *Anatolius* speaks far more then they, and doth all the actions of a President, and hath the chief authority in the Council. The words of *Paschasius* Le-

(a) *Gloriosissimi Judices & Senatus dixerunt, Acclamations iste populares neque Episcopos decent, neque partes juvant. Patimini ergo universorum fieri lectione.*
(b) *Οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες τοῦ βουλῆς ἐπέτελλον τοὺς ἐπισκοπῶντες.*
(c) *Hesternadie, postquam potestas vestra surrexit & humilitas nostra vestigia vestra sequuta est.*

(d) *Potimus ut magnificentia vestra hac re legi præcipiat.* (e) *A iudicibus & Episcopis omnibus illa contradictio suscepta non est.*

(f) Pag. 20.
Ecce nos Deo
volente Do-
minum Ana-
tolium primi
habemus. Hi
quintum po-
suerunt beatis
Flavianum.

gat of Rome in the first Action are notable; (f) Behold (saith he) we hold, by the will of God, My Lord Anatolius for the first, but these have put Flavianus in the fifth place. Meaning, that although Anatolius was the first, yet the Eutychians in contempt had put Flavianus Predecessor of Anatolius in the fifth place. Which he saith, not because the Patriarch of Constantinople was the first Patriarch: but because in the present Action he held the first place, and presided in the Council.

CHAP. 25.

Of that which pass in the Council of Chalcedon, and of the Canons made in the same about the order of the Patriarchs, and the Ecclesiastical policy.

(a) This is added to the Canons of Chalcedon, in the Greek copies of du Tillot, and in Balsamon, in the end of the same Council.

IN the fourth Action of this Council a memorable accident happened. (a) The Legats of Leo Bishop of Rome having produced in the Council the Epistle of Leo, comprehending the wholesome doctrine about the two natures of Christ, did instantly require that the Bishops of Egypt should approve and subscribe it, that it might appear that they were not of the sect of their Patriarch Dioscorus, who a few dayes before had been deposed by the Council. But the Bishops of Egypt refused to subscribe, saying that they had no Archbishop, without whose authority it was not lawful for them to do any thing. Whereupon they desired the Council to give them leave to assemble apart to elect an Archbishop, which being elected, they would do what they should command them; Their request was granted, and they elected an Archbishop in the place of Dioscorus, by whose leave they might afterwards sign the said Epistle. This example sheweth, that the Bishops of Egypt held not themselves subject to the Bishop of Rome nor to his Legats, since they thought it not lawful for them to do what the said Legats required of them, without the permission of their Patriarch. Who also was elected by the Bishops of Egypt only.

(b) The Greek text of this Canon is in the margin of the 19. ch. of this book 6.

In the same Council this Canon, related before, ch. 19. was made, which is the ninth. (b) If a Clark hath some difference with his Bishop, or with any other Bishop, let him be judged by the Synod of the Province. But if a Bishop or a Clark hath a difference with the Metropolitan of the same Province, let him address himself either to the Exarch of the Diocese, or to the See of the Royal City of Constantinople. In the Roman Empire there were thirteen or fourteen Dioceses, and every Diocese contained many Provinces, each of which had many Bishops, and over these Bishops a Metropolitan. The first Bishop of the Diocese was called Exarch, to whom many Metropolitans obeyed: Such Exarchs were the Bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, Cesarea, Cappadocia, Carthage, Rome, Constantinople, Thessalonica, Ephesus, Arles, &c. Among which some by an especial honour were called Patriarchs, as the Bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and had pre-eminence among the Exarchs, save only the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was even subject to the Bishop of Cesarea, because Cesarea was the Capital City of Palestina, according to the civil order. For the Bishops of the Roman Empire had their places according to the dignity of the Cities. I find also in Gregory of Tours in book 5. of the history of the Franks, ch. 20. and in the Council of Mafcon, that the Bishop of Lyons is called a Patriarch.

This digression was necessary for the intelligence of that Canon: Of which the sense is this: That if a Clark hath a difference with his Bishop, he must be judged by the Synod of his Province. If he have a difference with the Metropolitan Bishop, let him address himself to the Exarch of his Diocese. And among the Exarchs that priviledge is given to that of Constantinople, that from all Dioceses Appeals may come to him: and that who so will not undergo the judgement of his Exarch,

may

may remove the cause, and evocate it to the judgement of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who shall judge the cause ultimately, and without Appeal. A certain proof that there was no Appeal from his judgement to the Bishop of *Rome*.

This is that Canon which Pope *Nicolas* the first in the Epistle to the Emperor *Michael* doth wickedly corrupt, putting *Diocesēs* for *Diocese*, the plural for the singular; and by the *Exarch of the Diocesēs*, meaning the Bishop of *Rome* only; as if the Canon said, *Let him address himself to the Exarch of the Diocesēs, that is, to the Roman Pope.* A great licentiousness, to corrupt and change the words of such an exprefs Canon; which though we should pass by and wink at it, still this would remain, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* is by that Canon equalled unto the Bishop of *Rome*; if so be that the Canon decreeth, that he that hath a difference with a Metropolitan, must address himself to the Pope of *Rome*, or to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and giveth no leave to Appeal from the judgement, either of the one or the other.

The twelfth Canon of the same Council acknowledgeth; that when the Emperors made a City to be Metropolitane for civil causes; according to the increase of the civil dignity, the Ecclesiastical dignity grew also, and the Bishop was styled Metropolitan. The words of the Canon are, (c) *Let all the Cities which by Royal letters have already been honoured with the title of Metropolitan, enjoy that only honour. &c.*

The seventeenth Canon saith the same, (d) *If by the Imperial power a City hath received, or hereafter shall receive some new degree, let the order of Ecclesiastical Parishes be also conformable to the civil and publick form.* There the word *Parish* signifieth all that is under a Bishops jurisdiction, and is the same thing as is now called a *Diocese*. The ninth Canon of the Council of *Antioch* confirms that very thing, saying, *The Bishops of every Province must acknowledge the Bishop of the Metropolitall City, and take care of the whole Province; because all they that have business resort to the Metropolitall City: therefore we have decreed that he should be pre eminent in honour.* Of which we have an example in the second Novel of *Justinian*: where that Emperor giveth to the first *Justiniane* (the City of his birth) the title of Metropolitall and Archiepiscopal over many Provinces.

This is the true source and origine of the preheminence of the Bishop of *Rome*, even because *Rome* was the Capital City of the Roman Empire: As it is said in very exprefs terms in the same Council of *Chalcedon*, in the twenty eighth Canon, (f) *The Fathers have with good reason given prerogatives to the See of the antient Rome, becaufe that City reigneth.* That is, it is the Capital City of the Empire.

If the antient Church had regarded *Peters* being at *Rome*, and dying there; no doubt but the Church of *Antioch* where they say that *St. Peter* kept his See seven years, should have preceded the Church of *Alexandria* founded by *St. Mark* only. And the Church of *Jerusalem* where *Christ* taught, and where he dyed, and where all the Apostles a long time resided, ought to have been the first. But because in the civil order *Alexandria* was before *Antioch*, and that *Jerusalem* was subject to *Cæsarea* the Metropolitall City of *Palestina*, the Bishops also sate according to that order, and followed the civil order.

For this reason the first Council of *Constantinople*, in the third Canon, decreeth, that since the City of *Constantinople* is become another *Rome*, and the second Capital City of the Empire, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* also should have the pre-eminence next to the Bishop of *Rome*, which was a posteriority in order without any subjection. So much is declared by the title of the 31. Novel of *Justinian*, *De ordine sedendi Patriarcharum*. Of the order of sitting among the Patriarchs. Which the Council of *Chalcedon* hath more plainly express'd in the 28. Canon, where the Bishop of *Constantinople* is declared equal to the Bishop of *Rome* in all things, although according to the civil order *Constantinople* be the second after *Rome*. To which Canon that made so much noise, and which still makes our adversaries heart
ake, we owe a Chapter apart.

οὗτοι παρεστῶτες Ρώμης διὰ τοβασθέντων τῶν πόλιν ἐκείνῃ οἱ πατέρες ἐκόντως ἀπέμειναν τὰ πρεσβεία. (f) π. 1899

(c) ὅσαι ἡδὴ
πόλεις τῆς
μεξικό-
λης ἐπιμή-
θισαν ὀνόμα-
τι, μόνος ἀπο-
λαύει πωπὸν
πικρῶς.

(d) εἰς τὴν
τῆς ἐκ βασι-
λικῆς οὐρα-
νης ἐκκαίνισ-
τος ἡ αὐτῆς
κατασκευῆς
τοῖς πολι-
τοῖς καὶ ἀπο-
στολῶν τῶν
καὶ τῶν ἐκκλη-
σιαστικῶν πα-
τριάρχων ἡ
ἐκκαίνισ-
τος ἡ αὐτῆς
κατασκευῆς

[illegible]

१) तत् शिरोवत्
प्रसिद्धिः.

CHAP. 26.

of the XXVIII. Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, and of the protestation which the Legats of Leo Bishop of Rome made against it: And how they offered to falsifie a Canon of the Council of Nice.

(a) Predic-
tum quatuor
Synodorum
dogmata sicut
sanctas Scrip-
turas accipi-
mus & regulas
sicut leges
observamus.

(b) Sicut
sancti Evan-
gelii quatuor
libros sic qua-
tuor Concilia
suscipere &
venerari me-
fator, Nice-
num, &c.

(c) τὸ ὁρίω-
ναι τὰς πρεσβυ-
τέρας Ρώμης
διὰ τὸ βασι-
λεῖν τὴν
πολὶν ἐκείνην
ἐκείνης δι-

πατέρας ἀπο-

δεύειν τὰ

πρεσβεία, &

τὸ αὐτὸ

σκόπεον κινῶ-
μενοι οἱ ἐκεί-
νων πρεσβυτέ-
ρας διακριτέ-
ς οἱ οὖτοι

κρίτοι τῶ ἵου-
στου πρεσβεία

οὐκ ἐνεχόμε-
νοι τῶ τῆς νέας

Ρώμης ἀρχι-
επισκόπου ὁρίω-
ναι τὴν ἐκεί-
νης ἐκείνης

ἐκείνης τῶ
βασιλείᾳ &

συγκλητῶ
πληθείᾳ

πλείον & ὅ-
τι οὖτοι ἐπο-

λάουσιν

πρεσβείαν τῇ

ἐκείνης ἐκείνης

ἐκείνης ἐκείνης

Ρώμης & ἐν

τῇ ἐκείνης ἐκείνης

ἐκείνης ἐκείνης

ἐκείνης ἐκείνης

ἐκείνης ἐκείνης

ἐκείνης ἐκείνης

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ἐκείνης ἐκείνης

ἐκείνης ἐκείνης

THE Council of Chalcedon was one of the most solemn Assemblies of Christian Prelats that ever was; they were 630. Bishops chosen out of all the Roman Empire. Pope Leo the first then living, acknowledgeth in the thirty seventh Epistle to the Emperour Leo, that this Council was assembled by the Holy Ghost. It is the fourth among the Universal Councils; Of which four Councils, (a) Justinian in the 131. Novel, chap. 1. and (b) Pope Gregory the first, say, that they receive and honour them with the like respect as the four Gospels.

In that Council that famous Canon was made whereby the Bishop of Constantinople is equalled to the Bishop of Rome in all things, and the City of Constantinople, though second in order after Rome, among the Cities of the Empire, is declared equal to Rome, as well in Ecclesiastical as in Civil things. The Canon is this, *The Fathers with good reason have given prerogatives to the See of the ancient Rome, because that City reigneth. And the hundred and fifty Bishops [of the first Council of Constantinople] most beloved of God, moved with the like consideration, have attributed to the most holy See of the new Rome [which is Constantinople] equal priviledges, judging with good reason that the City honoured with the Empire and the Senat, and having the same priviledges as the ancient Imperial Rome, ought to be magnified as much as that City in Ecclesiastical things, being the next after her.*

Three things displease our Adversaries in this Canon. The first is, that there the preheminance of the Bishop of Rome is founded only upon the Civil dignity of the City of Rome, which is the seat of the Empire, and the capital City. The second is, that by this Canon, the Bishop of Constantinople is declared as equal in Ecclesiastical things to the Bishop of Rome, as the City of Constantinople was equal to the City of Rome in Civil things, and to have the same priviledges. Whence it followeth, that the Bishop of Constantinople was not subject to that of Rome, although Constantinople was the second in order. The third is, that by this Canon the order of the Patriarchs is changed, and the Bishop of Constantinople, who sometimes was but suffragant to the Metropolitan of Heraclea, is preferred before the Patriarchs of Alexandria, and Antioch, and is made the second among the Patriarchs; and that without the consent of Leo Bishop of Rome, and without acquainting him with it, and notwithstanding the opposition of his Legats in the Council: and that which grieveth most our Adversaries, is, that this order hath held and continued firm for many Ages, and was renewed in the Universal Councils that followed, especially in the sixth Council (d) assembled again in the Palace of Trull to make Canons, where the same Canon is repeated in the same terms. And indeed since that time the Patriarchs of Alexandria, who had the chief interest to oppose that change, did not dispute the precedence to the Bishop of Constantinople, but without contestation obeyed the order of the Council. The Bishops of Rome would have acquiesced unto it, but that the strength of the Emperours was falling in Italy, and barbarous Kings were then invading Rome and Italy, and the Empire of the West; so that the Bishop of Rome being then subject to other Masters, might without danger despise the authority of the Emperours.

Our Adversaries boasting of the authority of Councils, shew here that they speak not in earnest. For they declaim against this which they acknowledge to be Universal, and dispense themselves from the rules established in it. M. du Perron among others, doth his worst to weaken the authority of this Council.

He saith in chap. 34. that in the evening of the twelfth day Anatolius Patriarch

(d) Concil.
Constanti-
nop. VI. in
Trullo. c. 36.
Pag. 241.

arch of *Constantinople* spying the occasion that the Popes Legats (for so he calls alwayes the Bishop of *Rome*, although the name of *Pope* was then common to all Bishops) and the Senate were retired, and all that could cross him; caused that Decree to be drawn and signed by some Bishops of the neighbouring Provinces. His witness for this relation is *Liberatus*, who in such matters is liberal of his lyes. But *M. du Perron* was sure not to say that it appeareth by the Acts of the Council, that the Legats of the Bishop of *Rome* made their complaints the next day, saying that they had been surprized, that they were not present when the Council had made this Canon, and that violence was used to make that Canon to pass. And that upon their exceptions all the Bishops (c.) cryed out with one voice, that they had voluntarily subscribed that Canon, not by constraint; and all declared in the presence of the said Legats, that they approved and confirmed that Canon. And which is more, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylea* arose, and affirmed, that being at *Rome* he had communed with *Leo* about that matter, and that *Leo* thought it just that such an Order should be made. So that Article was ratified, and remained to posterity.

(c) Acts 16.
Reverendi
Episcopi
clamaverunt.
Nemo coactus
est.

It is true that the Greek Acts say, that the Council writ to *Leo* about it, beseeching him to approve that Canon. But those Acts swarm with untruths, and experience gives them the lye. For if the Council had submitted this Article to the judgement of *Leo*, that resolution of the Council should have been broken, and the Canon disannulled, when *Leo* declared a little after, that he could not approve that doctrine. But it remained fixt notwithstanding *Leo's* oppositions, and was practised without hinderance since the sitting of that Council, as long as the Empire of *Constantinople* stood. And all that *Leo* declaimed against, was without effect; as *Liberatus* saith in chap. 13. of his Breviary: *Although the Apostolick See to this day contradict that Decree, yet the resolution of the Synod remains in some sort, by the Emperours protection.* For to alledge here (as the Cardinal doth) *Leo's* Epistles, wherein he speaks to *Anatolius* as a Master, and as forgiving him, would be an abuse offered to the Reader; for who cares to hear the Pope bearing witness in his own cause? Never is the Pope sooner inclined to pardon, then when he can do no harm, and when the offenders are not in his power. Of which this same *Anatolius*, in whose favour this Canon was made, affords us a notable example, which we shall see hereafter.

Also the Cardinal was too wary to say that *Leo's* Legats in this Council to defend his authority brought forth the sixth Canon of the Council of *Nice*; but corrupted, and beginning by this clause falsely added, *Quod Romana Ecclesia semper habeat primatum*; That the Roman Church hath always the primacy. And that thereupon *Aetius* an Arch-deacon brought forth out the Archives of the Church of *Constantinople*, the original of the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, where that clause was not found.

Thus all the nullities which *M. du Perron* brings against this Canon vanish away. He saith that it was suggested and contrived by the Clerks of the Church of *Constantinople*, in an undue hour, in the absence of those that had interest in it; and that the Clerks of *Constantinople* have added some words to it, that were not in the first Council of *Constantinople*. But all these nullities (if there were any) were taken off the next day, when in the presence of the Judges and the Legats of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Patriarchs, and the whole Council, the business was resumed, the reasons of the Roman Legats were heard, and all they could say against it: and the Canon was generally approved and ratified by the Council. Neither did the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, who were chiefly concerned in it, either at that time, or since that time, oppose it.

The prudent Reader will observe this, That when our Adversaries find a text of an antient Author, which seems to favour them, they set it out with great shew and noise, and with a little meat they make three dishes, repeating the same text a hundred times over, as Cardinal *du Perron* doth. But when they meet in Antiquity with something that displeaseth them, they make no difficulty to condemn whole Councils, yea and the Universal, and to find fault with their Canons. It is

certain that of all the Canons made in that Council, this was that which was established with most solemnity and authority, seeing that it was more examined and debated then any, and that after the hearing and weighing of all the oppositions, it was approved and confirmed by the Council, and practised in the following ages. But let us suppose that in the passing of that Canon, all the requisite forms were not practised. Yet this remains, that above six hundred Bishops approved this Canon, yea those whose dignity was most imbezelled by it. If you will not take the votes of those Bishops as suffrages pronounced in an Universal Council: Yet those Bishops are six hundred Fathers, and so many particular witnesses, more credible then the Bishop of *Rome*, who was a party, and cannot be Judge in his own cause. Neither would he have been so bold as to contradict an Universal Council approved by the Emperour, and by all the Bishops, his own Legats only excepted, if the Roman Empire had kept its former vigour in *Italy*, and in the other Western Provinces. But it was the time when the Occidental Empire was falling, and at the last gasp. *Valentinian* who still kept the name of the Empire in *Italy*, being rather a monster then a man, and a shadow, then an Emperour: with whom the Empire fell in the West soon after. Be sure that if *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* and his successors had been subject to the Roman Emperours reigning at *Constantinople*, as they had been untill the time of *Honorius*, Uncle to this *Valentinian*, they could never have had the boldness to contradict a decree so solemnly established.

How weakly did those Legats of the Roman Bishop plead their Masters cause against that Canon, whereby the Bishop of *Constantinople* is made equal unto that of *Rome* in all things, even in the Ecclesiastical, as it is related in the sixteenth Action of that Council? The question being of the primacy of the Bishop of *Rome* in that solemn Assembly, then or never those Legats ought to have alledged those texts of the Gospel, which are used in our days for that end, *Thou art Peter*, &c. And *Feed my sheep*. But that they do not: For the Council would have derided those proofs. They grounded themselves only upon a Canon of *Nice*, which they falsified, but so grossly, that the falshood was presently manifested.

CHAP. 27.

Answer to the nullities which M. du Perron brings against this Canon of Chalcedon.

Cardinal *du Perron* bends all his strength to dismount this Canon. He chargeth it with no fewer then thirteen nullities, each of which deserveth a dash of our pen.

He saith 1. That this Canon hath been contrived and suggested by the Clerks of *Constantinople*. 2. At an undue hour. 3. In the absence of the Judges and Patriarchs, but that of *Antioch*. 4. That they that signed it, did it against their will. To all these I answer in one word, That these nullities, if there was any, were all taken off the next day, when in the presence of the Judges, and of the Popes Legats, and of all the Council, the business was debated, and the Canon approved and ratified by the Council; all crying with one voice, that they had signed it with their good will, and unconstrained. And it is like that the Legats of *Leo* absented themselves purposely when that business was moved, that they might protest against it of nullity. But the business was resumed in their presence, and they were condemned notwithstanding their protestations. Hereby also the sixth nullity is confuted, that the Officers of *Constantinople* had fore-stalled the liberty of the Assembly, since all the Bishops that had already approved that Canon, unanimously protested, that neither force nor fear had moved them to it; but that

that they had freely spoken their judgement. That which he saith of the absence of the Patriarchs, is both false and ridiculous. For the Patriarch of *Rome* had his Legats in that Council, who might be present when they had a mind to it. *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Maximus* of *Antioch* were present. The See of *Alexandria* was vacant, and had not yet any Patriarch since the deposition of *Dioscorus*, as (a) M. du Perron acknowledgeth: It is then an error to reckon the Patriarch of *Alexandria* among the absent.

He reckons for the fifth nullity, that the Clerks of *Constantinople* in the writing of this Canon committed two falsifications. The one, that they added the word *equal*, which was not in the (b) third Canon of the first Council of *Constantinople*: The other, that they added the clause that commands that the Bishop of *Constantinople* ordain the Metropolitans of *Pontus*, *Asia*, and *Thracia*. But he was in an error if he thought that this Canon of *Chalcedon* was only a repetition of the third Canon of the first Council of *Constantinople*, for it was also made both to expound and to amplify the same. Adding is not falsifying, when they that add do it with authority.

He brings for the seventh nullity, that *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylea* surprized the Council, falsely affirming that he had heard from the mouth of *Leo* himself, that he approved this Canon. But of that *Eusebius*, partner of the sufferings of *Flavianus*, the zeal and piety is commended, and he is more credible than *Leo*, who being acted by his own interest, and having since better considered what prejudice he might receive by that Canon, did alter his opinion. But howsoever, it was not upon the testimony of that *Eusebius* that the Council grounded his decision.

The eighth, ninth and tenth nullities are, that the Legats of *Leo* did oppose it, and protest against it; That *Leo* hath abolished and made void that Canon, and that *Anatolius* concealed it from the Council, detaining the letters of *Leo*. I answer, that these Legats were condemned, and the Council held not their opposition considerable. Neither is *Leo's* judgement of any weight in this case, for he is here a party, and speaks for his own interest. He hath indeed declared that this Canon displeased him, but to abrogate and disannul it, it was beyond his power. The Bishops of *Rome* at that time had not climbed yet to that degree of pride, to boast that they were above Universal Councils. Wherefore also that Canon remained firm, and was practised in the following ages, notwithstanding the opposition of the Roman Pope, as *Liberatus* saith in his ch. 13. As for the concealment of *Leo's* letters by *Anatolius*, *Leo* complains of it in his Epistles to *Marcianus*. But whether that expostulation be true or false, it doth not invalidate that Canon, which so much grieveth our adversaries. For this Council was sufficiently instructed of the intention of *Leo*, by the instructions of his Legats, and by their opposition, and had no need of *Leo's* letters to learn his intentions. And if those letters were written to *Anatolius*, not to the Council, *Anatolius* was not bound to read them to the Council.

For the eleventh nullity he adds, that *Anatolius* did himself waive those privileges that were granted to him by this Canon. But he brings no witness for that but *Leo* himself, who may justly be suspected as a party too much interested in that cause, to give an impartial testimony. Especially seeing that the Bishops of *Rome* of that time used to expound the letters of friendship that were written to them as so many Acts of submission, and the intreaties of those that desired to live with them in concord, as confessions of persons that crave pardon: Also that they used to give what they cannot take away; to forgive those whom they cannot punish; and to take from a man that which he hath already lost. Of which this *Anatolius* will give us a fair example, as we shall see hereafter. So much I will say for *Anatolius*, that though he would have waived that privilege, he could not have done it: For that privilege was not personal nor particularly conferred upon the person of *Anatolius*, but upon the Church and Patriarchal See of *Constantinople*; and that, in consideration of the Emperor and the Capital City of the Empire: so that others greater than *Anatolius* had an interest in it.

The Cardinals twelfth nullity, is, that this Canon was falsely inserted in the Ca-

(a) Pag. 260.

(b) Conc.

Constantinop.

I. Can. 3.

τον ισοι της

καταστασης

πολης αυτης

εστιν εχον

τα δευτερευου

της ημερας

η της Πασης

επισης

διδωσιν

επισης

Ρωμης.

talogue of the Canons of *Chalcedon*, and that a time was, that it was not in the Acts. Wherein he confutes himself, for a Canon must be put among the Canons, not within the Acts, which must be separated from the Canons. Wherefore also that Canon is found in all the Editions of the said Canons that I have seen. It is in *Zonaras*, in *Balsamon*, in *Harmonopolus*, in the Latin Tomes of the Councils printed by our adversaries, in the Greek Canons set forth by *du Tillet*, in the Nomocanon of the Greek Churches published by the learned *Jussellus*: And that Canon is repeated in the same words in the sixth Council assembled against *Trull*, and inserted in the Roman Decree, in the Canon *Renovantes*, in the two and twentieth distinction. Truly hardly in all antiquity can any thing be found more authentical, or any Canon established with better forms, or by a more solemn Assembly than this Canon. And I am confident that this objection of the Cardinal, that this Canon was not at the first in the Acts of the Council, is an invention of his own, forged against his conscience.

For it is abusing the Reader to send him (as the Cardinal doth) to a Manuscript of the Library of *Queen Catherine de Medicis*, and to *Dionysius Parvus* a Roman Abbot, who saith that this Council made but twenty seven Canons. That Abbot being at *Rome*, followed the inclinations of the Church of *Rome*, to which this Canon was alwayes very odious. *Gratian*, who hath compiled the Roman Decree, seeing that a Canon so publick and so authentical could not be suppressed, hath inserted it in the body of the Decrees, but with the most perfidious and bold falsifications that can be imagined. For whereas this Canon equalleth *Constantinople* with *Rome* in all things, even in the Ecclesiastical: *Gratian* hath put, but not in Ecclesiastical things; *Sed non in Ecclesiasticis*, in stead of, *Etiā in Ecclesiasticis*. And that corruption hath remained so many ages in a book which contains the Rules and Decrees of the Roman Church, and is as it were the Bible of the Roman Clergy, and the text of Lectures in the Schools of Canon-law.

Yet that we may deal kindly with the Cardinal, let us suppose that in the establishing of that Canon all the forms requisite were not observed, and that it was not a Canon of a Council. Yet this remains, that it is the voyce of above six hundred Bishops, unanimously declaring their sense. If they may not be considered as speaking together, this cannot be denied them, that they were so many single witnesses, and every one of them more credible then the Bishop of *Rome*, who is a party in this cause, and who already in that time did not want ambition.

Also the Reader may observe, that when our adversaries find in an antient Author some sentence that seems to favour them, they make great trophies with it, and sound the Trumpet before it; But if they find in Antiquity something contrary to the Popes dignity, they fear not to tread Universal Councils under their feet, and to oppose the consent of six hundred Fathers speaking in a Council, presuming to be wiser then their Pope *Gregory* the first, who in the 24. Epistle of the 1. book declareth, that he receiveth this Council of *Chalcedon* with the like reverence as the Holy Gospel.

CHAP. 28.

A Confutation of the Exposition which M. du Perron giveth to the Canon of the Council of Chalcedon.

TO invalid the strength of this Canon, *M. du Perron* saith that *Anatolius* by this Canon pretended not to be equal unto the Pope in relation to the Pope, but under the Pope; and to have only the same privileges over the other Patriarchs, as the Pope had over him and them: and that for all this he acknowledged himself inferiour and subject unto the Pope.

But the words of the Canon cannot bear that interpretation; for that Canon commands without exception that the See of *Constantinople* be equal unto that of

Rome

Rome in Ecclesiastical things. The same is confuted by the example of the equality in civil things, upon which this Canon groundeth the equality in Ecclesiastical things, decreeing that there be between *Rome* and *Constantinople* an equality as well in the Ecclesiastical as in the Civil: as then *Constantinople* was not subject unto *Rome* in the Civil, although it was second in order; so this Council decreeth that the Church of *Constantinople* may not be subject to that of *Rome*, although *Rome* be the first in order.

But the Cardinals shift is full of absurdity, and of things inconsistent, when he saith that by this Canon *Anatolius* pretended to be equal unto the Pope, yet under the Pope: he that is under another is not equal to him. With the like absurdity, he saith that by this Canon *Anatolius* pretended not to have the same power over the other Patriarchs as the Pope had over him and them: Certainly it is impossible that the Subject of a Monarchy have the same power over the other Subjects, as that which the Sovereign hath over him: for the Sovereign can reverse the judgements of such a one, and take away or diminish his power; such a Subject should be as much a King over the other Subjects, as the King is over him. Had one the like power over the French as the King of *France*, he should not be the Kings Subject; for if the King could not punish him, and deprive him of life or dignity, by that subjection his power should be much diminished, and he could not execute all his will. I make no doubt, but that as the Cardinal giving that interpretation spake against common sense, he spake also against his own sense.

CHAP. 29.

Of the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, and of the little credit which ought to be given to the Tomes of the Councils, both Greek and Latin.

THE most certain Monuments of the antient Councils are the Canons and Symbols made in them. We have that obligation to the Greek Churches that they have preserved for us with great care and fidelity, those excellent Monuments, which contain in a Summary the whole substance and result of the deliberations and matters treated in the antient Councils, and which therefore were read in the beginning of Councils.

As for the Acts and Preambles of the Councils, and the History of all the passages of the same, the Grecians were not careful to preserve them, and the Latins have laboured to corrupt them. They are found in the Latin Tomes that are published by our adversaries, which swell at every new Edition, and receive a continual alteration: These Tomes, the first especially, and part of the second, are the most corrupt Books, and fullest of falsifications that ever were made in matter of Religion. There the Father of lying had free scope, and multiplied forgeries at his own pleasure: There for a suitable beginning to the work you have eight books of Apostolical Constitutions falsely ascribed to *Clement*, contemporary to the Apostles, there the falshood is evident; For in the 6. book, ch. 24. the Author saith that then the Romans had renounced the Pagan Religion, and kept the Jews tributary, shewing that the Book was made when the Roman Emperors were Christians. Then follow about threescore Decretal Epistles of the Popes of the three first Ages, the falshood of which Epistles is known by the date of the Consuls, by the barbarousness of the style, and by divers other evident errors. Pope *Leo* the IV. *Can. de libellis*, in the 20. Distinction, acknowledgeth no Decrees, and no Rules of Popes before *Sylvester*. And both *Baronius* and *Bellarmin* freely acknowledge the falshood of these Epistles: in the same first Tome of Councils, whole Councils are found which never were, as the Council of *Sinnessa* under *Marcellinus*, and the Roman Council under *Sylvester*. The donation of *Constantine*

time

rine is of the same stuff, and many the like pieces forged purposely to exalt the Popes power, but so grossly, that the learned among our adversaries, as *Baronius* and *Bellarmin* dare not defend them, and acknowledge the falshood of them.

In the same Tomes of Councils the Acts of the Councils are so confused and depraved, that it appears plainly impossible that things should have been done in that manner.

Of late the same Acts of the Councils have been publisht in Greek, drawn out of the Manuscripts of the *Vatican*, made by our adversaries, who have given them to us such as they listed. Between those Greek and Latin exemplaries there is such a discord, that we could never take them for the same Councils, did not the titles tell us so much. Of this Council of *Chalcedon* especially, (a) *Baronius* acknowledgeth that the Acts are corrupted: and the Greek Copies agree not with the Latin, so that one cannot discern whether the Latin must be corrected by the Greek, or the Greek by the Latin. In the Latin Copies the order of the Sessions is troubled: and it is easie to know that the Acts are falsified both in the Latin and in the Greek. For the ninth and the twenty eighth Canons of this Council which we have produced, are contrary to the Roman Prelat, and derogate to his Primacy, as we have shewed: But in the third Session of those Acts there is a Synodical (b) Epistle of the Council to *Leo*, where the Fathers of the Council acknowledge him for their Head, and submit their decisions to his judgement, beseeching him to ratifie them. Which words the Cardinal alleadgeth very often: But God permitted that the falshood of that Epistle should appear by the date of the moneth and the year; for in the end of the Epistle these words are found, *Scripti pridie Calendas Apriles feria tertia Indictione decima tertia*, I writ this the last of March, being Tuesday, in the thirteenth Indiction: But the Synod of *Chalcedon* was separated long before that moneth of *March*, having begun the third day of *October*, and ended towards the end of the same moneth. And *Martian*, under whose Empire that Council sate, lived not till the thirteenth Indiction, but dyed in the eighth, as (c) *Baronius* observeth. But is it credible that the Fathers of this Council (who knew already that *Leo* condemned their Canon, and upon that had given a repulse to his Legats, and despised their protestations against the said Canon) would submit to his judgement? And how had they submitted to it, seeing that, notwithstanding all the invectives of *Leo* and his successors against that Canon, they remained fixed in their resolution, and that this Canon was kept in force to posterity? and that the Popes have alwayes complained that their authority was despised by that Council?

The same I say of some other Epistles of private men, where *Leo* is called the Universal Pope and Head, who hath the preheminance over the members: For the Canons of that Council speak a contrary language. In brief, all that the Cardinal brings out of the Acts of the Councils, for the Pope, is without strength, suspected of falshood, and grounded upon that sandy foundation of the fidelity of our adversaries, who of late have published Greek Acts which never were seen before.

CHAP. 30.

Answer to the examples which Cardinal du Perron brings in the 34. ch. to prove, that notwithstanding this Canon of Chalcedon, the Bishops of Constantinople have been subject to the Bishop of Rome.

Page. 245.

TO invalid this Canon which strongly battereth the Papal See, the Cardinal brings some examples of the power and superiority of the Bishop of Rome over that of Constantinople.

He saith that *Paul* of Constantinople was restored to his See by *Julius* Bishop of Rome, as *Sozomenus* saith. That *Chrysostom* Appealed by letters to Pope *Innocent*.

That

That *Flavianus* appealed to Pope *Leo*. But we have shewed already that neither *Paul* nor *Athanasius* were re-invested with their places by *Julius*: that his judgement had no effect; that *Chrysostom* never appealed to *Innocent*, and that the superscription of *Chrysostom's* letters to *Innocent* is false: Also that *Flavianus* appealed not unto *Leo* as to his Judge, but that he put into the hands of *Leos* Legats his appeal to the Council, beseeching *Leo* that by his authority, and intercession with the Emperor, another Council should be called, where his cause might be judged. Which Council *Leo* began presently to desire of the Emperor, but he was denied, for he undertook not the judgement of that business.

He adds the example of *Anatolius* himself, in whose favour this twenty eighth Canon of *Chalcedon* was made, which example the Cardinal ought to have concealed for the Popes credit. That *Anatolius* was unjustly, and unlawfully promoted to the Patriarchat of *Constantinople* by the false Council of *Ephesus*, and put in the place of *Flavianus* unjustly deposed, and cruelly handled. That election being null, yet *Leo* seeing *Anatolius* supported by the Emperour, and knowing that all his efforts against *Anatolius* should be vain, he approved that election as lawfull; and after, with a ridiculous arrogance write to the Emperour *Martianus*, speaking as if *Anatolius* held his place by his favour and approbation, saying (a) *Let it be enough for him, that by the help of your piety, and by the consent of my favour he obtained the Bishoprick of so great a City.* It is not now that the Popes begin to give what they cannot take away, and to be gracious to those whom they cannot oppress. Wherefore *Anatolius* was not moved with that: But without asking *Leo's* advice he established a Patriarch in *Antioch*. About which *Leo* in the same Epistle to *Martianus* makes great complaints, but the Emperour did not regard them. Neither was the thing altered, or any amends made to *Leo*.

(a) Leonis Epist. 32. ad Martianum. Satis sit prædicto quod vestra pietatis auxilio & mei favoris assensu. Enicopa.

Anatolius was no more subject to the Bishop of Rome, then Gennadius, his immediate successor in the Bishoprick of Constantinople. This Gennadius who is reckoned among the Saints both by the Greek, and by the Latine Church, being informed that in the Roman Church the laying on of hands was conferred for money, assembled a Council of the Bishops of his Patriarchat, with whom he made a strict decree against the traffick of Holy things: Which Decree, according to the care that the Patriarchs took of their fellow Patriarchs, he made known by letters unto Hilary Bishop of Rome, that it might be received in all the Churches subject to the Roman Prelat. These letters are found in the first Tome (b) of Greek-Roman Law, in which he saluteh thus the Bishop of Rome, Gennadius and the Synod assembled in the Imperial City of Constantinople, to our companion in the Ministry of holy things, the most religious, &c. No higher title: And in the end of the Epistle he layeth upon him this Injunction. *Let your Holiness (saith he) take care with all diligence that these things be made known by copies transcribed to all the godly Bishops that are subject unto you.*

Here many things are to be observed : 1. That the Bishop of *Constantinople* calls the Bishop of *Rome* his companion. 2. That he signifieth the Decrees and Orders made by the Greek Church unto the Bishop of *Rome*, holding that the Bishop of *Rome* is bound to observe them. 3. Above all it is observable that he sends this Decree to the Bishop of *Rome*, that he might notifie it to all the Bishops subject unto the Roman Prelat. *Gennadius* could not more evidently declare that he and his Bishops were not subject to the Bishop of *Rome*. Else one might say that *Gennadius* required that this decree should be signified to those very men that had done it, and by consequent to himself.

A few years after this *Gennadius*, came *Acacius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, a man of great authority, who raised himself above the Bishop of *Rome*, and used him as his inferiour, as we shall see hereafter.

(a) Leonis
Epist. 32. ad
Martianum.
Satis sit præ-
dicto quod
vestræ pietatis
auxilio & mei
favoris assen-
su Episcopa-
tum tantæ
urbis obtinuit.

(b) Juris
Græca Ro-
mani tam
Canonici
quam Ci-
vilis à Leun-
clavio publi-
cati, Tom. I.
pag. 187.

τῶ ἐυσεβε-
στάτῳ συλλει-
τῆργῳ.

(C) φροντιστήριον
 ὃ καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ ὅσι-
 ότης διὰ πα-
 σης φυλακῆς
 τοῦ μένου δι-
 λα κατεχόμε-
 νον ἀνθρώπων
 φων τοῦ κα-
 σὶ θεωρεῖ-
 ζάτοιοι ὁ πρῶ-
 τος.

CHAP. 31.

A summary Answer to the examples posteriour to the IV. Universal Council, brought by the Cardinal in his thirty fourth Chapter.

IN the end with Gods assistance we are come in the deduction of the History of Papacy as far as the year of the Lord 451. and the sitting of the fourth Universal Council, which is the term that Cardinal du Perron had set unto himself, taking the Fathers of the time of the first four Universal Councils, for his Judges. But esteeming not his cause made strong enough by the history of those times, he goeth further; and brings examples of the Popes power over the Bishops of Constantinople, from the last Council to *Cyriacus* and *John* Bishops of Constantinople, who lived in the end of the sixth Age. He brings also the examples of *Acacius*, *Macedonius*, *John*, *Anthimus*, Patriarchs of Constantinople, over which the Bishop of Rome made use of his power, or that were punished by him, or that have yielded obedience to him. He adds, that the Bishop of *Pataria* in *Lycia* saith, that *Sylvester* was Pope over all the earth: That Pope (a) *Gregory* the first in an Epistle saith that the Church of Constantinople was subject unto the Apostolick See.

(a) Lib. 7.
Epist. 63.

(b) Pag. 137.
Evagrius, l.
3. cap. 18.

(c) *ὁμολογία*
ἀποστολική
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(d) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(e) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(f) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(g) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(h) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(i) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(j) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(k) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(l) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(m) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(n) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(o) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(p) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(q) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(r) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(s) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(t) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(u) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(v) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(w) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(x) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(y) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

(z) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

It were an easie task to shew that of these examples some are false, some to no purpose. For example (b) in chap. 25. he alledged *Evagrius* saying, that *Felix* Bishop of Rome sent to *Acacius* a sentence of deposition. But he forgets to add that which *Evagrius* addeth, that (c) *Acacius* rejected that as a thing done against the Canons. Besides *Evagrius* giveth no credit to that story, as reported by one *Zacharias*, (d) who (saith he) was ignorant of all that was done in that matter, and related that which he had but superficially heard. It must be considered also, that Italy being then possessed by the *Heruls*, and since by the *Ostrogoths*, the Pope had changed Master, and was no more subject to the Emperours of Constantinople. Wherefore he began to speak more boldly to the Emperour, and masterfully to the Patriarchs of Constantinople, who also answered him with the like liberty. And while the Emperour upheld the Patriarchs of Constantinople, they despised the censures and arrogant words of the Roman Bishops. And at the same time the Emperour *Leo*, *Martian's* successor, made the forementioned Law, that the Patriarch of Constantinople should have the precedence before all, and that the Church of Constantinople should be the first of the world.

(e) An. 481.

It was also in that time (e) that the Bishops of Asia, having (by the force and constraint which the Tyrant *Basiliscus* used with them) subscribed to the condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon, presented a petition to *Acacius* Patriarch of Constantinople, not to the Bishop of Rome, beseeching him to forgive them their offence. This *Acacius* in the year 479. created *Stephen* Patriarch of Antioch by his single authority, without communing with the other Patriarchs about it, or with the Roman Pope.

(f) *ὁμολογία*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
τῆς Ῥώμης

At the same time also *Acacius* deposed *Calendion* from the Patriarchat of Antioch, and established in it a pernicious man, called *Peter* (f) the Fuller.

(g) Lib. 16.
c. 16. & 17.
Liberatus,
c. 18.

The same *Acacius* born by the Emperours favour misused the Bishops of Rome. For *Felix* the Roman Prelat having assembled a Council of Italian Bishops condemned *Acacius*, not as an heretick, but as polluted with the communion of hereticks. But *Acacius* caused the bearers of that sentence to be apprehended, some of which were killed, some imprisoned, as *Nicephorus* (g) relateth. And he caused the name of *Felix* to be put out of the *Diptrycha*, as we related before.

Acacius being dead, his successors *Flavitas* and *Euphemius* preserved his memory with honour, and would have his name registred in the *Diptrychs*, and solemnly read in the Church; which so angered *Felix*, and his successors *Gelasius* and

and *Hormisdas*, that they excommunicated all the Oriental Orthodox Churches, because they honoured the memory of *Acacius*. Whereupon (h) *Euphemius* commanded *Gelasius*, as his subject, to appear before the See of *Constantinople*, to give an account of his actions. That injury *Gelasius* bore with admirable patience.

(h) Baron. an. 493. §. 3, 9 & 16. & 17.

This is that *Gelasius* who in the second Distinction (i) saith, that to take the bread without the cup in the Eucharist is a great sacrilege: Of which Canon we shall say more in the proper place.

(i) Ca. Con- perimus.

This is that *Gelasius* who in the Decree about the *Apocrypha's* saith, that the Roman Church is that Church which hath neither spot nor wrinkle, Ephes. 5. 27. falsely ascribing to the Roman Church, that which the Apostle saith of the Universal Church of God select; for in earth there is no visible society without some imperfection.

(k) Romana Ecclesia non habens maculam, neque rugam nec aliud hujusmodi.

This is that *Gelasius*, who in the Commonitory or instruction which he gives to his Legat *Faustus*, saith, that (l) the Greek Churches blasphemed against St. *Peters* See, and accused the Bishops of *Rome* of pride; and in the same commonitory declareth, that the Bishop of *Rome* cannot give absolution to the dead, because it is written, (m) *That which thou shalt loose on earth; not under the earth;* condemning his successors that give indulgences to the dead, and fetch souls out of Purgatory. In the book of the Tax of the Apostolical Chancery these words are found, (n) *For a dead man excommunicated, for whom his kindred supplicate, the letter of absolution is sold for one denar and nine pence.*

(l) Non mirum si isti scelerem Beati Petri Apostoli blasphemare presumunt, &c. & nos in sup. r. superbo esse pronunciant. (m) Super terram inquit nam in hac legatione defunctum nunquam dixit absolvi.

This is that *Gelasius* who in the same Commonitory saith, (o) it is not only lawfull for the Bishop of *Rome* to excommunicate one heretical Bishop of what place soever he be, but that it is also lawfull for any other Bishop: thereby confuting all the examples of condemnations and excommunications of Bishops out of the Roman Patriarchat, made by the Bishop of *Rome*, whereby the Cardinal goeth about to prove the Popes primacy. And indeed the same *Gelasius* in his Epistle to the Bishops of *Dardania*, speaking of the excommunication of *Acacius*, saith not that the Bishop of *Rome* hath cut him off from the communion of the Church, but that he (p) hath rejected or separated him from his communion, and removed him from his society. That is, he had declared that he would communicate no more with *Acacius*; who notwithstanding the excommunication pronounced by the Bishop of *Rome*, enjoyed still the communion of the Church, and possessed his Patriarchat peaceably, and fulminated against the Bishop of *Rome*, whom without question he had overthrown, so powerfull was this *Acacius*, if *Rome* had then been in the Roman Emperours power. But the *Goths* reigned at *Rome* at that time, who acknowledged not the Emperour.

(n) Pro mortuo excommunicatio pro quo supplicat constanti litera absolutionis venit ducato uno Ca. ol. 9.

This *Gelasius* in chap. 12. of the first Epistle, following the example of his predecessors, (q) forbids baptizing at any other time but *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*. A certain proof that he held not baptism to be necessary for salvation. Wherefore the present Roman Church rejecting that rule, baptizeth at all times. Before they hold Baptism necessary to salvation, in ch. 11. of the same Epistle, he proveth that the Laws of the Roman Church ought to be followed, because it is written (at least as he alledgeth it) *Ordain charity towards me, and go about Sion, and embrace it, and tell the towers thereof.* Which are concluding proofs and jolly reasons: Are they not?

(o) Quod non tantum Praesuli Apostolico facere licet sed cuicunque Pontifici ut quolibet & quemlibet locum secundum regulam hactenus ipsius ante damnate à Catholica communione discernant.

The same *Gelasius* in the Tome of the bond of Anathema disputes against the authority of Universal Councils, against the Council of *Chalcedon* especially, upon which he bestoweth many ill words. And the reason he giveth, why he will not have all that is prescribed by Universal Councils to be received, is (r) that even in the holy Scripture many prophane and wicked actions are recorded, which we must neither respect nor follow. Wherefore his judgement is, that of Universal Councils, and of Scripture likewise, the good be kept, and the evil rejected:

(p) Acacium à sua communione removit & multis modis transgressorem à sua societate fecit alienum.

præter Paschale tempus vel Pentecostes nemo baptizare præsumat. (r) Quid enim? quia in libris sanctis quos utique veneramus & sequimur, quoniam quorundam illic & profanitates esse feruntur, & scelera gesta narrantur idcirco nobis pariter aut veneranda sunt, aut sequenda, quia in sanctis libris continentur?

(c) Notandum quod quolibet genere blasphemantibus in Spiritum sanctum si respiciant & corrigant & hic & in futuro seculo remittetur.
 (t) Ut & Christiani Imperatores pro eterna vita Pontificibus indigebant, & Pontifices pro temporalium auspiciis rerum imperialibus dispositionibus uterentur, &c. & ideo militans Deo minime se negotiis secularibus implicaret.
 (u) Et ego nulla ipsius scripta unquam percipiens honorificis et literis salutarem curaverim.
 (x) Quatraditione majorum Apostolicam sedem in iudicium vocant?
 (y) Quapropter sub conspectu Dei pure ac sincere pietatem tuam deprecor obtestor & exhortor ut petitionem meam non indignanter accipias:
 Rogo inquam, ut me in hac vita potius audias deprecantem quam (quod absit) in divino iudicio sentias accusantem.

And to exalt himself, not only above the Universal Councils, but above Scripture, he disputes against Jesus Christ for saying, that *to those that blaspheme against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the other.* And pronounceth a contrary judgement in these words, (1) *Note that to all that blaspheme against the Holy Ghost in any sort, if they repent and amend, it shall be forgiven both in this world and in that which is to come.* In the same place he gives many examples of persons to whom it was forgiven, after they had blasphemed against the Holy Ghost. And by divers proofs he endeavors to shew, that all that holy Scripture faith, is not alwayes accomplished.

The same being angry, because the Emperor had absolved Peter of Alexandria, and absolved him from the crimes laid to his charge, saith, that (t) *God hath ordained that Emperours should have need of Popes to have eternal life: and that Popes should make use of the Imperial Laws for temporal things, and should not meddle with secular matters.* For then the Bishops of Rome, though puffed up with pride, were not yet Princes, and did not meddle with the affairs of Empires and Kingdoms. And indeed in the forecaldged Commonitory he saith, (u) that having written to the Emperour letters full of respect, the Emperour never honoured him so much as to answer him; for he made little account of this *Gelasius*, and laughed at his pride.

By the same Commonitory it appears how small was the Roman Bishops authority in Greece and in the East, when he saith that *Calendion* Patriarch of Antioch was expelled without his advice, and that the Greek Churches, that is, the Patriarchs of Constantinople, had been so bold, as to (x) cite the Bishop of Rome to judgement to justify himself before the Patriarchs See.

This same *Gelasius* in an Epistle to the Emperor *Anastasius* speaks with an arrogant humility, mingled with impiety. For after he hath exalted his Primacy, to which he will have all men to be subject, he addeth, (y) *Therefore in the presence of God, I beseech your piety, with purity and sincerity, and adjure and exhort you, that you receive my petition without indignation: I beseech you (I say) that you rather hear me petitioning to you in this life, then to have me (which God forbid) your accuser in judgement before God.* It is to be feared that this Pope shall have so much to do to answer for himself, that he shall want leisure to accuse others. With the like pride in the Epistle to the Bishops of Dardania he put himself in the place of Christ, speaking thus of himself, *He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad*, Matth. 12. That pride made this *Gelasius* odious to the Greek and Oriental Churches. Wherefore he saith in the same Epistle, *Yet they persist to call the Apostolick See proud and arrogant.* For this was the quarrel; *Acacius* Patriarch of Constantinople had fulminated against the Bishops of Rome, and used them as his inferiors. Against him also the Bishops of Rome had retorted thundering excommunications, which hindered him not from keeping the quiet possession of his Patriarchat till death, for the space of seventeen years. After his death (which was in the year of Christ 488.) the Bishops of Rome laboured to make his memory odious, and required that the Churches of Greece and Asia should put the name of *Acacius* out of the *Diprychs*, or Ecclesiastical tables. But the successors of *Acacius* and the Oriental Churches, did so much the more honour and cherish his memory: Wherefore the Bishops of Rome excommunicated all the Churches of the East; not for any heresie, but only for the name of a dead man, whose memory the Patriarchs would not disgrace, by racing his name out of their tables. For such a small matter so many millions of persons of the same faith and Religion as the Roman Church, that were no causes of this quarrel, have been for the space of near forty years separated from the Communion of the Church of Rome. And our adversaries hold, that all that are dead in all the Empire of the East during that time are eternally damned; The Bishops of Rome, of which this *Gelasius* is one, rather choosing that all these millions of souls should perish, then to suffer the name of *Acacius* to stand in a register. Was that the part of a good Pastor and Father of the Church, that hath a tenderness for the salvation of souls? Therefore the Eastern Churches accused *Gelasius* of pride, and detested his arrogance: So far,

far, that *Euphemius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* commanded the Bishop of *Rome* to appear before his See to give an account of his actions. Which he did in a bravado, not out of any hope that the Bishop of *Rome* should obey his command.

"This *Gelasius* is the first that (remembering the Canons of the Councils of *Africa*, which forbid Appeals to *Rome* upon pain of excommunication, and the Canons of *Chalcedon*, which equal the Bishops of *Constantinople* with those of *Rome*, and will have them to judge sovereignly and without Appeal) renounced all the Canons of the Councils, saying that (z) the Roman Church had her authority, not from any Ecclesiastical Canons, but from the only Ordinance of Christ, which yet is no where found; for neither Christ nor his Apostles ever spoke of *Peters* succession, nor of the primacy of the Church of *Rome*. Yet by these words he renounceth that Ecclesiastical Canon which *Julius* the first would use, and the Canons of *Sardica* which the Cardinal keeps such a coyl with.

Note

(z) *Gelasii decretum cum 70. Episcopis de Scripturis Apocryphis. Sancta Romana Ecclesia nullis Synodis constitutis ceteris Ecclesiis prelatas est, sed Evangelico voce Dominus tu et Petrus, &c.*

I did a little extend upon this *Gelasius*, who was Bishop in the year of Christ 495. because he spoke with more arrogance than any of his predecessors, and that the Reader, observing the progress of the mystrie of iniquity, may acknowledge that all that pride which then did rise, is nothing in comparison of that which happened since. For the Popes did not speak as yet of giving and taking away Kingdoms, nor of degrading Emperors, nor of drawing souls out of Purgatory, nor of Canonizing Saints, nor of forbidding the people to read Scripture, nor of denying the cup in the Eucharist unto the people, nor of giving his feet to kifs, nor of causing himself to be adored, nor of calling himself God, nor of giving a hundred thousand years of pardon. Of tripple Crown, of infallibility in the faith, and of a Colledge of Cardinals there was no speech yet in those dayes.

To resume now the history from the time (a) of this *Gelasius*, The authority of the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* was so great at that time, that the Patriarch *Euphemius* threatened the Emperor *Anastasius* to hinder him from being Emperor, unless he promised in writing to embrace the Catholick Faith. But *Anastasius* being confirmed in the Empire, turned out that *Euphemius*, and gave him *Macedonius* for successor, who also favoured the memory of *Acacius*, in spite of the Bishops of *Rome*. And for that only reason (so prodigious was the ambition and the hatred of those Prelats) the Roman Church was separated in communion from the Greek and Oriental.

(a) *Theod. Lector. Collect. l. 2.*

That Schism lasted till the Emperor *Iustin*; who in the year 518. being desirous of concord, and delighting besides to depreess the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* who grew too great, made the Patriarch *John* to agree with *Hormisdas* Bishop of *Rome*, and the name of *Acacius* to be put out of the *Diptychs*, together with the names of *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*, as of abominable and damned persons; although these two last had suffered hard persecutions under the heretick Emperor *Anastasius*, for the defence of the true doctrine.

But the Churches of the East (among whom the memory of *Euphemius* and *Macedonius* was precious, as of faithful defenders of the truth) chose rather to be without the Communion of the Roman Church, then to race their names out of the Church tables, and disgrace their memory after their death. Only *John* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to obey the Emperor, put out their names out of the Church tables of *Constantinople*, and put in the names of *Leo* and *Hormisdas* Bishops of *Rome*, which had been put out before. *Baronius* brings an Epistle of that *Hormisdas*, where he giveth a reason why he remained firm in denying to receive the Oriental Churches to his Communion, before those names that offended him were blotted out of the *Diptychs*; His reason is, because it is written, *None that puts his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the Kingdom of God.*

In the year of Christ 523. dyed *Hormisdas*, *John* succeeded him, who was sent Embassadour to the Emperour *Iustin* by King *Theodorick*, to intercede for the *Arians*, whom *Iustin* had deprived of their Churches. But when he returned, the King put him to death in prison, because he had not executed that Embassie to his mind.

(b) *Variarum*
l. 9. *Epist.* 19.
ad *Johan.*
Papam.

Quicumque
in Episcopatu
obtinendo five
per se, five per
aliam quam-
cunque perso-
nam aliquid
promississe
declaratur, ut
execrabilis
contractus,
&c. sacrilegi-
us protinus
habeatur ac-
cepta restitu-
ens compulsi-
one judicis
competentis.
(c) *Novel.*

123. c. 3.
Jubemus
beatissimos
Archiepisco-
pos & Patri-
archas hoc est
seniores Con-
stantinopoles
& Alexan-
dria, & The-
opoleos, &
Jerusalem
siquidem con-
suetudo habet
Episcopis aut
Clericis non
minus quam
viginti libras
auri dari, &c.

(d) *Ex hoc*
non solum vel
in vetere
Roma vel in
hac regia
civitate sed
& in omni
terra ubiun-
que Christia-
norum nomen
colitur
sancimus.

(e) *Presbyteri*
seu Diaconi si
fallum testi-
monium per-
buisse con-
vinctantur,
siquidem in
causa pecuni-
aria, a divino
Ministerio
duntaxat per tres annos separati monasteriis pro tormentis tradantur, &c. (f) *Baron. An. 528. sect. 2. Dum sacrum*
legum conditorem agit de sacerdotibus leges ferre in eosque penas statuere præter jus fasque præsumere. Sect. 6. & 7.
Cum opus esset ab auctoritate habente erudiri jam senex imprudens in hæresis barabrum sese præcipitem dedit. Vetus est
Regum morbus, &c.

Athalarick succeeded *Theodorick* in the Kingdom of *Italy*, who made a Law which is to be seen in *Cassiodorus*, (b) in the Epistle of *Athalarick* to Pope *John*, whereby he decreeth that the Bishops of *Rome* for their entry, pay to the Kings coffers three thousand crowns, and the other Prelats two thousand, and forbids Simony and factions to enter into the Episcopacy; and commands that who so will enter by such wayes be declared execrable, and punished by competent Judges. In the following Epistle he commands *Salvanus* Prefect of the City to write that Law in Marble, and set it before the Bishop of *Rome's* house. *Justinian* who a little after reconquered *Italy*, (c) continued that Law, taxing every Patriarch in twenty pounds weight of gold for his reception.

After *Athalarick*, *Theodatus* reigned, who sent *Agapetus* Bishop of *Rome* Embassadour to the Emperour *Justinian*, who made use of him to depose *Anthemius* Bishop of *Constantinople*; which is more then *Agapetus* could have done without the strength and authority of the Emperour. In the same manner as *Theophilus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* being come to *Constantinople*, and there upheld by the authority of the Emperour *Arcadius*, deposed *John Chrysostom* from his place. Which authority *Peter* of *Alexandria* would have used a little before towards *Gregory Nazianzen* Bishop of *Constantinople*. And it was so that *Acacius* made and unmade the Patriarchs of *Antioch*, as we have seen.

This Emperour *Justinian* is he that caused the body of the civil Law to be made up. The Code and Novels of the same have several Laws and constitutions about the Christian faith and Ecclesiastical policy, wherein he giveth absolute commands to the Clerks, and useth sovereign power and authority towards the Bishops, without excepting the Clergy, or sparing the Bishop of *Rome*. For example, in the first book of the Code, there is a title, *De Episcopis & Clericis*, Of Bishops and Clerks, where in the Law *Generaliter sancimus*, he speaks thus to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; (d) We decree that this be observed, not only in the old *Rome*, or in this Royal City of *Constantinople*, but also over all the earth where the Christian name is honoured. And his Laws subject the Clerks to the penalties attending the Civil Laws, as much as the rest of the people. Thus in the same title, the Law *Presbyteri* speaks thus, *Priests and Deacons*, if they be convicted to have borne false testimony, if it be in a pecuniary cause, let them be suspended from the sacred Ministry for three years only, and shut up in a Monastery to be tormented. But if it be a criminal cause, let him be deprived of the honour of the Clergy, and punished legally. But let the other Clerks be by the common Law put by their Ecclesiastical Offices, and chastened with rods, without distinction. In the Code and among the *Authenticks* of that Emperour there is a great number of those Laws.

Upon this *Baronius* An. 528. labouring to excuse the Emperour in some sort, yet saith that (f) against right and reason he presumed to do the part of a builder of sacred Laws, and to give Laws to Bishops, and lay penalties upon them: Yea he comes so far as to say, that thereby he cast himself headlong into a gulf of heresie, and that it is the old malady of Kings to be infested with that itch of seeking to usurp that which belongeth to Bishops. But I find not that the Church of that age and the next following blamed *Justinian* for making these Laws; wherein he imitated the good Kings, *David*, *Ezekiah*, *Josiah*, who gave Laws to the sacerdotal order, and made constitutions for Ecclesiastical policy. Neither do I find that the very Bishops of *Rome* complained that this Emperour undertook to give Laws to the Roman Bishop and Clergy. For he could not complain of it without accusing the good Emperours that had been before, as *Constantine* the Great, *Valentinian* the 1. and the two *Theodosii*, of whom we have many Ecclesiastical Laws in the *Theodosian* Code, and in that of *Justinian*.

Among many Laws of that Emperour, two especially displease our adversaries; The 123. Novel in the 3. ch. whereby the Bishop of *Rome* is to pay 20. pound weight of gold for the investiture of his Bishoprick; And the Law which is found

in the same Novel in the Greek Editions, that the publick service be celebrated with a loud voyce, intelligible unto the people.

As for *Menas* whom (g) the Cardinal mentioneth, it is he who in *Justinian* time (g) *Pag. 147.* (as (h) *Nicephorus* relateth) excommunicated *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome* for four (h) *Niceph.* moneths; (i) And shortly after the same *Vigilius* was excommunicated by the Bi- l. 17. c. 26. shops of *Africa* assembled in Council. (i) *Victorius*
Tunenſis
Chronicon.

The Epistle of the Bishop of *Patara* in *Lycia* who calls *Sylverius* Pope of the whole earth, is found in the second Tome of the Councils, which is stuffed with false and supposititious Epistles. And though that Epistle should be true, yet the like things are said of other Patriarchs, as *Athanasius*, *Meletius*, *Nestorius*, and others, as we have seen; for by these words of the whole earth, the Roman Empire is understood.

In that time the Bishops of *Constantinople* styled themselves *Oecumenical*, as having the Government of the Churches of all the habitable world. The Council of *Constantinople* held under *Menas*, gives that title to that Patriarch. And (k) *Justinian* (k) *Cod. tit. 1.* giveth the same title to *Epiphanius* predecessor of *Menas*. Yea there is in the se- leg 7. cond Council of *Nice* an Epistle of *Adrian* Bishop of *Rome* to *Tharasmus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, where he calleth him Universal Bishop. Wherefore it was with little reason that *Gregory* the first took it so ill, that *Cyriacus* and *John* the *Faster*, Patriarchs of *Constantinople* took that title after the example of their Predecessors; saying, that if one is Universal Bishop the others are no more Bishops, and there is no more Bishop but him alone in the world: For the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* meant not thereby to make themselves the only Bishops. And if that be true, which *Gregory* the first so often repeateth in his Epistles, that the Council of *Chalcedon* offered unto *Leo* the title of Universal Bishop, is it credible that the Bishops of that Council offering that title unto *Leo*, intended thereby to depose themselves, and to put off their Episcopacy? Now because the Emperor *Mauritius* upheld *Cyriacus* and *John* Bishops of *Constantinople*, all the coyl that *Gregory* the first kept about that, turned into smoak, and wrought no effect; And *Mauritius* writ to *Gregory* that he was a fool to make so much noyse for a word. This Emperor *Mauritius* being slain with his wife and children by a Captain of his Guards called *Phocas*, Pope *Gregory* began to flatter that Tyrant, and to commend such an execrable action. For he writ to him, and in his letters spake thus to that Monster;

(l) *We rejoyce that the meekness of your piety is attained to the Imperial dignity. Let the heavens rejoyce, and let the earth be glad, and let the people of the whole Commonwealth, which hitherto was in deep affliction, rejoyce at your meek actions.* But *Gregory* did not long enjoy the fruit of his abominable flattery; for he dyed soon after. As for *Phocas*, when he could not obtain from his Patriarch the approbation of his parricide, he began to bring him low, and to exalt the Bishop of *Rome*; and made a Law, whereby he commanded that the Bishop of *Rome* should step before that of *Constantinople*. So much *Platina* saith, (m) *Bonifacius* the third, with great striving obtained of the Emperor *Phocas* that the See of *St. Peter* the Apostle, which is the head of all the Churches, should be called and acknowledged such by all. Which degree the Church of *Constantinople* endeavoured to attribute unto its self. The Reader may observe by what wayes the Papal See was advanced.

Yet though the Bishops of *Rome* were already very corrupt, and though Satan was then advancing the mysterie of iniquity, yet all their pride and malice was but modesty and simplicity, compared to that height of iniquity which they came to some ages after. For this very *Gregory* speaks to the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* as to his equals, and acknowledged that he had no authority to command them. In the 30. Epistle of the 7. book, he speaks thus to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, (*) *Your beatitude [or blessedness] speaks to me saying [as you have commanded me] Which word of commanding, I beseech you to put far from mine ears:*

it magna cum contentione, ut sedes Beati Petri Apostoli quæ caput est omnium aliarum Ecclesiarum, ita & diceretur & haberetur ab omnibus. Quem quidem locum Ecclesia Constantinopolitana sibi vendicare conabatur. () Beatitude vestra mihi loquitur dicens sicut iussistis, Quod verbum iussionis peto à meo auditu removere quia scio quis sim, & qui estis loco enim mihi fratres estis, moribus patres. Non ego iussi sed quæ utilia visa sunt indicare curavi.*

For

(l) *Gregor. Epist. lib. xi. Epist. 36. Benignitatem pietatis vestre ad imperiale fastigium pervenisse gaudemus Latentius celsi, et ex cultet terra, & de vestra benignis actibus universe Reip. populus; nunc usque vehementer afflicti bilarescat: (m) Platina in Bonifacio tertio. Bonifacius à Phoca impetratore obtinu-*

(n) He
meaneth
St. Mark.
(o) Cum ex-
go unus al-
que una sit
sedes cui ex
authoritate
divina tyes
Episcopi præ-
sident, &c.

For I know who I am, and who you are. You are my brethren in degree, and my Fathers in manners. I give you no command, but I have declared to you what I thought to be profitable to you. And in the 5. book, 60. Epistle, he saith to the same Patriarch, that they preside mutually the one upon the others See, So that (saith he) it seems that I preside upon the (n) Disciples See because of the Master, and that you preside upon the Masters See because of the Disciple. And in the 37. Epistle of the 1. book, exalting the dignity of the three chairs of St. Peter, of Rome, of Alexandria, and of Antioch, he saith, that (o) they are but one See, over which three Bishops preside by divine authority.

It was then the year 595. And the Bishops of Rome were not yet temporal Princes, and wore no triple Crown, dispensed not from oaths, exacted no adoration nor kissing of their feet, took not upon them to degrade Kings, and gave no indulgences. There was no speech then of the treasure of the Church, where the Pope layeth up the superabounding satisfactions of the Saints, to distribute them by his indulgences; nor of the Roman stations, nor of the tax of the Roman Chancery, where every absolution of sin and the dispensations are taxed at a certain rate. The Popes then boasted not that they could not err: They canonized no Saints, and drew no souls out of Purgatory. Neither did they oblige the other Bishops to swear fidelity to them in their reception, or to pay them annats and first fruits: These things and many more were by degrees introduced by the following ages, and by an insensible increase, whilst Satan was pouring a thick mist of ignorance upon the minds of the people, giving them images instead of the Word of God, and fables of Legends for the doctrine of the Gospel.

That then I may not tire the Reader with long and tedious histories, and examine all those which the Cardinal alleadgeth, all posterior to the fourth Council; I will say but three things. The one, that though they were all true, yet they are but examples of things happened within the verge of the Roman Empire; which sheweth that the Popes greatness grew upon the greatness of that Empire, but did not exceed the limits of the same. Neither did the Pope pretend any right over the Churches of Persia, Assyria, India or Ethiopia.

The second is, that all his proofs are humane, and are wanting in one point, which is to shew by the Word of God, that God hath appointed the Bishop of Rome to be Peters successor, in the Office of Head over the Universal Church.

The third, that whensoever the Bishops of Rome would attribute unto themselves some superiority in Councils, in the time of the four first Councils, they never alleadged Scripture for it, or made use of *Tu es Petrus, Thou art Peter, &c.* But only they brought some Canons, and those alwayes with some falsification; and were alwayes cast in their suit.

CHAP. 32.

A multitude of falsifications of Cardinal du Perron.

THE Cardinals book which every where swarmeth with forgeries and corruptions, abounds in that ware, especially about the questions of the Church, and of the Popes Primacy. There chiefly he exerciseth his faculty. We have shewed many of them, which may serve for a scantling to judge of the whole piece; for if I would have examined them all, there had been need of a volume apart; I will mark here a few more.

In the second Observation, ch. 2. he saith that the Catholick Church in the Council of Nice had made a Law, commanding the observation of Easter upon the Lords day after the fourteenth Moon of March, upon pain of anathema; and proves it by the testimony of Socrates in the 5. book ch. 21. ἀναγινώσκων ἐν τῇ Ἀσία

παραπεφυγα

ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπείρου, that is, that the Council of Nice denounced excommunication to the *Quartodecimani* of Asia. If the Reader will take the pains to consult the place, he shall find that *Socrates* in these words speaks not of the Council of *Nice*, but of *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*. The Cardinal falsely attributeth to the Council of *Nice* that which was done by *Victor*, and makes *Socrates* to speak contrary to his mind.

In the 2. ch. of his 3. book, pag. 774. to prove that we must consult the Church rather than the Law of God, he corrupts a text of *Deut.* 18. *The Lord will raise Prophets unto you; you shall hear them.* But there is according to the Hebrew, yea according to the Roman vulgar version, (a) *The Lord thy God shall raise up a Prophet unto thee, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him you shall hearken.* That this Prophet is Christ, *Steven* teacheth it, *Act.* 37. The Prophet knew well enough, that if it be here spoken of one Prophet only, who is Christ, that text cannot serve to send the people to the Pastors of the Church to learn of them the unwritten Word. Therefore he corrupted the text to make it serve his turn.

(a) Prophetā de gente tua & de fratribus tuis sicut me suscitabit tibi Dominus Dens tuus, ipsum audies.

In the same place he makes *Calvin* to say that which he never thought on. He saith that *Calvin* in his Comment upon the Pentateuch expounds that text, *Deut.* 18. of sending the people from the Law to the Prophets. This shall not be found in *Calvin*. And though *Calvin* had said, that in that text God sends us from the Law to the Prophets, yet we ought not thereby to understand, that God sends us back to the Prophets to learn the traditions and an unwritten Word from them, but to learn the exposition of the Law by the Law it self.

Christ *Matth.* 22. proveth the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection unto the *Sadducees*, by these words of God himself, *Exod.* 3. *I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob*, for (saith Christ) *God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.* But the Cardinal, pag. 775. disputes against Christ, and brings many reasons to prove, that there is neither reason nor consequence in the proof that Christ brings. And to confirm his affirmation, he saith, that the Doctors of the Jews wondered at it, as at a new thing. A thing altogether false. For first, the Gospel saith not that the Doctors, (b) but the multitudes were astonished at his doctrine. Then it was the excellency of his doctrine, not the novelty, that the multitude did wonder at; as the Cardinal will make us believe.

(b) *Mat.* 22. 33. οἱ ἀκούσαντες δὲ ὤχλων ἐξέστησαν ἐπὶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

In chap. 2. of the third book he makes *Calvin* to say, that such as sacrificed with another fire than that which was come down from heaven, were cursed, and quoteth in the Margin *Calvin's* Comment upon *1 Cor.* 10. Who so will consult that place, shall find that false, and that *Calvin* saith no such thing.

In chap. 25. of the first book he alledgeth the thirty seventh Epistle of book 2. of the Epistles of *Gregory* the first, where he makes him say, *If one of the four Patriarchs had committed such an Act, such a disobedience could not have past without a most grievous scandal.* He translateth *contumaciam*, disobedience, whereas it signifieth obstinacy to resist. But the Cardinal would perswade the world that *Gregory* pretended that other Patriarchs owed him obedience. Whereas *Gregory* himself, in Epist. 30. of book 7. writing to *Eulogius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, acknowledgeth that he had no power at all to command him, as we have observed in the chapter before, and set down the words of *Gregory*.

In chap. 14. of the third book, to weaken a text of *Hilary*, who saith upon *Psal.* 132. *That which is not contained in the book of the Law, we ought not so much as to be curious to know it.* He saith that *Hilary* means, that such things as are set forth in the quality of holy Scripture, and are not found in the body of Canonical Scriptures, ought to be rejected. For (saith he) *it was question of an Apocrypha, which said, that the Angels coming to lust after the daughters of men, would assemble in mount Hermon.* The Cardinal would make the world believe that they against whom *Hilary* disputeth in that place alledged that *Apocrypha* as a Canonical book: Which is a plain untruth, for *Hilary* saith nothing of that, and the question in that place, is only whether that history be true, not whether the book whence it is taken be Canonical. Therefore the sentence of *Hilary* disputing

Pag. 341.

disputing for the perfection of Scripture remaineth firm, *That which is not contained in Scripture, we ought not so much as to be curious to know it.*

In chap. 34. the Cardinal falsely affirmeth that the title of Oecumenical or Universal Bishop was offered to the Bishop of Rome in the Council of Chalcedon. It is true that Gregory the first who lived about a hundred forty five years after that Council, boasteth of that, and addeth that the Bishop of Rome refused that title as arrogant, and robbing other Bishops of their quality of Bishop: For (saith he) if any be Universal Bishop, the others are not Bishops. But the contrary is seen by the twenty eighth Canon of that Council, in which, in spite of the Legats of Leo, it is decreed that the Bishop of Constantinople be equal unto that of Rome in Ecclesiastical things, as those two Cities were equal in the Civil. It is clearer then the day, that they that made that Canon, never had an intention to confer the Universal Sovereignty upon the Bishop of Rome; much less to give him a title whereby they should devalue themselves of their Episcopal Office. And if they offered that title to the Bishop of Rome, it shews that he had it not before: And that by decreeing that the Bishop of Constantinople should be equal unto the Bishop of Rome, they decreed also that the Bishop of Constantinople should be called Oecumenical or Universal. Of that nothing at all is found in the place quoted by the Cardinal, which is the (c) third Action of the Council of Chalcedon, in the request of the Clergy of Alexandria. In all the Tomes of Councils that ever I saw, I find no such request. And though it might be found there, who knows not how much those Acts are falsified, and that the Greek Acts agree very ill with the Latin? Yet let us suppose that the Clergy of Alexandria deferred that title to the Bishop of Rome: Must the titles which some private persons defer to the Bishops of Rome, be taken for an Ordinance of an Universal Council? This I say, because in the Acts of the said Council some Epistles are found, of some private men, that give that title to the Bishop of Rome. But I find also that the Council of Constantinople, held under the Emperour Justinian, gives many times the same title to Menas Patriarch of Constantinople; And that the same Emperour in the Law to Euphemius Patriarch of Constantinople, stileth the said Epiphanius Oecumenical Patriarch. And before him Justin giveth the same title to John Patriarch of Constantinople. What more? In the second Council of Nice, where Tharasius Patriarch of Constantinople did preside, there is an Epistle of Adrian Bishop of Rome to the same Tharasius, with this title, *To my well beloved brother Tharasius General Patriarch, &c.*

In the same (e) chapter he alledgeth the promise which Anthimus Patriarch of Constantinople made in his reception, *to do all that the Sovereign Pope of the great Rome should decree*: but he cuts off the head of that sentence, which is (f) *Anthimus using fraudulent words, promised to do all, &c.* So then Anthimus did not speak in earnest: But he was forced to make that promise by the Emperour, who for some considerations laboured to depresse the Patriarchs of Constantinople, who since the time of Acacius had bearded the Emperour, and over-mattered and abused the Bishops of Rome. Note, that the Cardinal translates the word *ὡς ἡγουμένω* to his advantage, *decreting*, instead of *suggesting*, *advising*, or *representing*.

In chap. 35. of book 1. he saith that Athanasius in the second Apology puts *Hosius, Vito* and *Vincentius* in the same place: which is false, since by the same place, he understands the same rank. For that is the question. Or if by the same place, he understands the same line: one may say that the Scripture puts God and the Devil in the same place, by naming them in the same line.

In the following page he makes Photius to say in the Treatise of the Synods, *With Vito and Vincentius was joyned Hosius Bishop of Corduba*. That Treatise of the seven Councils composed by Photius is found in the beginning of the first Tome of the Councils; which whosoever will consult, shall find that there is no mention at all of Hosius. But he shall find these words in the first chapter, where he speaks of the Council of Nice, (g) *Alexander was President there, who held the See of Constantinople, and Sylvester, &c.*

In chap. 39. of book 1. he falsely relateth the History of Pope Vigilius. That Vigilius being but a Deacon, secretly treated with the Empress Justinians wife, who promised

(c) See the second Tome of the Councils in the third Action of the Council of Chalcedon, in the Edition of Collen an. 1567.

(d) Act. 2: Dilecto fratri Tharasio Generale Patriarchæ Adrianus, &c. (e) Pag. 246. & 247.

(f) ὡς ἡγουμένω καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὡς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπισκοπῆς ὡς ἐκκλησιῶν ὡς ἐπισκοπῆς.

Pag. 282.

(g) Alexand. &c. præsidebat.

Pag. 308.

promised him to make him Pope, if he would promise to embrace the opinion of the Eutychian hereticks, and by exprefs letters to confirm their faith, and condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*. To compals these ends *Belizarius* the Emperours Lieutenant in *Italy*, having got a promise from *Vigilius* of two hundred pound weight of gold, depofed *Sylverius*, and banifht him, and caufed *Vigilius* to be elected Pope in his place. *Vigilius* fearing left that *Sylverius* fhould be reftored by the Emperour, obtained of *Belizarius* that *Sylverius* fhould be put in his hands. And when he had him, he ftarved him to death in prifon. *Sylverius* being dead, *Vigilius* fulfilled his promife, and writ letters to the Eutychian Bifhops. The title of the letters was, *Vigilius to my Lords, and Chrifts, &c.* And in thefe letters he openly declared himfelf an Eutychian, and denied that *Jesus Chrift* had two natures.

That Hiftory is related by *Victor Tunenſis* in his Chronicle, and by *Liberatus* Deacon of *Carthage*, in chap. 22. of his Breviary, where he puts very exprefly the death of *Sylverius* before thefe letters of *Vigilius*, whereby he declared himfelf an Eutychian. And *Victor Tunenſis* addeth, that he was for that reafon excommunicated by the Bifhops of *Africa* affembled in Council.

But Cardinal *du Perron*, that it may not be believed that the Popes can fall into hereſie, would perfwade us that this Epiftle, whereby *Vigilius* approveth hereſie, was written before the death of *Sylverius*, and that *Sylverius* at that time was not yet a lawful Bifhop, contradicting the two only hiftorians that relate that hiftory; *Liberatus* eſpecially, who ſpeaks thus, (h) *Sylverius* carried into the Ile of *Palmaria*, and being kept priſoner, died for want of meat. But *Vigilius* by the means of *Antonina* wife to *Belizarius*, fulfilling the promife made to the Emperers, writ ſuch letters, *Vigilius to my Lords, and Chrifts, &c.* After thefe letters the Author makes no more mention of *Sylverius*, and of his death. But that which is moſt expref to diſcover the Cardinals error, is that *Victor Tunenſis* puts the ordination of *Vigilius* in the place of *Sylverius*, and the letters written by *Vigilius* in favour of the Eutychian hereſie, in the ſecond year after the Conſulat of *Baſilius*; But he ſaith that after that, in the tenth year after that Conſulat of *Baſilius* (that is eight or nine years after thefe letters written) *Vigilius* was excommunicated by the Bifhops of *Africa*. Now it is to be obſerved that ſince the coming of *Sylverius* to the Bifhoprick of *Rome*, to his death (i) there is not two full years. Whence it is evident that the condemnation of *Vigilius* for being a favourer of hereſie, happened eight years after the death of *Sylverius*.

Sometimes our Cardinal will play the Philoſopher, as in chap. 34. of the firſt book, (k) he ſaith that the Bifhops of the Council of *Chalcedon* underſtood not that the dignity of the City of *Rome* was the next, conjunct, and immediate cauſe of the Primacy of the Bifhop of *Rome*, but the antecedent, objective and remote cauſe. Children that have taſted the firſt elements of Philoſophy know that there is no cauſe but antecedent, whether it be near or remote; for alwayes the cauſes go before the effects, the efficient cauſes eſpecially, which are the matter in queſtion in this place. Yea, the final cauſes which are poſterior as for the execution, are antecedent as for the intention. With the like abſurdity he ſpeaks of objective cauſes, for there are no objective cauſes, and theſe words have no ſenſe. If any cauſe might be called objective, it ſhould be the final, becauſe the agents aim at it; but the queſtion is not here of the final cauſe, but of the efficient.

It becomes him no better to play the Coſmographer, as when he ſaith in ch. 31. of book 1. that *Idumea* is ſeated towards the Weſt of the Meridional *Judea*; contradicting Scripture, which ſaith that the Mediterranean Sea is at the Weſt of *Judea*, as *Numb.* 32. 6. *As for the Weſtern border, you ſhall even have the great ſea for a border.* And *Joſh.* 1. 4. *The great ſea towards the going down of the Sun ſhall be your coaſt.* He hath little knowledge in the ſituation of Countreys, that knows not that the Weſt border of *Judea* is the Mediterranean Sea, not *Idumea*, which is meridional to *Judea*, yet ſo, that it bends a little Eaſtward. And this is ſo true, that in Hebrew the ſame (l) word ſignifieth both the Weſt and the Sea: Look Northward, and Southward, and Eaſtward, and (m) towards the Sea, that is, Weſtward: as alſo the vulgar Latin Bible (the only approved by the Coun-

(h) *Qui in Palmarum inſulam ad- ductus ſub eorum cuſtodia deficit inedia.*

Vigilius autem per Antoninam Belizarii conjugem impleas promiſſionem ſuam quam Auguſtus fecerat talem ſcripſit Episto- lam, Domini & Chriſti Vigilius.

(i) See *Platina* in the life of *Sylverius*, where he ſaith that *Sylverius* was Pope but a year and five moneths. And *Baron.* an 540. §. 2. (k) *Pag.* 249.

(l) *D'* (m) The Engliſh verſion hath Weſtward.

cil of Trent) translateth it. And *Exod. 10. 19. The Lord turned a mighty strong wind from the sea.* Both the Vulgar and the English version translate a *West-wind*, See *Isa. 49. 12. & Gen. 24. 14. & Exod. 26. 22. & Ezek. 48. 17. & Jos. 15. 12. Sanctes Pagninus*, a Monk of *Luca*, in his Lexicon upon the word M saith thus; M Mare, & Occidens, id est, *plaga Occidentalis, eo quod mare magnum sit ad plagam Occidentalem terra Israel.*

(n) That is
seen in the
Oration of
this Cardinal
published by
himself.

This Cardinal never made conscience of feeding the people with false allegations and forged stories. Even in the solemn Assembly of the States sitting at *Paris an. 1615.* he was not ashamed in his Oration, to alledge Scripture falsely, to prove that the Pope can depose Kings. (n) *Samuel* (said he) *deposed Saul, or declared him deposed.* Again, *The Prophet Ahija deposed Roboam from the Royal right over the ten tribes.* Again, *The Prophet Elijah deposed Ahab, because he embraced the Religion of false Gods.* Again, *Azariah the Priest expelled King Uzziah from the conversation of the people, wherefore the administration of the Kingdom was taken from him.* This Oration was sent by our Cardinal to his Majesty of great *Brittain*, who seeing both the Crown and the life of Kings subjected to the Popes pleasure by that Oration, made an answer to it, and laid open his false dealing both in these and in other allegations. The Cardinal did quietly swallow that dishonour, and made no answer, though he lived four years after the Kings answer.

Of his ignorance in Greek, I have brought forth many examples: to which I will add this. In the first chapter of his Treatise of the Sacrifice, whereas these words *ἔτι μᾶλλον* signifie *non amplius pollut, they shall pollute no more*; he translates, *They shall smoke no more.*

BOOK



BOOK VII.

WHEREIN
 Divers Controversies are examined,
 HANDLED BY
 Cardinal Du PERRON
 IN
 His Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth BOOK.

FIRST
 CONTROVERSY
 OF THE
 Invocation of SAINTS.

CHAP. I.

State and Distribution of the Question.



Cardinal du Perron in the eighteenth chapter of his first book, slideth over the question of the Invocation of Saints, saying, that in the ancient Church, Christians would make voyages and pilgrimages to the bodies of Martyrs to be associated to their merits, and assisted by their intercessions, and prayed to the holy Martyrs to pray for them, &c. Which he goeth about to prove by some testimonies of the Fathers, and in the Margin sends us to his fifth book, where he treateth that question fully, and more exactly then any other. There he protesteth often that he disputeth not of the right, nor of that which ought to be believed concerning this question, but only of the fact: And that his end is only to shew what was believed in the ancient Church in the time of the first four Councils, that is, from the year of the

Lord 326. to the year 451. For he freely acknowledgeth, that as in the holy Scripture, there is neither command nor example for the invocation of Saints, likewise in the writings of the Fathers that have written before the four first Councils, no trace is to be found of that invocation.

As for us, since we think it an idle labour to dispute of that which was believed in such or such an age, unless it be to learn together what ought to be believed, and that the question of the fact without that of the right is to no purpose, we will treat of both, and seek first what the faithfull ought to believe about this point, that the Reader may judge of the examples by the rules, instead of forging rules upon examples, which have not the strength of Laws.

Before we enter into that matter, the Reader must be desired to distinguish carefully the question of the intercession of Saints, from the question of the invocation of Saints: They are very different questions; Whether the Saints pray for us, and Whether we must pray to them. It is one thing to know what the Saints do in heaven, another thing to know what we must do in earth. This advertisement is necessary, because Cardinal *du Perron* carried away by the stream of the common error, confounds these two things, and labours to prove that the Saints intercede for us; which is not the thing in question. For we deny not that the Saints in heaven pray for the Church in earth. Of that we have an example, *Rev. 6. 10.* where the souls of Martyrs cry unto God, *How long O Lord holy and true dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?* But whether we must invoke those Martyrs, it is another question, and the very knot of the difference; to which if *M. du Perron* had kept himself close, he might have made his work shorter by the half, and had not loaded his book with useless proofs. For the felicity of the Saints hath not diminished their charity. They pray in general for the Church militant here in earth, though they know not the thoughts of men, nor the necessities of every private man.

This question consisteth in four points.

1. The first, to know whether the Saints in heaven know our hearts and our thoughts, and understand our prayers.
2. The second, what assurance the Roman Church hath, that the Saints which they call upon are truly Saints.
3. The third is, Whether the true Saints must be invoked, and prayed to.
4. The fourth, How they must be served, and what service or religious worship is due unto them.

CHAP. 2.

That the glorified Saints know not all that is done in earth, and know not the hearts and thoughts of men.

Confutation of the Cardinal.

Cardinal *du Perron* in chap. 18. of book 5. pag. 997. speaking of the souls of Saints, saith that they see within themselves the light of the Almighty; whence he inferreth, that there is nothing without themselves but they know it. In the same chapter pag. 991. he speaks of a looking-glass in Gods essence, in which all the things that are in being are represented. Which is a rash Divinity, repugnant unto nature, and to the blessedness of the Saints, and (which is more) unto the word of God. For the Saints though never so much exalted in glory, yet are creatures and of a finite nature, and by consequent incapable of knowing infinite things in an instant, and to bend their attention upon infinite things in the same moment. For as the being, and life of creatures consisteth in a duration, and successive

cessive flowing, so their actions are done successively, and one after another. Whence it followeth that affirming that the Saints think of all things at once, and see all that hath been, is, and shall be in the world, and all the thoughts of all men at once, and that St. Peter being prayed to by a hundred thousand persons in divers places, seeth the thoughts of all these men at once, and of all the men that shall in the time to come call upon him: This, I say, is equalling his knowledge, both in latitude and extent, unto the knowledge of God.

Besides, God doth nothing in vain, and giveth no vertue or knowledge to his Saints but to make them more happy. Now in this life and in humane society there is a numberless quantity of vain, fordid, filthy, and wicked things and actions, the knowledge whereof would contribute nothing to the blessedness of the Saints, and would be altogether unsuitable with their happy state. For that looking-glass, which the School men say to be in the face of God (in which both they, and Cardinal *du Perron* after them, will have the Saints to see all things) was broken long ago, neither is any thing seen in it, but the rashness of those that invented it, without any warrant of the word of God. It is a gross error to believe that who so seeth God, necessarily seeth all that God seeth: and that any man that seeth another person, hath alwayes as good eyes as that person: Or that one that seeth from a low ground another that stands on a high place, seeth all the prospect which that man seeth from that high place. By that reason he that seeth a blind man, should see nothing at all. Indeed if the Saints could see and know God with such a perfect knowledge as that wherewith God knoweth his own self, I make no doubt but that the Saints by that knowledge should know all things, because that knowledge would be infinite as the essence of God is infinite. But Gods essence is incomprehensible and invisible to the creature, and though the Saints be never so excellent, there is alwayes an infinite distance between them and Gods perfection. The Angels see the face of God alwayes, *Mat. 18.* and yet they are ignorant of the day of judgement, *Mark 13. 32.* and by the manifestation of Jesus Christ by the Gospel, the Angels have learned things which they knew not before, as St. Paul saith, *Ephes. 3. 10.* *To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church, the manifold wisdom of God.*

The Jesuite *Salmeron* in the eighth disputation upon *1 Tim. 2.* saith, that when Jesus Christ prayeth for us, the Father hears him alwayes: But when the Saints pray for us, God heareth them not alwayes, and grants not alwayes what they ask. By speaking thus, he ascribes idle actions unto Saints, and such as are of no use, either for them or us. Hence also it follows, that it is far better for one to address himself unto Christ, then to the Saints. But this is most notable in that assertion of his, that by speaking thus, he breaks that looking-glass, and acknowledgeth that the Saints see not things future in the face of God, and know not whether God will hear them or no. For if they knew it, they would not ask such things as they might be sure never to obtain, because by their prayers they should contradict the known counsel of God.

I acknowledge that God can reveal what pleaseth him unto the Saints; but of that will of God, nothing is manifested to us in his word. Rather we learn of *Job*, speaking of a deceased Father, *Job 14. 21.* *That his sons come to honour, and he knows it not; and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not.*

2 Kings 22. 20. God promiseth to King *Josiah*, *thou shalt be gathered into thy grave in peace, and thine eyes shall not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place.* If that King saw not after his death the ruine of his children, and desolation of his Kingdom, how could he have seen all that was in the world, and the thoughts of all men?

Wise *Solomon*, *Eccles. 9. 5.* is expresse upon this point, saying, *that the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward.* And a little after, *neither have they any more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the Sun:* Then have they not any portion in the religious service which men offer unto them, and no knowledge of mens businesses. To this the Cardinal answereth, that it is not the spirit

spirit of God that speaks thus, but these are objections which the Prophet frameth as from the sense of the flesh against the spirit. Else (saith he) we must infer out of these words that the death of a man, and the death of a beast are both alike. The Reader that will consult the place, shall find, that in the whole chapter there is no mention of the death of beasts, and that it is not there compared with the death of men. Rather he shall find in that ninth chapter many holy and true sentences, which cannot be suggestions of the flesh against the spirit of God. Such as this sentence in the first verse, that *the righteous and the wise, and their works are in the hand of God*: And this v. 16. & 18. *Wisdom is better then strength: Wisdom is better then weapons of war, but one sinner destroyeth much good.*

Now in the question whether the Saints must be prayed to, the main point is, to know whether the Saints deceased understand the prayers which the living conceive in their heart? For the true prayer is that of the heart, otherwise he that hath the best voyce should be best understood. And he that is prayed to, must know whether he that prayeth doth it seriously, and with faith and true repentance: And he must know how to discern them from those that pray out of hypocrisy. Now the Word of God saith, that there is none but God alone that knoweth the hearts of men: As it is said, *2 Chron. 6. 30. Lord, thou only knowest the hearts of the children of men.*

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The Cardinal, after others, answereth, that Scripture thereby meaneth, that the Angels and the souls of men know not the hearts in the same manner as God knoweth them, because that God hath that knowledge essentially and from himself, but the Angels and the souls of men have it only by participation, and because God giveth it them. In the same manner as *Paul, 1 Tim. 6. 16. saith that God only hath immortality.* There is nothing so expresse in Gods Word, but may be so eluded. The Word of God saith simply and absolutely, that God alone knoweth the hearts of men, not as the Cardinal will make Scripture say, that God knows the hearts in a manner proper unto himself alone. By the same reason I could say that God alone knows, that Jesus Christ is our Redeemer, because he knoweth it from himself, but we know him but by revelation. If a man in a town hath taught others Grammar, may it be said that he alone knoweth Grammar, because others have learned it of him? Nay, it follows, that he knoweth it not alone, since he taught it them. As for these words, that *God alone hath immortality*; To take the word *immortality* in the sense that the Apostle takes it, for *eternity*, and for a life independent from another, not flowing, and not loosing any thing of its time and duration, I say that God alone hath immortality; For the life of Angels and mens souls consisteth in a successive duration. The years of an immortal man are flowing, and his past duration is no more.

The Word of God in many places makes this distinction between God and all the creatures, that he is searcher of the hearts, as *Psal. 7. 9. The righteous God tryeth the hearts and rains*: And *Jer. 17. 10. I the Lord search the heart*: And *1 Chron. 28. 9. The Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts.* And *Act. 1. 24. Peter casting the lot for the election of an Apostle, said, Thou Lord which knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two thou hast chosen.* *Matth. 6. 6. the Lord Jesus saith, When thou prayest, enter into thy closet—and pray to thy Father which seeth thee in secret.* His exhortation should loose its strength, if the same could be said of the Saints.

Wherefore *Austin* in the book *de dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis* (if that book be his) ch. 81. makes this conclusion, That only one knoweth the secrets of the hearts, to whom it is said, *Thou only knowest the hearts of the sons of men.*

CHAP. 3.

The opinion of the Fathers upon this point.

IT was a received opinion among many of the Elders, that the souls of the Saints do not yet enjoy the sight of God, and shall not be put in possession of the heavenly glory before the day of the resurrection. They that hold that opinion, hold by consequent, that the souls of the Saints know not all the things that are done in the world, and know not the hearts of men, since the reason why the Roman Church and M. du Perron after others, hold that the Saints know our hearts, and hear our prayers, is, that they enjoy the glory of God.

Tertullian in ch. 55. of the book of the Soul, delivers thus his opinion; (a) We hold for certain, that every soul is set apart in hell untill the day of the Lord. Irenæus saith the same in the fifth book, where speaking of the Paradise where God had placed Adam, he saith that (b) the Antients which were Disciples of the Apostles say that they that were transported hence, have been transported to that place, and that it is the Paradise prepared to the righteous, where St. Paul being carried up, heard unspeakable words.

The same Irenæus in the end of the fifth book rebuketh severely those that say that the souls departing from the bodies, go up to heaven, (c) How shall they not be confounded (saith he) that say that the inward man leaving this body, goeth to a place above heaven? For seeing that the Lord is gone in the midst of the shadow of death, where the souls of the dead were, and after that did bodily rise again, and was lift up after his resurrection, it is an evident thing that the souls of his Disciples, for whom the Lord hath done these things, shall go into an invisible place which hath been assigned unto them of God, and there shall wait till the resurrection, &c. and so shall come to the sight of God.

Origen in the book of principles, chap. 12. (d) I hold that all the Saints going out of this life remain in some place in the earth, which the holy Scripture calls Paradise, as in a certain place of instruction, and as it were in an auditory.

And upon chap. 7. of Leviticus, (e) The Saints have not yet received their joy.

Ambrose in the second book of Cain and Abel, chap. 2. (f) The soul is loosed from the body; and yet after the end of this life it is in suspense about the ambiguity of the judgement to come.

The Author of the questions to the Orthodox ascribed to Justin Martyr, qu. 60. (g) The retribution of things done in this life, is not done before the resurrection.

Lactantius book 7. ch. 21. (h) All the souls are detained in a common prison till the time come, that the great Judge examine what they have deserved.

Novatianus in chap. 1. of the book of the Trinity, (i) The things that are under the earth, are not destitute of powers digested in order; For it is the place whither the souls both of godly and ungodly are brought, feeling already the foretaste of the last judgement.

Hilarinus upon Psal. 138. (k) It is the Law of necessity unto which man is subject, that when the bodies are buried, the souls descend into hell, which descent Christ himself did not refuse for the consummation of a true man. And upon Psal. 120. he saith that all the faithfull coming out of the body, are placed in Abrahams bosom, quousque introeundi rursum in regnum celorum tempus adveniat, till the time come of entering again into the kingdom of God.

bilem locum definitum ipsis à Deo, & ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur, &c. sic venient ad conspectum Dei. (d) Puto quod sancti quique discedentes de hac vita permaneant in loco aliquo, (ut ita dixerim) auditorio. (e) Nondum sancti receperunt letitiam suam. (f) Solvitur à corpore anima, & post finem vite hujus adhuc tamen futuri judicii ambiguo suspenditur. (g) & ita p[ro]p[ter] & avastat[ur] & est ex[tra] se & s[er]vatur in d[iv]i[n]o m[od]o. (h) Omnes in una communi custodia detinentur, donec tempus adveniat, quo maximus J[ud]ex meritorum faciat examen. (i) Quæ infra terram jacent, neque ipsa sunt digestis & ordinatis potestatibus vacua. Locus enim est quo piorum anima impiorumque ducuntur, futuri judicii præjudicia sentientes. (k) Humana ista Lex necessitatis est, ut sepultis corporibus anime ad inferos descendant, quam descensionem Dominus ad consummationem veri hominis non recusavit.

(a) Constitutus omnem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem Domini.

(b) Plantavit Deus Paradisum in Eden contra Orientem, & posuit ibi hominem quem plasma-

vit, &c. Quia propter dicunt Presbyteri qui

sunt Apostolorum discipuli eos qui translati sunt.

illuc translatos esse, &c.

(c) Quomodo non confundentur qui dicunt interiorem hominem

ipsorum derelinq[ue]ntem hic corpus in-

super celestem ascende-

re locum? Cum enim

Dominus in medio umbræ

mortis abierit, ubi anime

mortuorum erant, &c.

Manifestum est quia &

discipulorum ejus propter

quos & hæc operatus est

Dominus, anime abi-

bunt in invisi-

(l) *Gremio
senis abdita
sancti, recu-
babit ut illa
Lazari, &c.
Patet ecce fi-
delibus ampli.
Via lucida
jam paradisi.
Licet & ne-
mus illud
adire.*

*Homini quod
ademerat
anguis.*

(m) *Primum
in tabernacu-
lis secundum
in atris ter-
tium in domo
Dei.*

(n) *In illam
beatissimam
domum nec
sine nobis
intrabant nec
sine corpori-
bus suis, id
est, nec sancti
sine plebe, nec
spiritus sine
carne.*

(o) *π τὴν
πολιτείαν
τῶν ἁγίων,
καὶ ἀποκατα-
στῆναι τὴν
ἐκείνην, τὴν
ἐν Νωῆ;*

(p) *καὶ
μετὰ τὴν
καὶ μετὰ
καὶ ἀποκατα-
στῆναι τὴν
ἐκείνην, τὴν
ἐν Νωῆ;*

(q) *Tempus
quod inter
hominis mor-
tem & ulti-
mam resurre-
ctionem inter-
positum est,
animas abdi-
tis receptacu-
lis continet,
sicut unaque-
que digna est
vel requie vel
crucis.*

(r) *Post istam vitam parvam nondum eris ubi erunt sancti quibus dicitur, Venite benedicti patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab initio mundi. (s) Cujus pars que conjungenda immortalibus Angelis ex mortalibus hominibus congregatur, & nunc mortaliter peregrinatur in terris vel in iis, qui mortem obierunt secretis, animarum receptaculis se-
libusque requiescit. (t) Hillarius in Psal. 118. littera Gimel.*

The sacred Poet *Prudentius*, towards the end of the hymne (l) upon the obsequies of the dead, puts the souls of the faithfull in *Abraham's* bosome, which he placeth in the earthly Paradise, whence *Adam* was expelled.

Victorinus Martyr upon *Rev. 6.* where the souls of Martyrs are set under the Altar, expounds these words *sub ara, id est, sub terra, under the Altar, that is, under the earth.*

Almost all the Greek Fathers are of the same opinion, and so was Pope *John* the XXII. as *Gerfon* witnesseth in the Sermon of the Pascheover: And *Ockham* in the work of ninety dayes: And *Villanus* in the tenth book of his history. And *Erasmus* in his preface upon the fifth book of *Irenaeus*.

Bernard himself, though much posterieur in time to the forealledged Fathers, was of that opinion. In the third Sermon upon *All-Saints-day*, he puts three severall habitations of souls; *The (m) first in Tabernacles, [meaning the bodies] the second in Courts, [meaning receptacles where the souls are shut up] the third in Gods house.* And a little after (n) *The Saints shall enter neither without us, nor without their bodies into that most blessed house; that is, neither the Saints without the common people, nor the soul without the body.*

Chrysostom and *Austin* are ambiguous upon this matter, and speak not alwayes in the same manner. You shall find some places in those Fathers that speak of the souls of the godly, of Martyrs especially, as enjoying already the sight of God, and heavenly glory: But in other places they will affirm the contrary. *Chrysostom* in the twenty eighth Homily upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, saith that *Abel* and *Noah* have not yet received their Crowns. (o) *What shall then Abel do, who hath overcome the first of all, who is sitting without a crown? What shall Noah do? &c.* And in the thirty ninth Homily upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians, (p) *Although the soul remain, although it be a thousand times immortal, as indeed it is; it shall not receive without the flesh those unspeakable goods, as also it shall suffer no punishment.*

Austin in his Manual to *Laurentius* chap. 109. (q) *The interval of time between a mans death and the last resurrection, contains the souls in hidden receptacles, as every one of them is worthy either of rest or disrest.* And upon *Psal. 36.* (r) *After this short life, thou shalt not be yet where the Saints shall be, &c. Thou shalt not be there yet, Who knoweth not that? But thou maist be where the proud rich man, being in torments, saw the poor man resting, that had been sometimes full of sores; In that rest thou shalt quietly stay for the day of judgement.* And in the twelfth book of the City of God, chap. 9. (s) *That part of the City of God which must be joynd with the immortal Angels, is congregated from the mortal men, and is now in a pilgrimage on earth; or is resting in the receptacles and dwelling places of the souls of those that are dead.*

That such was the opinion of the Fathers, that the souls enjoy not yet the heavenly glory, it is manifest, because it was a belief generally received among the Antients, that the Saints must all pass through the fire of the last judgement to be touched with the flame; and purged from their sins, some more, some less, as they are more or less stained with sin. (t) *Hilary* makes even the Virgin *Mary* to pass through that fire, as needing purgation, as we shall see hereafter. Now it is not fit that those whose souls are not yet purged, enjoy the sight of God and heavenly glory.

M. du Perron denyeth it not. For in pag. 994. to avoid the strength of a place of *Austin*, which saith that the souls of the deceased are in a place where they see not the things that are done, or that happen unto men in this life, he saith that this doctrine of *Austin* is conformable to the hypothesis of some private men, who believed that the souls of the godly have not the vision of God before the final judgement; adding, that it was not a doctrine condemned, because the Church had not yet pronounced a decision upon that.

Bellarmin saith the same in chap. 14. of the fourth book *de Pontifice Romano*, where he thus excuseth Pope *John XXII.* (u) *I answer, that this John believed indeed that the souls should not see God but after the resurrection: But that he had that opinion when it was yet lawfull to have it without danger of heresie. For the Church had not yet made any decision about that.* Yet it was then the fourteenth Age of the Church.

If that be true (as it is so indeed) in vain the Cardinal heapeth up testimonies of Antiquity to prove that in the time of the first four Councils they believed that the Saints know our hearts, and hear our prayers, and that they must be prayed to. For with what confidence could they call upon the Saints, when it was an uncertain thing, and not yet decided whether they were in hell, and in underground receptacles, or in the earthly Paradise, enjoying neither the glory of God, nor the sight of that imaginary looking-glass, where the Cardinal holds that they see all things?

Now in this question, Whether the souls of the deceased Saints see the things that are done here below, and hear our prayers, this advantage we have, that both Scripture and the Fathers of the three first Ages, and above half the fourth are for us. For we shall see hereafter that they are not only silent about this matter, but even contrary to the invocation of Saints; And we shall see the Cardinals confession upon this point, for having searcht all Antiquity with incredible diligence, he could not find one testimony for his purpose in the three first ages, and therefore he confines himself within the time of the first four Councils.

Cyprian who writ about the year of the Lord 250. in the fifty seventh Epistle makes this agreement in the form of an exhortation with *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, whom he calls brother, that (x) the first that shall depart out of this world shall pray for the others, and for him that shall outlive. For he believed that the deceased Saints had no other knowledge of things on earth, but by the memory of the things and persons which they had seen before their death. According to the opinion of that holy woman (y) *Potamiena* who when she was led to martyrdom, promised to *Basilides* that led her unto death, to pray for him after her death. And *Hierom* towards the end of the Epitaph of *Paula*, by a rhetorical *Prosopopeia* commends himself to *Paula*, speaking to her, as if she were yet alive, and near her death. *Adieu Paula! help with thy prayers the extreme old age of thine honourer; thy faith and thy works join thee with Christ: being present with him, thou shalt easily obtain what thou wilt request.* Of which place more hereafter.

The words of *Chrysostome* are very expresse upon this point, in the eighteenth Homily upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, (z) *To whom* (saith he) *shalt thou have recourse? Whom shalt thou call to thy help and relief? Shall it be Abraham? but he shall not hear thee. Shall it be these Virgins? but they shall give thee none of their oyl.* Whence he inferreth, that none must be invoked but he alone that hath power to blot out our obligations, that is, none but God alone.

The first Father, in whose writings prayers to the Saints are found, is *Gregory Nazianzen*, that writ about the year of Christ 370. for before him nothing of that kind is found in all Antiquity. These prayers presuppose that the Saints see our thoughts, and hear our prayers. Now that in that matter himself was wavering, and was not settled in his persuasion, he sheweth it sufficiently in his first (a) Oration against *Julian*, *Hear thou also, O thou excellent soul of Constantius, if thou hast any sense.* And in the funeral Oration upon his sister *Gorgonia*, he speaks thus to that holy deceased woman, (b) *If thou hast some regard to the honour which we yield to thee; and if that reward is given to holy souls by God, to have the sense of such things; receive this speech of mine.* A man fixt in his belief would not speak thus ambiguously, for this particle *if* is not put instead of *for*, or *since*, as *M. du Perron* will have it; (c) as it is evident by this word *some*, which is added to it; For these words should want reason, *Since thou hast some regard: That would sound as if he told her that she had but little regard to it.*

Hierom was a disciple to this *Gregory*, and yet followed not his Masters opi-

Ecc

nion.

(u) *Respondet Johannem hunc re vera sensisse animas non vi-
suras Deum nisi post re-
surrectionem: Caterum hoc
sensisse quan-
do aduc sen-
tire licebat
sine periculo
hæresis. Nulla
enim adhuc
præcesserat
Ecclesiæ defi-
nitio.*

(x) *Et si quis
isthinc nostrum
prior divine
dignationis
celeritate
præcesserit,
perseveret apud
Dominum
nostra dilectio
pro fratribus
& sororibus
apud miseri-
cordiam Pa-
tris non cesset
oratio.*

(y) *Euseb.
hist. Eccles.
lib. 7. cap. 5.*

(z) *τὸς ἡ-
να κατα-
εσθῆναι τὸν
ἀβελανὶν
ἀλλ' ἐν ἀκρί-
στῳ, &c.*

(a) *Gregor.
Naz. in orat.
παρὰ πρὸς
ἀδελφὸν
Julianum.
ἀκούε κερὰ
καὶ ἐρωτᾷ γὰρ
&c. ἀκούε
καὶ ἡ καρδία
καὶ καρσάντις
ψυχῇ ἐν τῇ
ἀνδραγαθίᾳ
τῇ πρὸς αὐτὴν
βασιλέων
ἐνδοξαστοί.*

(b) *καὶ τῇ
σοὶ καὶ τῷ
ἡμετέρον π-
μὲν οὐκ λόγος
καὶ τῷ τῷ
δοῦναι ψυχῇ
ἐν τῇ γὰρ
τῷ τοῦ
καταδραπέδου
λεχέου καὶ
ἡμετε-
ρον λόγον.*

(c) *P. 1040.*

(d) Scimus quidem Nepotianum non fuisse cum Christo, & sanctorum mirum chorū.

(e) Felix Nepotianus qui hæc non videt, felix qui hæc non audit.

(f) Quicquid dixero, quia ille non audit mutum videtur.

(g) Cum quo loqui non possumus, de eo loqui nunquam sinamus.

(h) Licet possit & hoc dici, quod in celo nova & in terra nova omnis conversationis pristinae memoria deleatur, ne hoc ipsum pars malorum sit, prioris angustie recordari.

(i) Ibi quidem sunt spiritus defunctorum, ubi non vident neque audiunt que aguntur aut eveniunt in ista vita hominibus.

nion. For in the Epitaph of *Nepotianus* he saith, (d) *We know that our friend Nepotianus is with Christ, and mingled among the quire of Saints.* And yet he saith, that he neither knew nor heard the afflictions wherewith the Church was then tormented. (e) *Blessed Nepotianus (saith he) that neither seeth nor heareth these things.*

M. du Perron saith, that *Nepotianus* did not see them with his bodily eyes. But since *Hierom* accounts *Nepotianus* happy for not seeing the desolations happened since his death, it is clear that his plain meaning is, that he hath no knowledge of them, because that knowledge would disturb his happiness, for the diverse manner of feeling would not diminish his sorrow. Wherefore he saith in the same place, (f) *All that I shall say will seem dumb, because he hears it not.* And again, (g) *Let us not cease to speak of Nepotianus, with whom we can speak no more.* The Cardinal answereth, that *Hierom* meaneth that he could speak no more with *Nepotianus* in a dialogue or reciprocal discourse, and that therefore he saith not, that he could speak no more to *Nepotianus*, but *with Nepotianus*. But if that were *Hierom's* sense, he would have said, *Let us not cease to speak to Nepotianus, since he can no more speak with us.* But he contents himself to speak of him, because he can no more speak with him. And to leave no doubt about his sense, these are the words of that Father upon *Isaiah 65.* (h) *It may be said also, that in the new heaven and new earth, all the memory of the past conversation is blotted out, lest that very thing be part of misery, to remember the former misery.*

In all the works of *Hierom* one only place is found, where disputing against *Vigilantius*, who asked in scorn whether the souls of the Martyrs love their ashes, and fly about their tombs? He answereth, that *if the Lamb is every where, they that are with the Lamb must be believed to be every where; and since Devils are wandering over the world, and by an excessive swiftness are present every where, should the Martyrs after the shedding of their blood be inclosed in a chest, and not be able to come out of it?* M. du Perron makes use of that place, though it be nothing to this purpose. For *Hierom* intends not to prove that they know all things. Of that he speaks neither there nor any where else. But only he maintaineth, that their spirits are not shut up in their tombs, but are present wheresoever Christ-man is present, following the Lamb wheresoever he goeth. Here M. du Perron doth advertise us that we must not learn the opinion of the Fathers from their writings, in which they dispute against the Adversaries: For (saith he) *in those writings they speak gymnastically, not dogmatically; and dissemble and disguise many things.* Why then doth he alledge this place, which is taken from an Epistle against *Vigilantius*, whom he accuseth that he would have the bones of the Martyrs to be cast upon the dunghill, and that he would be worshipped alone?

Austin is very unequal and perplexed in this matter. In the book of the Spirit and the Soul, chap. 29. (which M. du Perron pag. 994. holds to be of *Austin*) (i) *The spirits of the deceased (saith he) are in one place, where they neither see nor hear that which is done, or that which happens unto men in this life. Yet they take care of the living, although they know not at all what they do, in the same manner as we take care of the dead, although we know not what they do.* Which text the Cardinal seeks to elude, saying that *Austin* speaks of the dead, considered in their general condition, and in their proper faculty, not of the dead constituted in the actual vision of God. I answer, that *Austin* speaks in the present tense, for he saith that the *spirits of the dead are in a place where they see nothing of all that is done in this life.* He speaks then of the dead that were dead in his time: Now he speaks not of the damned, but of the Saints; for a little after, he saith, that they have communication with the life of God. He speaks then of those that enjoy the sight of God. Had the Cardinal read the whole text, he would never have said a thing so contrary to truth as this, that *Austin* speaks not of the dead constituted in the vision of God. But how absurd is he with that general condition of the dead? seeing that they are all in a condition, which is particular unto them, being all either saved or damned. This Cardinal forgeth unto us a general

a general condition of the dead, which are neither saved nor damned. By the way, I wonder that he receiveth that book as written by *Austin*, seeing that *Boetius* is alledged in it, who hardly was born when *Austin* dyed.

Austin in his book of the care to be had of the dead, inquireth how, and in what manner the dead can know something of the busineses of this world here below, and conceiveth three wayes for it: either by the relation of those that come from the earth unto them, or by their communication with Angels, or by so much as God will reveal unto them; for, saith he, God revealeth not all unto them, but as much as they ought to understand. But of seeing all in the face of God, or of that imaginary looking-glass, he speaks never a word.

In the same place chap. 13. *Let every one take as he will what I shall say, (k) If the souls of the dead were present in the busineses of the living, and spake themselves unto us when we see them in dreams; that I may say nothing of others, my good and carefull Mother who followed me by Sea and Land to live with me, would not forsake me one night.*

(l) In the same place chap. 13. *The spirits of the dead are then in a place where they see not all the things that are done, or that happen unto men. How then should they see their tombs or their bodies, whether they lye forsaken, or whether they are buried? And in chap. 15. (m) It must be confest that the dead know nothing of all that is done here, while it is done: But that they hear it afterwards from them who by death go from this world to them: Yet not all indeed, but as much as they are allowed to declare, &c. They may also learn something from Angels intervening in the busineses done here below. And chap. 16. We know not where the Martyrs are, nor what they do.*

Pope Gregory the 1. speaks much like that, upon *Job* (n) *As they that are yet alive are ignorant in what place the souls of the dead be, so the dead are ignorant of the condition of life of those that live after them.*

In vain contrary places of the same Fathers are alledged, for what certainty can be expected from persons that speak with so much irresolution? Truly, who so in matters of faith, not contenting himself with the authority of the word of God, seeks to resolve his doubts by the writings of men, besides the infinite length where he shall lose himself, shall find himself sinking in the quick-sand of their inconstant opinions.

The Cardinal * alledgeth a place of *Prosper* in the first book of the contemplative life, chap. 4. *No secret thing shall then be hidden from the perfectly blessed. A thing of transcendent excellency. With their pure spirits they shall behold God.* That place beareth the answer to it. For it is clear that he speaks not of the knowledge which the souls of Saints have now, but of that which they shall have after the resurrection. He puts off the vision of God till that time. The precedent words shew it. (o) *Having (saith he) taken their bodies again, with incorruption and immortality, they shall receive the right of Citizens of their heavenly Countrey.* Where it is clear that he speaks of the felicity of the souls after the resurrection of their bodies. The very title of the chapter shews it. *De resurrectione vel vita sanctorum.*

The Cardinal pag. 993. alledgeth *Basil*, who saith in the book of true Virginity. (p) *There is none of them but seeth all things every where.* But there is in the Greek, *There is none of them but looks all about.* These words [all things] are of the Cardinals addition,

(k) ut vollet accipiat quisque quod dicam, si rebus viventium interesset anime mortuorum, & ipse quando eas videmus nos alloqueremur in somnis, ut de aliis taceam me ipsam pia mater nulla nocte desineret, &c.

(l) Ibi ergo sunt spiritus sanctorum, ubi non vident quicquam aut eveniunt in ista vita hominibus.

(m) Faleddum est nescire mortuos quid hic agatur; postea vero audire ab eis qui hinc ad eos moriendo perveniunt. Non quidem omnia, &c.

(n) Nec ubi sunt Martyres, nec quid agant scimus. Pag. 993.

(o) Receptis cum incorruptione corporibus municipatum patrie celestis accipiunt.

(p) ὅς τις τῶν ὁσίων ἐστὶν πάντων ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

(p) ὅς τις τῶν ὁσίων ἐστὶν πάντων ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

CHAP. 4.

Examination of the texts and reasons which the Cardinal brings to prove that the Saints know all things, see our thoughts, and hear our prayers. His foul dealing is laid open.

Pag. 989.

THE Cardinal contrary to his custom alledgeth many texts of Scripture upon this matter.

If (saith he) St. Steven being on earth saw the body of Christ exalted to heaven, Now that he hath the same illumination of divine light which lightned him at that time, he may well see and hear from heaven the things that are done upon earth. It is an humane conjecture that hath no solid ground. For God giveth graces to his Saints, according as he knoweth it fit for them, and for the good of his Church. He made St. Steven, when he was near his end to see Christ in heaven, to strengthen his faith against the sufferings of martyrdom. He made him pronounce these words, *Behold I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God*, for the comfort of the godly there present, and for ours: But the same reasons equire not that God give the knowledge of all things unto the Saints, and make them see all the secrets of mens hearts.

1 Kings 19.

He goeth on: *The spirit of Elisha (saith he) being enlightened with the light of prophecy, which is but a small beam of the light of heavenly blessedness, saw and heard the negotiating of Gehazi absent. Being now enlightened all about, all through, and bright with that light of glory, which ariseth out of the sight of God, he may with more reason see and hear the discourses of humane commerce.* To this I say, that sometimes, yet seldom, God hath revealed to his Prophets the thoughts of some man, and that as much only, as was necessary for the execution of their charge. *Elisha saith, 2 Kings 4. 27. that God had hid from him the death of the Shunammite son: how much more did God hide from him the thoughts of all men?* The Prophet *Elijah* did not know, that there were seven thousand in *Israel* which had not bowed their knee unto *Baal*: So then that revelation of mens thoughts, and humane accidents unto the Prophets being but seldom, and that the Prophets might do the charge which God imployed them in; from thence one cannot infer, that the Saints have an ordinary knowledge of all things, and that they know all the thoughts of men, seeing that the word of God gives them no charge over men, which to exercise that knowledge is necessary. Note also that *M. du Perron* is in an error, when he saith that the light of prophesie is a small beam of the light of heavenly blessedness. If that were true, those two knowledges would differ, not in kind, but in degree only. Now they are so different in kind; that God hath sometimes given that Prophetical light unto wicked and reprobate men, as to *Balaam* and to *Caiaphas*.

Falsification
of the Cardi-
nal.
Pag. 990.

To the same purpose the Cardinal alledgeth a text of St. Paul, *1 Cor. 14. 24.* where he makes the Apostle to say, that *by the gift of prophesie the secrets of the hearts are manifested.* Which is a text unfaithfully alledged, and falsified both in words and sense. In words, for the true text runs thus, *If all prophesie, and there comes in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all: and thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest, and so falling down on his face he will worship God.* In sense, for by prophesying St. Paul understands expounding the word of God in the Church by revelation. He means not, that they that have the gift of prophesie, know the thoughts of men, but that by hearing of the word of God propounded in an intelligible way, their hearts are convinced, and come to confess their faults, and to give glory to God before men. The Cardinal not content to have falsified that text in this manner, falsifieth it in another manner,

Another
Falsification.

2 Pet. 1. 4.
ἵνα διὰ τῆς
κοινῆς χάριτος
θεοῦ καὶ κοινῆς
τοῦ σώματος.

throne : and John 12. 26. *Where I am, there shall also my servant be.* And 2 Pet. 1. 4. *Christ hath made us companions of the divine nature ; and Rev. 14. They follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth ; and 1 Cor. 15. God shall be all in all.* What can he pick out of all these texts to prove that the Saints know the thoughts of all men, or hear their prayers ? Is not this an abusing either of the ignorance, or the patience of the Reader ? We must not omit that he falsifieth the text of St. Peter, who saith not that God makes us *companions* of the divine nature, but *partakers*. The Saints being partakers of Gods nature, that is, of his virtues, are not therefore his companions.

The text of Rev. 5. 10. which he alledgeth, affords us an answer to his allegation. There the twenty four Elders say that *Christ hath made them Kings and Priests unto God, and that they shall reign on the earth.* By saying they shall reign, they shew that they speak not of the present glory of the Saints, nor of their conducting or knowing humane busineses, but of the glory which they shall enjoy after the resurrection. Neither is that earth which they shall reign upon, the earth which we live in now, but that which is mentioned, 2 Pet. 3. 13. *New heavens and new earth.* And that of which David speaks, *Psalm. 37. 11. and Christ, Matth. 5. 5. Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth ;* according to the style of the Prophets, as Isa. 33. 17. *Thine eyes shall see the King in his beauty ; they shall behold the land that is very far off.* And that because the land of Canaan was a figure and a Sacrament of the Kingdom of heaven.

Pag. 992.
Falsification
of the Car-
dinal.

Here is another falsification. The same Apostle (saith he) forbids us to judge one of another in this life, and commands us to stay till the other life, where the thoughts of the hearts shall be manifested the one to the other. And he alledgeth St. Pauls words in this manner, *judge of nothing before the time, untill the Lord hath enlightened the hiding places of darkness, and manifested the thoughts of the hearts.* He will perswade us that St. Paul bids the godly to put off the judgement of the actions of others till they be in the heavenly glory, and that then God will give them the knowledge of mens thoughts. But St. Paul saith no such thing ; only he forbids us to judge of the actions of others before the time, but to put off the judging of them untill the Lords coming, who shall judge of all things, and lay open the secret actions and thoughts. These are the Apostles words, 1 Cor. 4. 5. *Judge nothing before the time untill the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts : and then shall every man have praise of God.* The Reader may observe how fraudulently the Cardinal hath clipt that text, having left out these words, *untill the Lord come.* And these words again, *and then shall every man have praise of God,* that it may not be perceived that the Apostle speaks of the judgement and retribution of the last day at the Lords coming.

Must we wonder now why this Prelat hath recourse unto the Fathers, and to humane writings, since he can find no help in the holy Scripture but by falsifying the same ? He hath then his refuge to the Fathers. But himself hath confuted all his allegations by his confession, that in *Austins* time, that is in the fifth Age, the Church had not decided yet whether the souls of Saints enjoy the sight of God and heavenly glory. And we have shewed before how diversly and dubiously the Fathers write of this matter.

C H A P. 5.

What assurance the Roman Church hath, that the Saints whom they call upon, are true Saints ?

THIS is an important question : For one cannot call upon Saints, unless he be first certainly perswaded of their Holiness. Of the holiness and blessedness of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and other holy men to whom the Scripture beareth witness, and especially of the holy Virgin *Mary*, no man can doubt without impiety and unjust diffidence. To which I add the Martyrs and the faithfull Pastors who have been since the Apostles, of whom antient history speaks with honour. But the Roman Church yields a religious service to many imaginary Saints, of whom we may justly doubt, not only whether they be Saints, but whether they ever had any being, and whose life is notoriously fabulous, as it is acknowledged by *Cassander* a Divine of *Collen*. *That error (saith he) is frequent, that the people almost despiseth the old Saints that are known, and serveth with more fervour and affection new Saints, whose holiness is less certain, and which sometimes are known only by revelations. Yea there are some of them of whom one may justly doubt whether they ever lived in the world. And yet the devotion to their service is very much increased by feigned stories and impostures of miracles. Which fictions have defiled even the histories of the true Saints.* He saith, that in the Roman Church they despise the true Saints, because they yield no particular service to any Patriarch or Prophet of the Old Testament.

Cassander Consultatione de Articulis religionis, cap. de Meritis & Intercessionie Sanctorum.

They say not Saint *Noah*, nor St. *Abraham*, nor St. *Moses*, nor St. *Samuel*. To none of them the least candle is offered, which is very far from building Churches to their memory. But great honour is deferred to Saint *Francis*, Saint *Dominick*, and Saint *Juniperus*, and to such Saints of late Edition, made by the Pope.

Of those Saints, of whom one might justly doubt whether they are Saints, or whether they ever were in the world, many examples might be given.

The three Kings whose bodies lye at *Collen*, and whose feast is in the Calendar, are Saints that never were. They are said to come out of the East, yet two of them have German names, for they call them *Gaspar*, *Melchior*, and *Balthazar*. St. *Matthew* saith, that they were Sages of Mages come from the East, and defines not their number.

The Antients speak of them in the same manner. The narration about *Lazarus* placed in *Abrahams* bosome, and the rich glutton tormented in hell, is a parable: (a) *Chrysostome* calls it so in the fourth Homily upon *Lazarus*. And the Author of the questions to the Orthodox, ascribed to *Justin Martyr*, qu. 60. Otherwise we ought to believe that souls have fingers and a tongue, and that the damned call upon the Saints, hoping for ease of their pains. Yet (b) *Baronius* in his Martyrology acknowledgeth, that in the Roman Church there are Churches built to the memory of St. *Lazarus*, that is, to the memory of a man that never lived in the world. That Saint is the patron of the leprous. I put in the same rank St. *Longinus*, whom they say to have pierced our Saviours side with a spear. For of a spear (which in Greek after the antient pronounciation, is called *lonchi*) they have made a spearman.

(a) *Chrysost.* in *Lazarum*, εν τῷ πρῳοκειμένῳ ὁδῷ τοῦ εὐδαίου. And Hom. 4. εὐτὶ ἰσχυρὸν ἢ ὁδῷ βολῆται χεὶρ τὰ ὀστέα. (b) *Baronius* Martyrolog. Martii 15. & Annalib. An. 34. S. 131.

And St. *Martial*, whose life saith, that he was St. *Peters* cosin, and that he waited at the table when Christ instituted the Eucharist, and that he expelled Paganism out of *Gauls* in the time of the *Goths*. But in that time there was no *Goths* in *Gauls*, and Paganism was not driven out of it but a long time after.

What shall we say of St. *Ursula*, patroness of the *Ursulines*, daughter of a Christian King of *England*? They say that she lived in the year 300. of Christ; but then there was no King of *England*. There might be some petty barbarous

King

King in the North of the Island, but he was not a Christian. They make her the leader of eleven thousand Virgins going in pilgrimage to *Rome*, and say, that meeting with troops of *Huns* that would violate them, they were slain upon their resistance. But in those dayes the *Huns* were not yet entered into *Germany*. And where could she have got those eleven thousand Virgins? Neither were pilgrimages to *Rome* in fashion at that time, but came long after.

How grossly fabulous is the life of *St. Catherine*? They make her live in the time of *Maxentius*, and to have been daughter to *Costus* King of *Alexandria*, a man that never was. For then *Alexandria* had no King, but was subject to the Roman Empire. Her life saith, that she converted Queen *Faustina* and fifty Philosophers, which are blind tales. There was then no Queen *Faustina*, neither in *Egypt*, nor any where else.

Of the like stuff is the history of *St. Margaret*, whom the Tyrant *Olybrius* put in prison, because she would not turn a Mahometan. And being in prison, she was swallowed by a Dragon, who burst with it, which was a kind of child-birth, wherefore her Legend is read to women in labour; And women with child will gird themselves with her girdle, which is kept in *St. Germans* Abbey of *Paris*: The Fryers of that Covent do them that Office. That *Olybrius* was never in the world. Neither is it the custome of Mahometans to force any by Martyrdom and publick punishments to renounce Christian Religion. In what time that Saint *Margaret* lived, no man can tell.

It is believed in *Spain* (and to doubt of it, is a case of Inquisition) that *James* the Apostle beheaded by *Herod*, *Act. 12.* is the Patron of *Spain*, and that he preacht in *Spain*, and converted the Countrey to the Christian faith; and that after he was beheaded by *Herod*, his body was miraculously transported from *Jerusalem* to *Compostella*, where pilgrims resort from all parts to visit his relicks. But *Baronius* in his *Annals* an. 816. §. 48. & seq. confuteth that fable by the authority of two Popes, *Innocent* the I. and *Gregory* the VII. Which is one of the causes, why the *Annals* of *Baronius* are forbidden in *Spain*. O holy Apostle! who put upon thee that Office of Patron of *Spain* after thy death, upon imaginary causes, and against the Popes will?

Acts 17. 34. *Dionysius* the Areopagite is mentioned, an Athenian and a Disciple of *St. Paul*. *Gregorius Turonensis* in book 1. of the history of the *Franks*, speaks of another *Dionysius*, who preached the Gospel at *Paris* in the time of the Emperour *Decius*, about the year of Christ 250. Of these two *Dionysii* they have made but one, whom they call Areopagite, although he that is mentioned in the *Acts* was never in *Gauls*; neither was Christian Religion planted in *Gauls* but a long time after his death, that is, about the time of the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, about the year of the Lord 162. as *Sulpitius Severus* witnesseth in the second book of his sacred history. (c) Under *Aurelius* (saith he) the fifth persecution was moved, and then the first martyrdoms were seen in *Gauls*; divine religion being received but late beyond the Alps. Yet at *St. Denis* by *Paris*, they keep the body of that pretended *Dionysius* the Areopagite, Patron of *Gauls*, and his relicks are there worshipped with great devotion, against the expresse declaration of Pope *Leo* the IX. related by *Baronius* an. 1052. in which the said Pope decided the difference between *Ratisbone* and *Paris*, which both pretend to have the body of *Dionysius* the Areopagite, and pronounced in favour of *Ratisbone*, condemning the error of the French. But the French superstition hath carried it against the Popes declaration.

How ridiculous is the fable of the Gyant *St. Christopher*? And that of *St. George* fighting on horseback against a Dragon? Every one knoweth that the enemies of *St. Athanasius* laid to his charge that he was a Magician, and that his capital enemy was *George* an Arian, who invaded his See. This *St. George* then was an heretick Arian; For his life saith, that he had great combats against the Magician *Athanasius*.

We doubt not but that there was such a man as *St. Francis*, the inventor and Patron of the order of Franciscan Fryers. But his Legend, and the Chronicles of

(c) Sub
Aurelio An-
tonini filio
persecutio
quinta agita-
ta. Ac tum
primum intra
Gallias mar-
tyria visa,
serius trans
Alpes religio-
ne Dei suscep-
ta.

of St. *Francis* attribute unto him a thousand actions destitute of common sense; as to preach unto Birds, to take up Lyce fallen from his garments, and set them on his garments again, to wallow in the mire, to make to himself a wife of snow, and embrace her to allay his amorous heat, &c. St. *Dominick* Patron of the Dominican Fryers preacht the *croisada* against that faithfull people, which they called in scorn *Albigenses*, and caused above two hundred thousand of them to be slain. His Legend saith in the beginning, that his Mother being neer to be delivered of him, dreamed, that a Dog came forth from her, bearing a burning torch in his mouth. These are the two Saints whom St. *Antonine* Arch-bishop of *Florence* compares with Jesus Christ, and finds very little inequality between them.

One had need to be of an easie belief to be certainly perswaded, that those whom the Pope canonizeth, and puts in the list of the Saints (assigning unto them a holy day in the Calendar that they may be prayed to) are Saints indeed, and enjoying the glory of God. For who gave the Pope that priviledge to be infallible in that judgement, seeing that it is a question of fact, in which our Adversaries acknowledge, that the Pope may be mistaken and misinformed? Wherefore also the Cardinal *Cajetan* in his Treatise of Indulgences to *Julius de Medicis*, (d) acknowledgeth that there may be error in the Canonization. *Melchior Canus* saith the same in book 5. chap. 5. and that after *Thomas Aquinas*, as *Cajetan* saith in the same place. Who knows not how many factions and sollicitations are used in the Court of *Rome* by Princes and Common-wealths, that a man of their Countrey or City may be canonized? So far that the Pope sometimes being overcome with importunity, is carried away to canonize a man against his will, as the book of sacred ceremonies doth acknowledge. (e) *Then* (saith he) *the Pope was in some sort constrained to canonize a man against his opinion, and therefore made a protestation.* By that protestation he thought to discharge his conscience.

(d) Cap. 8. Potest intervenire error humanus in canonizatione alicujus Sancti: S. Thomas dicit. (e) Papa tunc quodammodo cogebatur ad canonizandum quendam contra suam opinionem, & propterea protestabatur.

Now let any reasonable man judge, whether the prayer made to a Saint canonized in that manner can be done in faith, seeing that it is not grounded upon the word of God, and that our very Adversaries acknowledge it possible, that a man may be prayed to as a Saint, who is tormented in hell fire. And whereas the histories of the Popes speak of many Popes whose lives have been most wicked, and their ends miserable, and that our Adversaries freely confess, that there may be some Popes damned; think you whether a man condemned to hell can insert a man in the list of the Saints of Paradise?

The ordinary dawbing to hide this weak place, is, that the Canonization is made upon the information of the miracles made by him that is canonized. But *Gerson* in his Sermon of the *IV. houses*, teacheth that the canonization grounded upon miracles, stands upon an unsafe bottom. And himself in the Treatise of examination of doctrines, relates that Pope *Gregory* the XI. being near his end, and holding the Sacrament in his hand, protested, that he had been seduced by deceitfull miracles, and led away to make a schism in the Church. Which he said with a relation to *Catherine* of *Siena*, who by miracles and visions had induced him to leave *Avignon*, and remove to *Rome*. Notwithstanding (f) *Pius* the II. put that *Catherine* among the Saints, although she had abused his predecessor.

(f) Baron. Martyrolog. Apr. 20.

The words whereby the Pope canonizeth a Saint, are such. *In the authority of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and in our own, We decree and define that N. of good memory is a Saint, and must be put in the list of the Saints, &c.* And observe, that before the pronouncing of that sentence, the cause is pleaded in the Consistory, and an Advocate presents himself, who represents the reasons why such a one ought to be Sainted. The Apostles were not so canonized, nor their disciples: Nor those old Fathers who are called Saints, as *Irenaus*, *Cyprian*, *Basil*, *Hierom*, *Austin*. This canonization is an imitation of the Pagan Apotheoses: Wherefore also the second book of the Sacred Ceremonies, calls the Ceremonies (g) *Apotheoses*, that is, *Deifications*, or *making of Gods*, whereby a man is made one of the Gods by the authority of men. It happens to some poor Saints, for whom the dignity of Saints is begged in the

(g) Divorum nostrorum Apotheoses.

Court of *Rome*, to be cast in their suit, and they cannot be Saints in heaven, because men on earth were not favourable to them. Sometimes the degree of *Beat.* is obtained for them, which is a middle degree, and an expectation of Saint-ship. By this means Popes will give their servants to be worshipped by the Nations of *Christendome*. Which new Saints are far more honoured then the Patriarchs and Prophets. For in the Roman Church it fareth with Saints as with clothes: The newest are the best, and most esteemed.

CHAP. 6.

Whether Saints and Angels ought to be worshipped?

THE Saints whose doctrine hath given instruction, and whose life hath given edification to Gods Church, and the Martyrs who have subscribed the doctrine of the Gospel with their blood, must be honoured by the godly, and their memory must be blessed. The ancient Church had that laudable custom to renew their memory in the publike service. But that honour must not exceed the limits, or our affection to them degenerate into superstition or idolatry; which is then more pernicious, when it is insinuated under pretence of piety, and when the beloved of God are employed to move God to jealousy.

Acts 14. *Paul* and *Barnabas* are angry with the inhabitants of *Lystra*, because they would transform them into Idols, and defer unto them the service which they yielded unto their Gods. And no doubt, but that if from the heavenly glory which they enjoy, they saw, how Temples and Altars are consecrated unto them, and that they are held to be searchers of hearts, and that salvation is asked of God by their merits, they would be moved with a great indignation against their worshippers.

The true honour due unto Saints is, that which the word of God approveth; and that is to imitate their good actions, to obey their holy doctrine, to set them before us as examples, and never to speak of them but with reverence. But to make them searchers of the hearts, to yield unto them a religious service, to bring offerings unto them, to hope for salvation by their merits, and to believe that their labours and sufferings may be accepted as a satisfaction for our sins, they are doctrines and practises which the word of God approveth not. We cannot be justly taxed, if we follow the example of the Saints; honouring *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, as the same *Peter* and *Paul* honoured *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *David*: Since then *Peter*, and *Paul* did not invoke *David*, and *David* did not invoke *Abraham*; they that now invoke *Peter*, resist *Peter*, pretending to honour him, and turn away from his example. None of them hath required that service at our hands; and God did not command it.

We have many advantages in this cause: For we maintain Gods cause, asserting, that the religious invocation, and the knowledge of the hearts, belongs unto God alone. And sure we are that God is truly Saint, but that all that are called so, are Saints indeed, it may very well be called in question. We are sure also, that God hath power and goodness enough to do us good without the help of any creature; and that the Saints are not envious of the honour done unto God: And that in Gods word there is neither commandment nor example of the invocation of Saints, as our very Adversaries acknowledge.

1. Here then, if we stand to the judgement of God alone, this question shall be soon decided. For *M. du Perron* doth freely acknowledge that there is neither precept nor formal example of the invocation of Saints in holy Scripture: Now the Holy Scripture is the only book which may be called the word of God. Neither do our Adversaries propound us any other. Can they shew us any other book which is truly the Word of God?

2. If we take the history of the Church, from the beginning of the world unto Christ, in all that time, which is four thousand years, our adversaries confess that there was no invocation of Saints. For how could they be capable to receive invocation, if all that while their souls were shut up in the *Limbus*, which is an under-ground dark prison, as the Roman Church believeth, and did not enjoy the sight of God? Hence it follows, that in vain *M. du Perron* labours to bring Texts of the Old Testament, by him falsified and corrupted, to make them serve his ends: As when in the second Chapter of the Treatise of the Invocation of Saints, he alleadgeth *Gen. 20. 7.* where he makes God to speak thus to *Abimelech*, *Make thine address unto Abraham, and he shall pray for thee, for he is a Prophet.* This Text is falsified. The true Text runs thus, *Restore the man his wife, for he is a Prophet, and he shall pray for thee.* These words, *Make thine address unto Abraham*, are of the Cardinals addition. Besides, that text speaks of the request of a living man to another living man: But speaks neither of the Intercession nor of the Invocation of deceased Saints.

3. All that is done without faith is sin, saith the Apostle, *Rom. 14. 23.* Especially prayer ought to be made in faith, as the Apostle *James* teacheth us, *Jam. 1. 6. Let him ask in faith, nothing wavering.* Now the prayer address unto the Saints, cannot be made in faith, for *faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God, Rom. 10. 17.* Not being then grounded in the Word of God, it cannot be made in faith. Wherefore we have no promise in Scripture, that God will hear prayers made to any other but God.

4. *2 King. 2. 9.* the Prophet *Elijah* being upon the point of being taken up to heaven, said to *Elisba*, *Ask what I shall do for thee, before I be taken away from thee;* which was as much as saying, *After I am taken up to heaven, there is no more petitioning to me.*

5. If ever any had reason to call upon the blessed Virgin *Mary*, it was the Apostles that were of her near kindred, and St. *John* more then any, who after the Lords death, received her into his house. For they might say after *Mary's* death, *We have a good Advocate in heaven, which is Queen of heaven, and is near akin to us.* Yet they never bethought themselves to pray to her, neither did they recommend to us to pray to her.

6. Observe that the holy Virgin, *Luke 1. 48.* saith, *All generations shall call me blessed;* but saith not, *All generations shall worship me.* Jesus Christ saith, *Come unto me, Matth. 11.* But the Virgin *Mary* saith, *Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it, John 2.*

7. *Cornelius* the Centurion, to whom Scripture beareth witness, that he was a devout man, and one that feared God, *Act. 10. 2.* knew well enough that *Peter* was no God, and therefore was not to be worshipped as God, yet when he fell down at his feet and worshipped him, the Apostle rebuked him, saying, *Stand up, I myself also am a man.*

8. *Rev. 22. 9.* The Angel chideth St. *John*, because he fell down to worship him, saying, *See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant, worship God.* Now he knew that this Angel was not God, for the same Angel had given him that warning a little before, *Rev. 19. 10.* but being full of amazement, he would defer some inferiour adoration unto him. Note that the Angel useth a word, whereby he rejecteth the adoration of *dulia*, saying, *Κύριός & Ὁ Θεός. I am thy fellow in dulia, Worship God;* for it is not convenient to defer the cult of *dulia*, to him that oweth it unto God.

9. As in the Old Testament, all the *Psalms* of *David*, and all the prayers of the Prophets, are addressed unto God alone, likewise in the New Testament, no prayers are found, but prayers unto God. Whereupon *Bellarmines* ingenuity is notable, in his third Book of the service of the Saints, chap. 9. *When the holy Scriptures were written* (saith he) *it was not yet in fashion to make vows unto the Saints.* That is, the Prophets and Apostles had not yet bethought themselves of that.

10. It is very considerable, that very often the holy Scripture expresseth the duty

Luke 12. 1.

duty of *praying to God*, by the word of *praying* only, as acknowledging no other prayer, but that which is addressed to God. The Apostles say to Christ, *Teach us to pray*; and Christ answereth, *When you pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven*. He knew that he that desires to be taught how to pray, ought not and cannot ask but to be taught how to pray to God. And in the sixth of *Matthew*, v. 6. *When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which seeth thee in secret*. There he declareth, that this word of *praying*, in matter of Religion, cannot signifie any thing but praying to God. See also *Eph.* 6. 18. and *1 Thes.* 5. 17.

(h) Non in
Petrum cre-
dimus, sed in
eum in quem
credidit
Petrus.

11. The Apostle, *Rom.* 10. 14. teacheth us, that we cannot pray to any but him, in whom we believe. *How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?* Now the Symbol obligeth us to believe in God, Father, Son and Holy-Ghost, not in the creature. And Christ saith, *John* 14. 1. *You believe in God, believe also in me*. And *Austin* accordingly, Book 18. of the City of God, chap. 54. (h) *We believe not in Peter, but in him in whom Peter believed*. Upon which the Cardinal saith, pag. 1047. that he will not answer that objection, because he intends to speak only of the question of the fact, not of the right. He saith also, that Saint *Paul* speaks of the absolute invocation. Also that we believe in the Saints, in some degree and proportion; which faith in the Saints, he calls a *relative*, and not *absolute* faith, because that we believe in them as Ministers of Christ. Now we thought, that the Gospel did fully teach us what the faith of the Christian is: But here is one, who besides the faith in God, would oblige us to a relative faith, of which the Gospel speaks not. So the godly shall have two kinds of faith, although the Apostle speaking of the true faith of the godly, saith, that there is but one God and one faith, *Ephes.* 4. 5, 6. Besides the impiety, there is absurdity in that distinction; for every faith is relative to the thing that one believeth, or to the person in whom he believeth: As the sight is relative to the thing visible, so the faith in God, is relative unto God.

(i) Thomas
2. 2. q. 88.
Art. 4. & 5.
(k) Cajetan
ibid.
Navar. Consil.
lib. 3. de
Voto Consil. 8.
Num. 2. & 4.

12. The Apostle, *Gal.* 4. 8. representing to the Galatians their former condition, speaks thus unto them, *When ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by nature are no gods*. He speaks indeed of the gods of the Pagans, which cannot without impiety be compared with the Saints; but still this stands true, that the Saints are no gods, and that the Apostle condemneth them, that by nature are no gods. Note that there is in the Greek ἐδουλοῦντε, *you yielded anlia*, the service which our adversaries affirm to be due unto Saints; which service nevertheless, Saint *Paul* will not have us to yield to them that by nature are no gods. This made *Bellarmino* to say in the third Book of the service of the Saints, chap. 9. that the Saints are Gods by participation. (i) *Thomas* and (k) *Cajetan* had said the same before him.

13. Satan tempted Christ to worship him, *Mat.* 4. Who doubts but that Satan would have been contented that Christ would have worshipped him with an inferior adoration, or with a relative invocation, as *M. du Perron* speaks? But Christ cuts him short, and sends him back to the rule of the Law, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*.

14. The Apostle, *Col.* 2. 18. rejects the service of the Angels, in these words, *Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of Angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind*. The Cardinal to elude that text, hath found a new Exposition, which no body thought upon before. For by the service or worshipping of Angels, he understands not the service or worship exhibited unto Angels, but the Jewish Religion or Religion, because (saith he) the Jews had received it from the Angels. I presume that this Prelate was biting his nails many Moneths, before he could devise such an extravagant Exposition, as to understand by the service of Angels, the Jewish Religion, because the Angels intervened in the publishing of the Law. By the same reason, the Gospel may be called the worship of Angels, because the Angels did announce it, when the Angel *Gabriel* announced unto the Virgin *Mary* the incarnation of the Son of God, and declared to her his office. And when the

Angels

Angels announced his birth unto the Shepherds, *Luke 2.* and sung, *Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, towards men good will.* The Angels also announced the resurrection of Christ unto the Apostles, and foretold his second coming, *Acts 1. 11.*

Yet although I affirm, that by the worship of Angels, the worship yielded to Angels must be understood, yet I freely grant that *Paul* speaks there to those that adhered unto the Ceremonies of the Law, and added to them some humane traditions, as acknowledging themselves unworthy to go directly to God; of which the Apostle saith, that they did it out of a voluntary humility: and that is the very colour which our adversaries put upon their invocation of Saints and Angels. So *Theodoret* understood it, and the Council of *Laodicea*, as *Theodoret* saith in his Comment upon this place, *They that maintained the Law, induced men to serve Angels, saying, that the Law was given by their intervention. That vice remained long in Phrygia and Pisidia. Wherefore the Synod assembled at Laodicea, the capital City of Phrygia, forbade them by an express order to pray to Angels. And to this day, Oratories of Saint Michael are still seen among them and their neighbours. Now they gave this counsel under colour of humility, saying, That the God of the Universe is invisible, incomprehensible and inaccessible; and that therefore they must get Gods favour by his Angels: And this is that which Saint Paul meant by voluntary humility, and worshipping of Angels.* And the same in the following Chapter, *Because they commanded adoration of Angels, he commands the contrary: and tells them that they should adorn their deeds and words with the commemoration of Christ our Lord, and tells them, Give thanks to the Father by him, not by the Angels. Which Law the Synod of Laodicea following, and desirous to remedy that old disease, prohibited by a decree their praying to Angels, and leaving out the Lord Jesus Christ.* About these places, the Cardinal toyls very much, maintaining that both *Theodoret*, and the Council of *Laodicea*, speak to those that prayed to Angels to the exclusion of Christ, and that did not pray to God at all, but only to the Angels, which is impossible: For if it were so, those to whom that prohibition is made, should be neither Jews nor Christians, but meer Pagans, seeing that both Jews and Christians, hold without exception, that God must be prayed to. Now it is necessary, that those to whom the prohibition of praying to Angels, is made by the Synod of *Laodicea*, should be Christians; for the Synods of Christians, never made any prohibition to the Pagans or Jews about their Religion. They give no rules but unto Christians, and to the Churches subject unto them. And I cannot wonder enough at this Prelate, that he could believe that *Theodoret* spoke of those that pray not to God at all, seeing that the first line of that place of *Theodoret* expresseth, that those whom the Apostle speaks to, were disputing for the observation of the Law. Now the Law obligeth men to pray to God, and offer sacrifices to him. When then Saint *Paul* saith, that such men retain not the head, and when the Council of *Laodicea*, saith, that they that call upon Angels have left Christ, they speak so, because one cannot call upon God by the mediation of another then Christ, without leaving Christ, although he profess that he honours him: For one cannot never so little transport the honour due unto God, unto the creature, without falling from his Covenant. Observe these words of *Theodoret*, that the Council of *Laodicea* prohibits praying to Angels; and that among those Hereticks of *Phrygia*, yet in his dayes Oratories to Saint *Michael* were seen. Yet in our dayes such Oratories are seen in the Roman Church: For which cause *M. du Perron* alleadging that place of *Theodoret*, hath fraudulently omitted that word (+) of Saint *Michael*, for fear of offending the Reader. Observe also the language of those Hereticks, the same as that of our Adversaries, that they go to God by the Angels and Saints, and that his favour is got by their intervention. Thus the Simonian Hereticks said, that (m) by the [Angelical] principalities and powers, sacrifices ought to be offered to the Father of the Universe, as *Epiphanius* relateth in the 21. heresie.

Cardinal *Baronius* deals more plainly then Cardinal *du Perron*, for in the 60. year of his *Annals* (n) he makes no difficulty to condemn *Theodoret*, saying, *By these things thou mayst see that Theodoret (by his leave) did not well apprehend the sense of Saint Pauls words.*

(1) Page 1057. A fraud of the Cardinal.
(m) Καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας θυσίας τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὁλῶν, διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τούτων ἢ ἐξουσιῶν αἰσθητέων.
(n) §. 20.

He

(o) Simonian Magice disciplina Angelis serviens utique & ipsa inter idololatras deputatur.

He should have condemned *Tertullian* also, who in the 33. chap. of the Book of Prescriptions saith, that (o) *Simonian Magick which serveth Angels, is put among idolatries.* And *Austin*, who in the Book of Heresies ad *Quod vult Deum*, puts among Hereticks the *Angelicks*, *Qui in Angelorum cultum fuerunt inclinati. Who have been inclined to the service of Angels.*

15. Finally, since the Church hath been many thousands of years without calling upon the Saints, and the godly have been saved, praying to none but God, why could not the godly in these dayes be saved by doing the same? Why shall the service done to the dead, be necessary in one age, and not in another? If two persons being afflicted, the one prayeth to God, the other to Saint *Barbara*, which of the two doth the better work? None can deny but that he that prayeth to God doth better, especially seeing that the prayer made to God, hath a promise to be heard; but the prayer made to Saint *Barbara* hath none.

Let the prudent and impartial Reader, compare so many texts of Scripture which defer unto God alone Religious invocation, and the practise of the Church of the Old Testament, and that of the time of the Apostles, which by the very confession of our adversaries, pray to none but God, with the language of the Popes of the last times, who when they canonize a Saint, command that he be prayed to. Of which one example will serve, *Matthew Paris*, in the year of the Lord, 1173. pag. 122. saith, that in the Council of *Westminster*, Letters of Pope *Alexander* were read in the presence of the Bishops and Barons, by which Letters the canonization of *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, was signified in these words, *We admonish your Universality, and straitly command you in the authority which we exercise, that you solemnly celebrate every year, the birth day of the glorious Martyr, Thomas late Archbishop of Canterbury, that is, the day of his Passion; and that by prayers to him, you endeavour to merit the remission of your sins.* Note that this *Thomas* is called a Martyr, for dying, not for the faith of Christ, nor for the doctrine of the Gospel, but for the quarrel between the King and the Pope, about money matters, and for the collation of benefices, being killed by some of the Kings servants, who gave him no time, either to change his mind, or to persevere in his opinion.

CHAP 7.

What was the opinion of the Fathers of the three first ages, and till the midst of the fourth, about the invocation of Saints and Angels.

THIS question among equitable and pious men is superfluous. For after the will of God is known, in vain should one enquire of the opinion of men. Besides, the Cardinal did acknowledge before, that even in *Austin*'s time, that is 420. years after the Lords birth, the Church had decided nothing yet about that point, whether the Saints behold the face of God before the resurrection; which by consequent draweth with it a doubt about the invocation of Saints.

Nevertheless, we owe to the Doctors of the first ages, a just defence against those that attribute unto them things contrary to the purity of the faith, and their own intention.

We must know then, that in the three first ages, and above the half of the fourth, the invocation of Saints was a thing unknown in the Christian Church, and God alone was invocated. All the testimonies that the Cardinal could gather from those ages, speak of the intercession of Saints, nothing of the invocation.

In the fourth Book of the History of *Eusebius*, chap. 15. we have the history of the Martyrdom of *Polycarpus* Bishop of *Smyrna*, a Disciple of Saint *John*, near the time of the Apostles: There it is related, that this holy Martyr being dead, some by the suggestion of the Jews, desired the Governour of *Smyrna* that the body

body of Polycarpus should not be given to the Christians for fear (said they) that they should come to worship him. But the Church of Smyrna which set down this history in writing said upon that. (a) *They know not that we can never leave Christ, who suffered for the salvation of all them that are saved in all the world, nor serve any other but him. For as for Jesus Christ who is the Son of God, we worship him. But as for the Martyrs, we love them deservedly, as the Disciples and followers of the Lord. This is an excellent testimony, and of the first Christian antiquity.*

Ignatius who lived in the 140. year of the Lord, in the Epistle to the Philadelphians speaks thus, (b) *You Virgins have none but Jesus Christ alone before your eyes in your prayers, and the Father of Jesus Christ.*

Clement Alexandrinus in the seventh book Stromaton, (c) *Therefore with reason there being but one only truly good, which is God, both we and the Angels pray to him alone, that of good things he would give us some, and that some may remain with us.*

Irenaeus who writ about the year of the Lord 220. in the second book, (d) *The Church doth nothing neither by invocation of Angels, nor by enchantments, nor by any ill curiosity; but purely, simply and openly she addresseth her prayers unto God who made all things, and calling upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath made Virtues according to mens utility, not to seduce them.*

Tertullian that lived in the same time, in chap. 30. of his Apologeticus, (e) *I cannot (saith he) ask these things of any but of him, of whom I know that I shall obtain them, because he is the only that performs them, and I am he for whom they must be obtained, even his servant that reverence him alone.* The same in the thirty third chapter of the book of Prescriptions calls the service of Angels idolatry.

Novatianus, whose book of the Trinity is added to the works of Tertullian, chap. 14. proveth the Godhead of Christ by the invocation, which is deferred unto him. (f) *If Christ (saith he) is but a man, why is a man invoked as a Mediatour, seeing that the invocation of a man is judged of no efficacy for salvation?*

Origen that writ about the year 250. Tom. 8. against Celsus, (g) *We must pray to him alone, who is God above all things. To him also we must pray, who is the Word, the only Son of God, the first born of all creatures.*

And in the fifth Tome disputing against the invocation of Angels. *The knowledge [of Angels] representing unto us their nature, and the condition in which they are established, (h) will not permit us to be so bold as to call upon any other but him who is God above all things, all-sufficient, by our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God.* And in the same book, *We hold that they that pray, must not be prayed to: As also themselves like it better, that we address our prayers to him whom they pray to.*

Neither doth he only impugne the invocation of Saints, but in some places he doubteth of their intercession, as in his second book and chap. 2. upon the Epistle to the Romans, (i) *If the Saints that have put off their bodies and are with Christ, do any thing, and labour for us like the Angels that exercise the mysteries of their salvation, &c. Let that also be put among the secret mysteries of God, which must not be committed to paper.* Note these words, *If they labour for us, that M. du Perron may not say, that Origen doubts, whether the deceased Saints do yet meritorious works.* For he speaks not of the labour of the Saints for themselves, but for us. What the Cardinal answereth Origen, will be seen in the following chapter.

Athanasius especially insisteth upon this point, and thereby fights against the quoniam & ipse solus est qui prestat, et ego sum cui impetrare debetur, famulus eius qui eum solum observo. (f) Si homo tantummodo Christus, cur homo in orationibus Mediator invocatur, cum invocatio hominis ad prestandam salutem inefficax judicetur? (g) Μόρον προσκυντεον τοσντων πασιν θεω προσκυντεον τε τοσντων μοναχων & πρωτοκλητων πασιν κληρικων λογον δεει. (h) εν εαυτοις αλληλα ορεσιν η τοσντων παντας διακει εν πασιν θεω δια τοσντων & ημων ος τα θεα. (i) Jam vero si etiam extra corpus positi vel sancti qui cum Christo sunt agunt aliquid & laborant pro nobis ad similitudinem Angelorum, &c. habeatur & hoc quoque inter occulta Dei, nec chartula committenda mysteria.

Arrians,

(a) αγγεων τις
ον ετε &
αγγεων πατε
καταλιπειν
δυντομεθα
& αγγεον & τα
παντες κτισμα
σωτηριος η
σωτουμεν
αθων τα & τε
επεσον τινα
εβεν & τα
μεν & ος
εβεν τα θεα
μεσσηνουμεν
& ημας
αυς μα
δυνας τα Κυ
ελε & ημα
τασ αγαπω
μεν αγγεων.
(b) αι παρ
ενοι μωρον
& αγγεων περ
οδωμεν
εβεν & η
τον αυτος πα
τηρ & η
εβεν.
(c) οδω
εβεν & η
οι & η
αγαδ & η
παρ αυτος
μωρε & αγα
θων τα ως
οδωμεν τα
& καταλιπειν
αγγεων.
(d) Ecclesia
nec invocati
onibus Ange
licis facit ali
quid, nec in
cantationibus,
nec aliqua
prava curiosi
tate, sed
mundè &
pauè & mani
feste, orationes
dirigens ad
Dominum, qui
omnia fecit, &
nomen Domini
nostri Jesu
Christi invo
cans, &c.
(e) Hac ab
alio orare non
possum, quam
a quo me scio
consecuturum,

speaking of the *absolute* adoration due to God alone, not of the *relative* adoration which is deferred unto Saints and Angels: For he ought to bring some testimony out of their writings, that speak of that *relative* adoration or invocation; or of that religious service which our Adversaries call *dulia*. But of that not one word was spoken in so many Ages. That distinction was forged a long time after. We have shewed already that all adoration is *relative*, and that the invocation and adoration which is deferred unto God, is *relative* unto God.

The Cardinal in the fourteenth chapter of the Treatise of the Invocation of Saints, promiseth to prove that even before the four first Councils, that is, in the three first ages, the invocation of Saints was in use. But he abuseth the Reader, for well nigh all the texts which he brings are from Authors that have written a long time after the first Council. Those by whom he begins, are *Basili* and *Gregory Nazianzen*, who wrote about the year of the Lord 375, both which lived in *Cappadocia*, where that superstition first sprung in all likelihood, and thence spread abroad. This is a notorious fraud, to promise in the title of the Chapter, to shew the general practise of the invocation of Saints used in the Church before the four first Councils, but in that chapter to bring none but Authors that have written since the first Council. It is true, that among a multitude of testimonies of the posterious Ages he alledgeth some of the three first Ages. But those texts speak not of the invocation, but only of the intercession of Saints.

These testimonies then the Cardinal alledgeth of the three first Ages. He alledgeth *Gregory Nazianzen*, who in the Oration upon *Cyprian* saith, that *St. Justina* solicited to wantonness by the magical arts of *Cyprian*, before he was converted to the Christian faith, had recourse to the intercession of the Virgin *Mary*. But as that narrative is fabulous and injurious against *Cyprian*, so is *Gregory's* belief, that in *Cyprian's* time the Saints were invoked. He that in one point gives fables for histories, will not stick to do the like in another. *Baronius* in his Martyrology upon *Sept. 26.* speaks of another *Cyprian* that was of *Amioch*, and was martyred at *Nicomedia*. But what he saith of him, he draws out of Legends, which have little authority. Besides, this doth not excuse *Gregory Nazianzen*, who relates this of *Cyprian* of *Carthage*.

The Cardinal alledgeth also *Eusebius*, who in the twelfth book of the Evangelical preparation, chap. 1. saith, that *Plato* had got among the Hebrews his opinion, that the souls of the deceased take care of humane things, and that the Hebrews hold, that *Jeremiah* was seen praying for the people after his decease. But though we should receive *Plato* among the Prophets, and the things related of *Jeremiah* in the *Maccabees* as true, yet that place is unfit to prove, that the Saints must be prayed to. That example, like the other, may be used to prove that the Saints pray for us, not that we ought to pray to them. The same I say of the words of *Origen* upon the thirty second chapter of *Numbers*, Hom. 26. where he saith, *Who doubts but that every one of the Holy Fathers helps us by his prayers?* The same also may be said of all the testimonies of *Origen* and *Cyprian*, which *M. du Perron* alledgeth after, pag. 1010. who all speak of the intercession of Saints, not of the invocation to be deferred unto them.

Wherefore in page 1009. being prest by the truth, he pleads guilty, and saith, that in the Authors that lived nearer the Apostles times, no footsteps are found of that custom of calling upon the Saints. And in vain he alledgeth, that most of their writings are lost. For we have the works of *Justin*, *Ignatius*, *Irenaeus*, *Clement*, *Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Athanasius*, *Eusebius* and others, who both in number and bulk are more then sufficient to shew us the belief of the ancient Church.

Certainly if the writings of the Fathers were the sovereign rule of our faith, there would be no reason why we should receive a doctrine, not received in the three first ages, and which began to spring in the end of the fourth.

We cannot pass by the Cardinals notorious falsification in the same place, (q) where he alledgeth *Eusebius*. He makes *Eusebius* to say, that *Plato* taught, that vertuous men must be honoured, and that their monuments must be venerated

Pag. 1008.

(q) Ch. 14.
p. 1000.

or adored. Thats false. *Eusebius* never attributed that doctrine to *Plato*, and the first chapter of the twelfth book of the Evangelical preparation which *M. du Perron* quoteth in the Margin, speaks not a word of that. Indeed *Eusebius* chap. 3. alledgeth the book of *Maccabees*, saying that *Jeremiah* after his death was seen praying for the people, as taking care of men that are on earth; but he speaks not of worshipping the monuments of vertuous men, as the Cardinal saith, who not understanding Greek, hath translated ἐν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων, humane things. For our part we would not deny, that the Saints are praying for Gods people in general: but the question is, Whether they pray for every particular man; and whether they understand their prayers.

The place that followeth, which he alledgeth out of *Eusebius*, speaks no more then the other of the invocation of Martyrs, but of prayers unto God by their sepulchres, and of the honour deferred unto their memory. In the same place he alledgeth *Eusebius* again, in the sixth Book of his History, chap. 5. where Saint *Potamina* speaks thus to one of the guards that led her to execution, and defended her against the fury of the people, (1) *That after her departure she would pray to her Lord, and that he would shortly pay him the recompence of that he had done for her.* The Cardinal having but little Greek, thus translateth that place, *That presently after her death, she would pray to God for him, and obtain for him grace and pardon from the Lord.* He trusted (it seems) some other mans interpretation, whom he employed to understand Greek for him. That passage indeed may prove that *Potamina* believed, that the Saints deceased, pray for the living whom they have known on earth, but proves not that the Saints must be invocated. And that guard, called *Basilides*, being turned Christian a little after, and a Martyr also, did not pray to *Potamina*, though he believed that he had been assisted by her intercession.

- *Bellarmino* in the 3. Book of the service of the Saints, chap. 9. alleadgeth (f) *Eusebius*, Book 13. of Evangelical preparation, chap. 7. *Honouring the Champions of true piety as Gods friends; and drawing near to their monuments, we make vows unto them as to holy men, by whose intercession we profess that we get no little help towards God.* But that place is altogether false. *Eusebius* saith only, (t) *That the custom was to stand by their tombs, and to pray by them, and to honour the blessed souls.* *Bellarmino* adds these words of his own, *We make vows unto them, and profess that we get no little help by their intercession.*

CHAP. 8.

*A Vindication of Origen upon the point of the invocation of one only God,
against the accusations of Cardinal du Perron.*

THe Cardinal bearing himself for judge of antiquity, deals very unworthily with many antient Doctors, because they are not favourable enough unto the Roman Church. It is usual with him to call *Socrates* and *Sozomenus* Novatians, to derogate from the authority of their history, even in things that concern not at all the doctrine of *Novatus*. He revileth *Eusebius*, and calls him an Arrian, although *Socrates*, *Sozomenus*, and *Theodoret* clear him of that accusation, as we have (a) proved. The reason of that hatred, is, because that excellent Author being the only Historian of the three first ages of the Church, speaks no otherwise of the Bishop of *Rome*, then of another Bishop, and giveth him no preeminence: and because he condemneth images as a Pagan custom, and calls very often the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the figure of Christs body. But the Father whom he hates above all is *Origen*, not for the causes, for which he hath been condemned by the antient Church, but for saying that the thing that we receive in the holy Communion, as for the matter, goeth to the draught, and that it is a symbollicall

(1) ὁ δὲ ἀν-
τιπάλιν ἀπελθόν-
των ὁ δὲ τῶν
ἐαυτοῦ Κυ-
εῖς καὶ ἐκ
εἰς μακρὸν
τῶν εἰς ἀν-
τιπάλιν π-
περὶ ἀντι-
πάλιν ἀμοι-
κῶς ἀπὸ τῆ-
ς αὐτῆς
(1) ε. verum-
tamen.

(1) Eusebii
verba sunt,
ἐπὶ τὰς
διόχως 29
ἡμῖν παρι
έναι καὶ τὰς
ἐυχὰς 29
ταύτας
ποιῆσαι
πρωὴν τὴν
μακαρίας
ψυχῆς.

(a) Before
Book 3.
ch. 2.

licall and figurative body. Also because he condemneth images, and rejecteth them from the service of God. Also because in all his writings, which are two great volumes, he never speaks of the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, but calls *Paul* the greatest of all the Apostles. And because he fights with so much stoutness against the invocation of Angels and creatures, and teacheth that prayers must be adrest to none but God.

The Cardinal chap. 13. of the 5. Book, labours to defend himself against a testimony of *Origen* alleadged by his Majesty of great Britain in these words, *God alone was worshipped, God alone was invocated through his only Son, mediator between God and men, alone, only, most only.* To which he could have added these Texts of the fifth Tome against *Celsus*, (b) *That science which represents unto us the nature of Angels, and that for whichevery one of them is ordained, will not give us leave to put our trust, or address our prayers to any other, but him who is God over all things, who is sufficient for all things, by the Son of God our Saviour, who is the Word, the Wisdom and the Truth.* And in the same Book he maintains against *Celsus*, that the Jews did not adore the Angels of heaven, (c) *because (saith he) they that did so, did it against the Law.* And shortly after, speaking of the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars, of whom he speaks as of animate creatures, and Angelical Spirits (which was the opinion of many Antients, of *Austin* among the rest) (d) *We judge (saith he) that we must not pray to those that pray, since they rather would send us to God whom they pray to, then to bring us down unto them, and divide our vertue from God to themselves.* And in the same place, (e) *We worship not those that worship, nor Moses, nor those that came after him, and prophesied from God:* And in the same Book, speaking of *Moses* and the Prophets, he saith, that (f) *they studied to pray to the only Sovereign God.* Again, (g) *We must rather worship God, who is only announced by the Angels, then his Heralds and Angels.*

The eighth and last Tome of *Origen* against *Celsus*, is full of such sentences. For he answereth *Celsus*, who blamed the Christians for adoring none but God alone through *Jesus Christ*: (h) *We serve one only God, and his only Son, his Word, and his image by prayers and honours, according to our power.* And there again, (i) *We must pray to God alone, who is above all things. We must also pray to his only Son.*

This taken out of the same Book will serve for all. (k) *We ought to make the only Sovereign God propitious unto us, and pray to him that he be favourable to us, seeking to get his love by piety and by all vertue. If Celsus will make some others propitious unto him after the Sovereign God, let him learn, that as the shadow is moved after the bodies motion, so when one hath made the Sovereign God propitious unto him, hence it follows that he hath all the beloved Angels and the [blessed] souls and spirits propitious unto him.*

The Cardinal answereth two things; The one, that *Origen's* authority is not an authentical Warrant for the decisions of Religion, seeing that in the same Book he destroyeth the Godhead of *Christ*. The other, that Books written against the Pagans, are not fit to teach the exact belief and practise of antiquity.

I answer, that in this point the authority of *Origen* is nothing inferiour to any of the Fathers. For *Origen* having in his life time been honoured as an incomparable man, and praised by *Saint Gregory* the maker of miracles (who lived in his time) by an expresse Book, hath also after his death, won by his writings the admiration of most men. *Ambrose* and *Hierom* borrow from him, and imitate his allegories and interpretations of Scripture. *Eusebius* hath written an Apology for him, and spent most part of the sixth Book of his history about his praise. *Ruffinus* also, Priest of *Aquilcia*, hath written a Book for his vindication.

But *Hierom*, in his old age, being slain out with *Ruffinus* and *John* of *Jerusalem*,

ὡς τὸ θεὸν προσευχόμενους (f) μετανοήσαντας τὸ θεὸν πᾶσι μόνον εὐχαρῶντες. (g) τὸν κηρυττοῦν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀνὰ θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἀγγελοῦν αὐτοῦ. (h) τὸν ἀνὰ θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἐν ὅλῳ αὐτοῦ. (i) μόνον θεὸν εὐκταῖν τὸ θεὸν πᾶσι θεῶν προσευχόμενους, &c. (k) ἕνα ἔν τὸν θεὸν πᾶσι θεῶν προσευχόμενους, &c.

great admirers of *Origen*, that he might have an occasion of invectives against them, began to write against *Origen*, and to mark his errors: Being angry that *Ruffinus* said that *Hierom* was an Origenist as well as he, and that if he was an Origenist, he had learned it of *Hierom*.

In the same timelived *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Salamin* in *Cyprus*, who also was at odds with *John* of *Jerusalem*. That *John* accused *Epiphanius*, that he was an *Anthropomorphite*; and *Epiphanius* accused *John*, that he was an Origenist. This was the cause, why *Epiphanius* leaving out the *Anthropomorphites* in his Catalogue of Hereticks, put *Origens* in that list; describing him as a monster and a plague in the Church. And after an exact examination of his errors, he chargeth him to have burnt incense unto idols in his old age; which yet (1) *Baronius* affirmeth to be a calumny, and cleareth him of that imputation.

The truth is, that *Origen* had extravagant opinions and many errors, and that by his Allegories he hath altered the purity of Scripture. But it must be acknowledged also, that never was a man more narrowly, and with more animosity, examined by posterity. Which is very considerable. For if there had been a just subject of reproving *Origen*, because he did absolutely condemn images, and believed that God alone ought to be invoked, and that the bread of the holy Communion, is bread still after the consecration; we may be sure that *Epiphanius* and *Hierom*, who have bent all their wits to pick faults in the doctrine of *Origen*, would not have forgotten to condemn him upon these points. It will not be found, that any of those antients that writ against him, found fault with him about the point of images, or about real presence, or about the invocation of creatures. So that the silence of his enemies upon those points, is a manifest approbation of his doctrine. The same I say of *Austin*, of *Theodoret*, and of *Philastrius*, who have made an enumeration of *Origens* errors. "It is so far then that these sentences for being *Origens* should have less authority, that rather because they are *Origens*, we have the consent and approbation of all antiquity.

To weaken the authority of *Origens* Books against *Celsus*, Cardinal *du Perron* faith, that in those Books *Origen* denyeth the God-head of Christ. Yet in the first Tome of those Books these words are found, (m) *The Mages* [or Wise men] presented unto Christ significative gifts, gold as to a King, myrrh as to him that was to die, and Frankincense as to him that was God. And a little after he calls him a God superiour to Angels, Saviour of mankind. And in the same Book, (n) *We believe Jesus himself saying concerning his Godhead, I am the way, the truth and the life.* And there again (o) *He was properly the Son of God, God, the Word, the Power and the Wisdom of God, he that is called Christ.* And in the second Tome, (p) *Celsus is silent concerning those things which concern the Godhead of Jesus.* And in the third Tome he calleth Christ (q) *the Son of God, and God that came with an humane soul and body.* And in the fourth Tome he calleth Christ *αὐτοῦ λόγος αὐτοῦ σοφία αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνη*, he that is the Word it self, the Wisdom it self, and the Righteousness it self. Titles not proper to any but the Sovereign God. It is true, that in the same Books some places are found, where he makes the Son inferiour unto the Father, and that because Christ said, *The Father is greater then I.* But it must not be found strange, that the Fathers that were before the time of *Arrius*, have spoken of this matter in hard and improper terms, and with less perspicuity and certainty. For before *Arrius*, that question was not well cleared: Neither is there any reason, why *Origen* should have harder dealing then the other Fathers of the former ages; as (r) *Justin Martyr*, who affirmeth in his Dialogue against *Tryphon*, that whensoever it is said in the Old Testament, that God descended or ascended, that cannot be proper to the Father, but must be understood of the Son, because that is repugnant to the nature of the Father, who is every where, and is unmoveable: As if the nature of the Father were another then that of the Son, or as if the Father alone were infinite, and not the Son. So Divines will bear with *Epiphanius*, who faith (f) that these words, *My Father is greater then I*, are true even in respect of the divine nature of Christ. The Council of *Antioch* assembled against *Paulus Samosatenus*, rejecteth the word *ὁμοῦς*, or *Consubstantial*. Yet we give a favourable interpretation to their sentence.

The

(1) *Baron.*
An. 253.
S. 17. & 20.

Note.

(m) Περὶ
ἀνέγκας.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ
ὡς θεὸς.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς θεὸς καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

(n) ἡμεῖς
ὡς αὐτῷ
πνεύματος.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

(o) ὁμοῦς
ὡς αὐτῷ
καὶ ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

(p) ὁμοῦς
ὡς αὐτῷ
καὶ ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

Ὁμοῦς αὐτῷ
ὡς υἱός καὶ
ὡς υἱός.

(r) *Justin.*
Dialog. cum
Tryphone.

pag. 279.

(f) *Epiphanius* in *An-*
coratu.

The same equity we use with (t) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who puts in the Godhead a fourth hypostasis. For we consider the time in which he writ. We bear also in (u) *Irenæus* that which might be ill taken, his saying that none is called God in Scripture, but the Father and the Son, and such as he hath adopted; making no mention of the Holy Ghost: Of whose Godhead he never speaketh. Thus in the eighth chapter of his fifth book, three times he presseth, that we should believe in the Father and in the Son, saying nothing of the Holy Ghost. *Hilary* himself, though posteriour in time unto *Arrius*, and exercised in the controversies of the *Arrians*, how improperly (to say no more) doth he speak of the nature of Christ? In the Treatise upon *Plal.* 138. he saith, that in Christ (x) we must not confound the person of the Godhead with that of the body; as though the person of his Godhead were another from that of his manhood. The same Father in many places denyeth that Christ suffered any pain in his body, and holds that it was a shew of passion and pain, not a real pain. If any spake now as *Chrysostom* did in the third Homily upon the first chapter to the Hebrews, should be held a Nestorian. (y) *The Apostle* (saith he) appeaseth the Jews, shewing that there are [in Christ] two persons, a God and a man. And in the same place, *There are two persons in Christ of different hypostasis.*

Truly I dare affirm, that the books of *Origen* against *Celsus* are an excellent work, and that all Antiquity affords not a book made for the defence of Christian Religion, comparable to it, whether it be for various learning, or solidity, or elegance. Neither the Apologeticks of *Iustin* and *Tertullian*, nor the exhortation of *Clemens Alexandrinus* to the Gentiles, nor his *Padagogus*: Nor even *Aufins* books of the City of God, are comparable at all to these books of *Origen*.

The Cardinals second answer to that testimony of *Origen* is, that it is not out of the books written against the Pagans, that we can or ought to learn the belief or practise of Antiquity; because disputing against the Pagans, they speak not their sense, but what they are constrained to say. And that they discovered as little as they could of the Christian practise: as *Hierom* saith in his book to *Pammachius* against *Jovinian*. If that be true, why do our Adversaries, and Cardinal *du Perron* among the rest alledge frequently testimonies out of the Apologeticks of *Iustin* and *Tertullian*, and out of *Lactantius*, and out of *Anstin* of the City of God? For they are books written against the Pagans. But those Fathers (if one may believe our Cardinal) speak against their sense, and dissemble their belief. Then the same (by that reason) may be said of the writings of the Fathers against the Manicheans, the Marcionites, the *Arrians*, and the Donatists; Which writings make up at least two thirds of the works of the Fathers. In effect the Cardinal by that shift revileth the Fathers, and useth them like Atheists, charging them with notorious hypocrisie, by his saying that they speak against their own sense, and disguise their belief, altering their doctrine in the points of faith according to the persons they had to do with, speaking now one thing, now another, so that there is nothing certain in their doctrine.

To give some colour to his exception, he alledgeth the text of the Mass, where the Priest saith, *Command that our sacrifice be carried by the hands of thy Holy Angel to thy Heavenly Altar.* Truly, though there were nothing amiss in that prayer, yet it is nothing to the purpose; for it is not a prayer to Angels, but to God, that he command the Angel. But that prayer is most evil and injurious against Christ. For whereas in the Mass by that sacrifice the body of Christ is understood, is it not an evident impiety to beseech God, that his Angel take Christ to carry him up to heaven, and present him unto God? as though Christ had need of the intervention of Angels to be presented to his Father: or as though he caused himself to be carried by Angels, now that he hath attained the height of his glory.

But the superlative absurdity lyeth, in that the Priest having prayed that the Angel may carry the consecrated Host to heaven, falls to it bodily, and eats it up immediately after that prayer, to prevent the Angel, as fearing lest the Angel carry the Host away. Having called for the Angel, he should in manners stay a little

(t) Clem.
Alex. l. 2.
Stromat.
p. 173.
(u) Iren.
l. 4 c. 1.

(x) Non confundenda persona divinitatis & corporis est.

(y) *ὁ κύριος ἰησοῦς θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος*
& paulo post
*ταῦτα τὰ πρὸς ὧν δι-
ηγεῖται χρισ-
τὸς ὡς ἄνθρωπος*

little for him. But perhaps the cause why the Angel never yet carried the host away, is, that the Priest never gives him time enough for it.

The Cardinal also to fence himself against *Origen's* blows, saith that when *Origen* denyeth, that any but God ought to be invocated and adored, he understands it of the invocation and adoration which *Celsus* and other Pagans bestowed upon their false Gods, that is, the soveraign and absolute invocation and adoration of *Latria*, not the subaltern and relative adoration and invocation. But the Cardinal is deceived if he think that the Pagans adored all their Gods with a soveraign adoration, and that they (z) worshipped *Mercury* or the Nymphs, or the household Gods, and those whom they called *Deos minorum gentium*, with the like adoration as *Jupiter*; for they prayed to them as to Servants and Messengers of the Soveraign God. Wherefore *Celsus* speaking of the adoration of many Gods, could not mean the soveraign adoration only. Besides, it is an unreasonable conceit, to imagine an adoration which is not relative. For the soveraign worship is relative to him that is worshipped, even to God. This Prelat hath but an unlucky hand in handling the terms of Philosophy.

As for *Origen*, it is certain, that he speaks of the soveraign adoration, for he knew none other. And as for invocation, he saith absolutely and without exception, that none must be prayed to, but God alone: Of relative, or inferiour adoration and invocation, he speaks neither there nor any where else. For as for that clause which is found in the version of the Homilies upon *Ezekiel*, *Receive, O Angel, the man converted from his antient error*, (if these Homilies be of *Origen*) that clause is but a rhetorical Apostrophe, whereby Orators in their Homilies or Orations use to address their speech unto absent persons, as if they were present, and to the dead, as if they were yet alive. Note, that the place which the Cardinal alledgeth out of *Origen* speaks only of Angels, not of deceased Saints, of whom it is a question, especially in this controversy. And that the words which he takes out of the eighth book against *Celsus* speak not of the invocation of Angels, but of their intercession. Now our difference is only about the invocation. That place deserveth a chapter apart, because the Cardinal doth strangely falsifie it.

(z) Horat.
Carm. l. i.
Od. 12.
Unde nil ma-
jus generatur
ipso,
Nec viget
quicquam
simile aut
secundum;
Proximos illi
tamen occu-
pavit
Pallas hono-
res.

CHAP. 9.

A place of *Origen's* eighth book against *Celsus* falsified by Cardinal du Perron.

(a) Book I.
c. 13. p. 984.

TO prove by *Origen* that Angels ought to be invocated (for as for the invocation of Saints, he brings nothing at all for it) (a) He makes a flourish with a place of *Origen* in book 8. against *Celsus*, which he alledgeth in these words, *When a man hath God propitious, thence it results that he hath also all the Angels, Souls and Spirits belonging to God for his friends. For they acknowledge those, that are worthy of the heavenly favour and Godhead; yea and labour to get Gods good will for those that will serve him, and jointly pray with us: So that we all that serve him make bold to say, that unto men of good will, infinite thousands of holy Angels freely joyn themselves, and intercede for our mortal kind.* The Reader may observe, that the question being, whether Angels and Saints ought to be prayed to? The Cardinal to prove that, brings a text which saith that the Angels intercede for us; a thing about which we dispute not. That is not the question. Observe also, that the Cardinal hath clipt that place of *Origen*, and cut off the head of it by a notorious malice. *Origen* saith, *We must make the Soveraign God alone propitious, and beseech him to be favourable unto us, making him propitious by*

by piety and by all vertue. But if [Celsus] will make others after God propitious unto him, let him learn, that as the shadow is moved after the bodies motion, likewise when one hath obtained the favour of the Sovereign God, thence it followeth, that one hath also the favour of all the beloved Angels, and of the souls and Spirits that are his. Out of all that discourse the Cardinal makes use only of the two last lines, intending thereby to prove the invocation or intercession of the Angels and Saints. But the lines that go next before, shew that by these very words which he alledged, *Origen* intends to prove that to pray to Angels is a superfluous thing, since by praying to God alone, and getting his favour, we have by consequent all the Angels favourable unto us.

To that clipping, he adds a depravation of that place full of falshood and foul dealing. This is the true place translated word by word, *For they know them that are worthy of Gods favour, (b) and are not only propitious to them that are worthy, but even help those that will serve the God who is above all things, and make him propitious, and pray with them, and petition with them. So that we dare say that to the men who with choice propound to themselves that which is best, and pray to God, millions of sacred powers joyn with their prayers, not called upon.* Besides many corruptions of the Greek words, which shew that this Prelat had little skill in the Greek tongue, there is this notable falsification, that he hath left out these words, that the Angels pray for us, ἀκλῆται ποτὶ ἰννοκατι, *not being invocated or called upon for help.* For these words refuted the Cardinals purpose, which was to prove the invocation of Saints out of *Origen.* And whether out of malice or ignorance, instead of ἀκλῆται he put in the Margin ἐκκλησι, which signifieth nothing. But in his French he hath left it out quite, putting instead of *not being called upon,* the word *volontairement*, that is, *voluntarily or freely.* The other faults, as translating ἀνθρώπων μετ' προαιρέσεως, *men of good will,* are faults of petty Grammar-schollers, and proceed out of ignorance in Greek: But in the omission of the word ἀκλῆται, the fraud is evident.

С Н А Р . 10.

Reasons why Hierom said that the Fathers writing against the Pagans, often writ against their own sense.

Hierom among many vertues, had this defect, that when he writ against one that displeased him, the vehemency of choller would often carry him away beyond limits, and made him come out with things that got him blame, which afterwards he sought to mollifie and dawb with some interpretation. This Doctor who in some places (a) confesseth that he had not kept his virginity, (b) and freely acknowledgeth that in the midst of his fasts and austerities, he burnt with incontinence, yet hath been so excessive in commending virginity, as to blame marriage as an evil thing, displeasing unto God, and a hindrance to salvation. Upon such discourses the most part of the two books against *Joinian* is spent. These are some of his expressions, in the first book, *It is good for a man* (saith St. Paul) *not to touch a woman*; (c) *If it be good not to touch a woman, it is then evil to touch a woman*; *For nothing is contrary to good but evil*. Now St. Paul speaks of marriage. And a little after (d) *The Apostle will have us to pray continually: If we must pray continually, we must never serve marriage*. In the same book he personates Christ speaking that to his Apostles. (e) *You*

tatis. Pallabant ora jejuniis & mens desiderii aestuabat, in frigido corpore & anxie hominum suum jam curae praemotua sola libidinum incendia bullabant, &c. (c) Si bonum est mulierem non tangere, malum ergo est tangere. (d) Jubeat idem Apostolus ut semper oremus. Si semper orandum unquam ergo conjugio servendum. (e) Retiſſe ſentitis quod non expedit homini ad calorum regna tendenti accipere uxorem.

do well to believe that it is not expedient for a man tending towards the kingdom of heaven, to marry. In the same place, by them that made themselves Eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven, he understands those that abstain from marriage. Then he addeth, (f) *If they that made themselves Eunuchs, have the salary of the kingdom of heaven, they that made not themselves Eunuchs, cannot take place among the Eunuchs.* Again (g) *Marriage replenisheth the earth, Virginity replenisheth Paradise.* In the same place he observeth, that upon every day of the creation God saw that all that he had done was very good, but only upon the second day, because that number of two represented marriage. And that all the unclean beasts entred into the Ark by couples. And that *Moses* before he drew near God, untied his shoe-strings, that is, the bond of marriage. And that when *Josbua* came to *Jordan*, the waters of marriage, which had been flowing under the Law, were drained. And that the Angel, Prince of the Militia, came to meet *Josbua*, holding a sword to cut the bond of marriage. And that *Moses* who was married, was buried near *Phegor*, which signifies ignominy: But that *Josbua* who was not married, was buried in the mountain of *Ephraim*: Whence he concludes thus against marriage, (h) *We despise Phegor and all his ignominy, knowing that they that are in the flesh cannot please God.* He addeth, that *Moses* was lamented in his death: But *Josbua* was not lamented, as he that was to attain unto life: (i) *For (saith he) marriage endeth in death, but virginity begins to be crowned after death.* If one believeth him, *Moses*, because he was married, could not attain unto life. He saith that the Apostle *John* was a Virgin, and therefore that his Gospel goeth far above other Gospels, and that he flyeth aloft like an Eagle: (k) *Virginity (saith he) hath expounded that which married persons could not know:* acknowledging by the way, that *St. Matthew*, *Saint Mark*, and *St. Luke* were married, and therefore he hath a lower esteem of them. He adds, that *St. Paul* saith indeed, that a woman shall be saved by bearing of children, yet upon condition that her children shall persevere in virginity: But *Paul* saith, *If she abide in the faith, and in charity, and sanctification, with modesty, not if her children abide in virginity.* Thus that Father playeth with Scripture, and corrupts it with great licentiousness. And a little after he saith, that (l) *The fruit of matrimony is death, but the fruit of sanctification which belongeth to virginity, or continence, is rewarded with eternal life.* In the same place, he turneth these sentences of Scripture against Matrimony, *Walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit.* And the carnal mind is enmity against God. And (m) *they that are in the flesh cannot please God.* For (saith he) *I believe that they that serve to the duty of marriage, love the carnal mind, and that they are in the flesh.* Wherefore also he calls married persons *Vasa in contumeliam*, *Vessels to dishonour or shame.* And saith, that a woman that marieth the second time, must have no part in the alms of the Church, and must be deprived of the Communion of the body of Christ.

These books being published, were but ill received by many, as made to the disgrace of marriage instituted by God, and in so many places commended in his word. Of which being advertised by *Pammachius*, he directed an Apology to him to mollifie the hardness of those expressions, saying that he never intended to disgrace marriage nor married persons, which nevertheless in that very Apology he continueth to call *vessels to dishonour*, and maintains that it is ill done to touch a woman.

Among the excuses which he brings for the harsh language which he had given to matrimony, he saith there are two wayes of writing, the one *gymnastical* the other *dogmatical*; that is, the one that is done for exercise only, the other doctrinal, and plainly setting forth the true doctrine, without contestation. He saith that he had written against *Jovinian* in the first way; and that such a manner of disputing is loose, acknowledging that his custom is to say one thing and do another, to shew bread and hold a stone, that is, to use sle tricks and dissembling. Then he adds the words alledged by the Cardinal, *Origen*, *Methodius*, *Eusebius*, *Apollinaris*, have written many thousands of lines against *Celsus* and

(f) Si castrati mercedem habent regni caelorum, ergo qui non se castraverunt, locum non possunt accipere castraliorum.

(g) Nuptiae replent terram, Virginitas Paradisum.

(h) Contemnimus Phegor & omnem ignominiam ejus, scientes quod qui in carne sunt Deo placere non possunt.

(i) Nuptiae enim finiuntur in morte, virginitas post mortem incipit coronari.

(k) Exposuit virginitas quod nuptiae scire non poterant.

(l) Puto quod & nuptiarum finis mors sit, fructus autem sanctificationis qui vel ad virginitatem vel ad continentiam pertinet vita pensatur aeterna.

(m) Qui in carne sunt Deo placere non possunt, arbitror eos qui servant officio conjugali quod prudentiam carnis diligunt & in carne sunt.

and Porphyry. Consider what their arguments are, and how slippery the questions, whereby they go about to overthrow that which the Spirit of the Devil hath woven. (n) And because sometimes they are forced to say, not what they believe, but that which is necessary; they contradict that which the Gentiles say. By these words Cardinal du Perron would perswade us that Origen when he said so many times that none but God ought to be invoked, spake against his own sense.

But all that we have said before of Hierom, and what shift he was put to when he said this, sheweth, that he is not to be believed, and that he doth unjustly put that disgrace upon the Antients, that they spake against their belief. Hierom having reviled matrimony, and wrested Scripture by a licentiousness hardly to be paralleled, and seeing himself justly blamed for it, he saith for excuse, that he used legerdemain, and dissembling in his words. Then to hide himself in the crowd, he covereth himself with the examples of Origen and others, who (saith he) in their books against the Pagans are constrained to, disguise their belief, and speak against their sense. A thing which a good man should never do, choosing rather to dye, then to use hypocrisie in such a sacred thing, and to defend the truth with lying. As Job was saying chap. 13. v. 7. *Will you speak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for him?* God having no need of our true words to maintain his glory, should he stand in need of our lyes to defend his cause? Must the heavenly truth borrow the Devils weapons? Must we lye to please the God of truth?

But here is worse, for Hierom did not content himself to involve the Fathers more antient then himself in his fault, but he draweth the Apostle Paul into the same crime, speaking of him as of a crafty companion, and a dissembler. (o) I will bring (saith he) the Apostle Paul for an example, whom whensoever I hear, it seems to me, that I hear not words, but thunders. Read his Epistles, especially those that are written to the Romans, to the Galatians, and to the Ephesians, in which he is altogether employed in disputing; and you shall see how artificial he is, how dissembling in the texts which he brings out of the Old Testament: how prudent, how dissembling of those things which he tends to. They seem to be plain words, and of an innocent and rude man, that knows neither how to lay wiles, nor how to avoid them. But which way soever you look, they are thunderbolts. He stands stiff to the cause: He layeth hold of all that he toucheth. He turns his back to overcome. He maketh a shew to flye, that he may kill. Can a godly admirer of this holy Apostle, that excellent organ of Gods spirit, hear him so foully abused, and not be moved with a just anger? Was it not enough for Hierom to profess openly, that in his books against Iovinian he had spoken otherwise then he thought, and to cover himself with the example of other Fathers, whom he makes fellows of his dissembling, without inwrapping Paul also in the same guilt? Must he under a shadow of praises, charge him with craft and dissembling, saying that he is a counterfeit, that turns his back that he may overcome, and flyeth that he may kill? Shall we wonder now if the Cardinal who defends himself with such examples, and covers himself with Hieroms authority, makes no conscience to use fraud, and speak against his sense? Austin before us complained of Hierom about this. For in his Epistles to Hierom he reproveth him, because in his Comment upon the Epistle to the Galatians he undertook the defense of untruth, and would make the Apostle Paul a lyar, as if the Apostle had used dissembling and officious lyes in that Epistle. I have read (saith he) some writings which go for yours, upon the Epistles of the Apostles. When I would have expounded one of them, which is to the Galatians, that place came to my hands, where you say that the Apostle St. Peter was converted [by St. Paul] from his pernicious dissembling. I confess unto you that I am very sorry that such a man as your self, or any other (if another hath writ it) should undertake the defense of untruth, till the reasons that move me, be confuted, if yet they may be confuted. For this seems to me a most pernicious belief, that any untruth can be found in the holy Scriptures; That is, that those men by whom that Scripture was delivered and written unto us, spake lyes in their writings, &c. For if in a book of such eminent authority, an officious

(n) Et quia interdum coguntur loqui non quod sentiunt sed quod necesse est.

(o) Paulum Apostolum proferam quem quotiescunque lego, video mihi non audire verba sed tonitrua. Legite epistolas eius, & maxime ad Romanos, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios in quibus totus in certamine positus est, & videlicet cum in testimoniis quae sunt de veteri Testamento, quam artifex, quam prudens quam dissimulatur sit ejus quod agit videntur quidem verba simplicia & quasi innocentis hominis & rusticani, & qui nec facere nec declinare novit insidias sed quocumque respexerit fulmina sunt. Heretici causa, capit omne quod teterit, tergum verit ut superet, fugam simulat ut occidat.

lye be acknowledged, no part of those books shall remain, that may not be turned which way soever every man will, &c. Hierom was offended at this, and taking *Austins* reprehension in ill part, answered him, that he [*Austin*] would take upon him to be wise; and that being yonger, he ought not to provoke an old man, as *Dares* did *Entellus*: And that *bos lassus fortius figit pedem*, that is, a weary Ox sets his foot more steadily. *Austins* mildness put an end to that difference, neither of them altering his opinion. Yet *Austin* had the truth on his side. I wonder why he did not call upon *Hierom* about many other expressions of his, that speak of the Apostle with contempt, and blame him openly. As in the Epistle to *Salvina*, where he saith, that the Apostle giving leave to wanton Widows to marry, had given them, *praecepta non bona & justificationes pessimas*, Ill precepts and most wicked justifications. And in the questions to *Algasia*, qu. 10. where expounding the ninth chapter to the *Romans*, in which it is spoken of election and reprobation, he saith, that *St. Paul* going about to clear that matter, had rather intangled it. Is it with modesty, that in the first book against *Jovinian* he asketh the Apostle, *O Paule cur veretrum gestas*? How falsely and unjustly doth he rebuke *Paul*, as it he had made a falserevelation, *Act. 17.* of the Inscription to the unknown Gods: saying in his Comment upon the Epistle to *Titus*, that the inscription of the Altar was not such, as *Paul* affirmeth, to the unknown God, but to the Gods of Asia, Africk, and Europe, Gods unknown and strangers. And upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, This man that speaks incongruities, and cannot clear an intangled speech. And upon the Epistle to *Titus*, It was not humbly, but truly that *St. Paul* said, that he was ignorant in words. The same he saith in the fore-alleadged question to *Algasia*. And upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, *Apostolus Galatis, quos stultos dixerat, factus est stultus*. The Apostle having called the *Galatians* fools, himself was made a fool unto them.

All this will shew that the Cardinal is like those flies that sit only upon scabs and ulcers, for he seeks that which is vicious in the Fathers, and adorneth himself with their ordure.

CHAP. II.

Of the opinion of those that condemn not invocation of Saints, but think it unnecessary.

There are some who seeing that God in his word commands not the invocation of Saints, and that under the Old Testament, and many Ages after the Apostles, neither example nor trace is found of any adoration or invocation of religious service deferred unto the creatures, take a middle way; saying, that one may content himself to pray to God alone by Jesus Christ, and let the invocation of Saints alone, so that he condemn not them that call upon them, but joyn with the publick order of the Church meekly, and without contestation, every one doing in private what seemeth him good.

They that speak thus, forge to themselves a religion apart, and directly oppose the Roman Church, which obligeth every particular person to call upon Saints. It is the decision of Pope *Innocent* the third in the ninth chapter of the third book of the mysteries of the Mass, (a) *The suffrage of Saints is necessary to us while we are in the way, that by their merits and prayers we may be fenced with the divine protection.*

(a) *Necessarium nobis est in via sanctorum suffragium ut meritis eorum & precibus divinae protectionis muniamur auxilio.*

We have shewed before how that after the Pope hath canonized a Saint, he gives a command to all people to invoke him, and addeth their prayers unto him. From which command, who so will exempt himself, disobeyeth him that calls himself Head of the Church, and boasteth that he cannot err in the faith. Besides, the invocation of Saints is inserted in the publick service of the Roman

Roman Church, and makes a part of the most solemn Masses, as the Mass of *Easter Eve* where the *Letanies of Saints* are said; Which prayers oblige the people to say *Amen*, either with the mouth or with the heart, unto all that the Priest saith.

Should the Priests or Bishops be obliged to pray to the Saints, and the people exempted from that obligation? Or should the people be obliged to pray to the Saints in publick, not in private?

Truly if it be lawfull for one to dispense himself from joining with the Priest when he prayeth to the Saints in the Mass, it will be lawfull for him also to reject that prayer in the Canon of the Mass, whereby the Priest asketh the grace of God by the merits of the Saints, and to despise the satisfactions of the Saints, which the Pope distributeth by his Indulgences.

And whereas the first ground of the Roman Church is not the Holy Scripture, but the authority of the Roman Church; who so professeth the Roman Religion, and yet dispenseth himself in a point ruled and established by the Roman Church; believeth that the Roman Church can err, and makes himself Judge of that Church, and having no more the authority of the Church for a foundation, and for an infallible rule, and together not grounding himself upon Scripture, he hath no more ground for his religion but his fancy and his own will.

CHAP. 12.

The opinion of the Fathers about invocation of Saints, from the year of the Lord 365. unto the IV. Council.

THIS question is ended already, since the Cardinal confesseth that in *Ausins* time, who dyed in the year 430. or thereabout it was a thing yet dubious, and not decided whether the Saints enjoy heavenly glory before the resurrection; Which doubt maketh (of necessity) the invocation of Saints dubious. We have seen also that *Hierom* who was a disciple of *Gregory Nazianzen*, believed that the Saints hear not what we say to them, and have no knowledge of humane things: And that *Ausins* saith the same in many places: Also that *Gregory Nazianzen*, who of all the Fathers is the first that called upon the deceased Saints, makes a doubt whether those whom he called upon, heard him. For these causes it is unnecessary to examine all the testimonies of the Fathers of the latter Ages, of which the Cardinal is pouring a thick hail upon us, since the former Ages are contrary to that doctrine, and the posterour Ages speak of it with so much uncertainty.

It is also to be noted, that although since the year 375. some private persons, especially in *Cappadocia*, were carried away by that error, yet the invocation of Saints was not therefore received in the publick service.

In the Fathers of the fourth and fifth ages many places are found contrary to the invocation of Saints. *Ambrose* in the Oration upon the death of *Theodosius*, saith, (a) *Thou alone O Lord must be invocated and prayed to.* Which must be taken as a correction of that he had said in the first Tome in the book of *Widows*, where he saith, that we must pray to Angels and Martyrs. For when he writ that book of *Widows*, he was but a new Christian: It was but three years after his Baptism. But his Oration upon *Theodosius* was made long after, and a little before his death. For *Theodosius* dyed in the year of the Lord 395. *Ambrose* having already continued Bishop of *Milan* about fifteen years.

Himself in the third book of the Holy Ghost, chap. 12. speaks thus, (b) *Mary was the Temple of God, but she was not God. Wherefore that God alone must be adored, who wrought in that Temple.* And a little before, (c) *We read not that any must be adored but God. For it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy*

(a) *Tu solus Domine invocandus es, & tu rogandus.*
(b) *Maria erat Templum Dei, non Deus Templi. Ergo Deus ille solus adorandus qui operabatur in Templo.*
(c) *Neque adorandum quenquam præter Deum legitur, quia scriptum est, Dominum Deum adorabis & ei soli serves.*

In the same place (h) See the Philosophy of that woman, She prayeth not to James, she is not a supplicant to John, she applyeth not her self to Peter, but she breaks thorough the crowd. I need no intercessor (saith she) but taking penitence for mine advocate, I come to the very spring, because for that is he come down, for that hath he taken flesh, that I also may speak with him, &c. I need no intercessor, have mercy upon me.

The same upon the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Hom. 3. (i) Why do you gaze after Angels? They are servants to the son of God, and are sent to divers places for our sakes.

The same Chrysostome upon Gen. 19. Hom. 44. speaking of the Canaanitish woman, to which the intercession of the Apostles availed nothing, and which made her address unto Christ himself. We were constrained (saith he) to bring this whole story, (k) that we might learn that we speed not so well praying by others, as when we pray our selves; so that we approach with zeal, and with an erected mind. Behold how this woman having the Disciples interceding for her, sped not the better for that, untill her own self persevering with patience, drew the benignity of the Master. Those Saints of whose intercession he speaks are the living, not the dead Saints.

Himself upon Matth. 15. Hom. 52. Consider how the Apostles being turned back, and having not prevailed, she obtained it, so powerfull is obstinacy in prayer. For God delights more to be prayed to for our necessities by our selves that are guilty, then by others that pray for us.

But he is most expresse especially in the eighteenth Homily upon the Epistle to the Romans, (l) Unto whom shalt thou fly? Whom wilt thou call upon to fight for thy cause, and help thee? Shall it be to Abraham? But he shall not hear thee: Shall it be to these Virgins? But they also shall impart none of their oyl unto thee. Shalt thou call upon thy Father or thy Grand-father? But none of them, how holy soever, hath the power to alter that judgement. These things being considered, worship and pray to him alone, who hath the power to blot out thine obligation, and quench that flame.

And in another place (m) Thou hast no need of intercessors with God, nor of much running about, nor of flattering others. But though thou be alone and without a Patron, by praying to God by thy self, thou shalt obtain [thy request] altogether. He useth not to grant so, being called upon for us by others, as being intreated by our selves, though we be filled with a thousand adversities. And the same words he repeats six or seven times in that Homily.

I will add one testimony again of that Father in the ninth Homily upon the Epistle to the Colossians, where he saith that the Devil envying the honour we have to address our selves, hath brought in the service of the Angels. (n) For this cause (saith he) the Devil envying us hath brought in Angels. Such are the enchantments [of Devils:] Though it were an Angel, though it were an Arch-angel, though they were Cherubims, Do not suffer it. For neither will those powers receive [that honour:] but will reject it, when they see their Master dishonoured thereby. I have honoured thee (saith God) and have said call, upon me, and dost thou dishonour him?

τῆς ἱκετεύοντος ἰδὲν πλεον ἁνθρώπου ἡδυνήθη, μὴ γὰρ ἐπὶ αὐτῇ δὲ αὐτῆς σεμνείναι τὴν οὐραν-
 ὄντων ἐπιτάσας τῷ θεῷ. Σὺ δὲ μοι σέβει πῶς ὅτι Ἀποστόλων ἡπικλήτων καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς αὐτῶν
 ἦσαν· πύθον ὅτι σεμνεία ἐκ τῆς καὶ ἰδὲν ὅτι ἡμετέραν παρ' ἡμῶν βέλτεται μάλλον ὅτι ὑπερδύσαν
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. (1) πῶς πᾶσι καταβύθην ἢ τίνα ἁλίσκεις σύμμαχον καὶ βόησον; τὸν
 Ἀβελὴν; ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ τὰς πνεύματι ἱκετεύσας; ἀλλὰ ἰδὲν αὐτοὶ οἱ μακάριοι ἐλάττω ἀλλὰ ἢ κατεργάζ-
 ῃ ἀλλὰ ἢ πᾶσι; ἀλλ' ἰδὲν τῶν οὐδὲς ἔστιν ἡρώς· ἴδωσι τὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν; Τὰ αὐτὰ ἔργα πάντα ἐργάζονται
 καὶ ὁρῶν ἡμῶν ὅτι τὸ γένος γεγενῆσθαι ἐξ ἡμῶν ἱκετεύει, &c. (m) Chrysost. serm. in Phil. 18. de profectu
 Evang. Tom. 5. Edit. Savil. pag. 416. καὶ χρῆμα σοὶ μάλιστα ὅτι τὸ θεῷ ἰδὲν πολλῶς καὶ περὶ σεμνείας καὶ τῶ
 κολακίᾳ ἐτέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκατεργάζονται αὐτοὺς διδασκῶντες καὶ θεοῦ ἐπιτελεῖν
 πάντων· ὅχι ἕως δὲ ἐτέρων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁδοκαταβύθην ἐπιβύθην ἰδὲν ὡς δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῶν
 καὶ μνησθῶν ὡμῶν χρίσματος κακῶν. (n) διὰ πάντα διαβολῶν τὰ ὅτι ἀγγέλων ἐπιτελεῖται βασιλείαν ἡμῶν
 καὶ πᾶσι καὶ σεμνείαν τοιαύτην αἰ ἐπιδείκνυται καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ τὰ χερσὶν ἡμῶν ἐργάζονται
 αὐτὰ αἱ ἀνδρείαι καταβύθην ἀλλὰ ἐπιδείκνυται ὅτι ἰδὲν ὡς δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐργάζονται· Ἐργάζονται ἐν ἡμῶν
 ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν;

After

(ο) τῶν ἐν
αἰσίοις πα-
τρῶν ἡμῶν
ἱερωτάτων
Βασιλέων τῶν
μεγάλων
Γενναίων τῶν
Θεολογῶν
ἱερογῶν τῶν
ῥησοσόμων,
&c.

After so many expresse declarations, it is hard to believe that this holy man talked upon Saints and Angels: seeing that he sheweth in other places his not believing that the deceased do yet enjoy the glory of God. But some Organ of Satan the Father of lying hath thrust in some false writings that commend the invocation of Saints among this Fathers works. Such is *Chrysostoms* Liturgie; a piece so evidently false, that in it there is (ο) mention of *Chrysostom* among the deceased Saints. There also another prayer is found ill suiting with that, set down in these words, *We offer unto thee this reasonable sacrifice for our Ancestors, who are resting in the faith, for the Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, &c. and even for the Virgin Mary: for all which, our Adversaries hold that one ought not to pray.* I easily believe that *Chrysostom* framed a Liturgy. But it is of that as of *Calepins* Dictionary, which suffers a perpetual addition, and yet retaineth still its first name.

In the same Fathers works, there is one false piece inserted, of such gross and evident falshood, that it can hardly deceive. It is in the end of the twenty sixth Homily upon the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, where it is said, that the *Emperour himself comes to the sepulchers of the Saints, and kisseth them, and laying down pride, beseecheth them to be his helpers before God: So that he that weareth the crown prayeth to a tentmaker and to a fisherman, both of them dead, that they would be his Advocates towards God.* If the curious Reader will take the pains to consult the book, and to read the three last pages of that Homily, he shall find that besides the diversity of the style, and the doctrine (contrary to that of *Chrysostom*) full of absurdity and ignorance, there is no connexion at all with the precedent discourse, and nothing common with the matter in hand, like stones thrown at randome, which stuck there by chance. That place which I affirm to be false, begins at the top of the nine hundred twenty eighth page of *Commelins* Edition, with these words, *ἔτι καὶ τὸ ἰδωλολατρείας, &c.* And in the Latin *Sic enim etiam idolorum cultus.* In the lines before *Chrysostom* exhorteth the godly to suffer for Christ, saying that God will by sufferings bring us to heavenly glory. Then begins this absurd discourse abruptly. *For thus Idolatry got strength, by too much admiring men, as when the Roman Senat decreed that Alexander should be the thirteenth God. For they had the power to make Gods by their suffrage, and to put them in the list of the Gods. For when all the things done by Christ, were announced at Rome, he that governed the Nation of the Jews, sent to Rome to ask counsell, whether it pleased them to make Christ God also. Which they refused, being angry and incensed, because without expecting their decree, the power of the crucifix shining every where, had drawn all the world to the veneration of the same.* Hath any man so little freedom of judgement left, as not to see the filliness of that discourse, which hangs not upon that which went before, and is stult with absurdities unworthy of so great a man? For who ever heard that by the decree of the Roman Senat King *Alexander* was put among the Gods? or that he had a Temple at *Rome*, and religious service deferred unto him? or that a Grecian scarce known at *Rome*, but by hear-say in his life time, should be put among the Gods by the Romans many ages after his death? But what can be more absurd, then to say that *Alexander* was made the thirteenth God by the Senat? As though the Senat did keep a set number of Gods, and each God in his order. But who is that Prince or Governour of the Jewish Nation, who informed the Senate of the vertues of Jesus Christ, and required that he should be put among the Gods? It could not be *Pilate*, for in that place it is said, that the power of Christ had in that time drawn all the earth to his obedience. And it could be none else but *Pilate*, for when the Gospel began to spread over the world, the Nation of the Jews had neither Governour nor Prince, seeing that they were fugitive and scattered over all the earth; And the Emperour and Senat were so far from deliberating whether they should make Christ a God, that they persecuted the Christians with all their power. The rest of the discourse is filled with the like absurdities: As when the Author proveth the resurrection of the dead, because *Alexander* never thought of it: And his affirming that none can

can shew *Alexanders* sepulchre, and that no body knoweth where he lyeth: seeing that it is a common thing in the books of Historiographers, that the body and tomb of *Alexander* were in *Alexandria* of *Egypt*. By that *Quintus Curtius* ended his History, and *Suetonius* in the life of *Octavius Augustus* saith the same.

Of the like stuff is that which he addeth, that the Emperour *Constantine* after his death, is a porter of the Fisher-mens Temple. Whence he inferreth, that the enemies of Christian Religion, must learn that Fisher-men shall have a greater dignity then Emperours in the day of the resurrection, seeing that Emperours in their sepulchres are in the place of servants, and Fisher-men in the place of Masters. Can any thing be more remote from the wit and learning of *Chrysostom*, then that ridiculous piece of work, which is contrary to so many true works of that holy man? Who doubts but that many the like pieces of base mettall were put among the writings of the Fathers, and go for true mettall, because the fallhood is not easie to be known? For we have the most part of their books from the hands of our Adversaries, out of the manuscripts of Fryers, and out of their Libraries.

In the sixth Homily upon the first chapter of *Matthew*, he saith, that we are much sooner heard by our prayers, then by the intercession of others: And he proveth it by the example of the Canaanitish woman, and of the repenting Thief crucified with Christ, and of the Adulterers, who made their address unto Christ without any mans intercession. Then he adds, *And this we say, not because we ought not to call upon the Saints*. But there it is clear that he speaks of the living Saints, not of the deceased, for he commendeth the Canaanitish woman for not imploring the intercession of the Apostles, who were living. But as for the deceased Saints, *Chrysostom* in Hom. 18. upon the Epistle to the *Romans* saith, that they hear not our prayers.

Bellarmin in the fourth chapter of the book of Relicks falsely alleadgeth *Chrysostoms* Homily upon *Juvenius* and *Maximus*, making him say *Tumulos martyrum adoremus*. Let us adore the sepulchres of the Martyrs. There is in the Greek (p) *Let us touch their tomb, and embrace their relics with confidence*. Of Adoration he speaks not at all: and the confidence that he speaks of, is confidence in God.

I deny not but that in the same time that errour of the invocation of Saints began to creep into some Churches, in *Cappadocia* especially, where that superstition seemeth to have sprung first. That is seen in *Basil*s writings, who about the year 375. in the Homily of the forty Martyrs, saith, that the people had their recourse unto them: Which is a place falsified in all the versions of our Adversaries; for they say *ad hos confugiat & hos orat*, instead of *ad hos confugit & hos orat*. For *Basil* saith only that which was done in some place of *Cappadocia*, not that which ought to be done.

At the same time, and in the same Countrey *Gregory Nazianzen* was writing. In whose books prayers are extant to St. *Basil*, and St. *Athanasius*. But we have seen also that he speaks to deceased Saints, doubting whether they hear what he saith to them, and whether they have any knowledge of things done here below. But the same *Athanasius* whom (q) he prayeth to, had powerfully impugned the invocation of Saints, as we have proved it by many of his expressions. To which these must be added, which are found in the fourth Oration against the *Arrians*, where he condemneth those who in their prayers join the Angels, or some other creature with God. (r) *There is none* (saith he) *that would ask by prayers to receive something of the Father, and of the Angels, or of any other creature. None would say, God and the Angel give thee. But he shall ask of the Father and the Son, because they are but one*. And a little after, *David did not call for his deliverance upon any other but God*. In our dayes we hear nothing else among the Romanists but praying to God, and his Mother, asking of God and St. *Rock*: Such speeches would have been very odious among the Antients.

Some places in St. *Austin* seem to assert the invocation of Saints. In the book

(p) τῆς λα-
ναιᾶς ἀπὸ
τῶν μεθ' αὐ-
τῆς πύλων
μετὰ πίστεως
τοῖς λειψάνοις
αὐτῶν σπέν-
δονται.

(q) In the
Oration to
Athanasius
he speaks
dubiously,
saying ὡς
δύναται καὶ
πιστεῖν.

(r) Pag. 259.
ὡς καὶ γὰρ
ἐνέχεται τὸ τῆς
λαβῆναι τῶν
τῶν πατρῶν καὶ
τῶν ἀγγέλων
ἢ τῶν πνεύ-
ματων αἰσχε-
τίζεσθαι καὶ
τῆς δόξης τοῦ
θεοῦ καὶ
ἀλλὰ τῶν
τῶν πατρῶν καὶ
τῶν υἱῶν δια-
κρίτως ἐκεί-
νην ἐκείνην
τὴν εὐχὴν πα-
ρεχέσθαι καὶ
τὴν ὑπόσταν-
σιν.

of the Spirit and of the Soul, there is a prayer to the Saints. But that book is supposititious. For in it *Boetius* is alleadged, who was not born when *Austin* dyed. The book of heremitical life speaks of the service of the Virgin *Mary*, and calls her the Queen of heaven. But that book also is not of *Austin*, for it speaks of the rule of St. *Benedict*, which was made about fourscore years after *Austins* death.

In chap. 24. of the book of Meditations, which is in the ninth Tome of *Austin*, there is a prayer to the Saints. But that book is spurious, *Posidonius* who writ *Austins* life, hath made a Catalogue of his works, where that book is not found. The style of it is far more concise then that of *Austin*, and hath many barbarisms, as chap. 4. *Deus prestabilis super malitiam*: and chap. 12. *Honorifico te pro scire & posse*. And in the prayer to the Saints, he calls the Saints *festivos*, that is, pleasant and merry. Wherefore *Bellarmin* in the book of Ecclesiastical Writers, puts these Meditations among the uncertain books, and dares not father them upon *Austin*. These visibly false pieces make us doubt of the truth of some others. For if these marks of falshood were not found in these books, they would go for good and lawfull.

The Cardinal begins his Treatise of Invocation of Saints by a text of *Austin*, which he sets in the front of his book as most pregnant. *The Christian people (saith Austin in book 20. against Faustus Manichean, chap. 21.) celebrate by a religious solemnity the memory of Martyrs, to be associated to their merits.*

That place may be employed for the commemoration of Martyrs, to shew that they pray for us, but not at all to shew that they must be prayed to. He speaks of the memory of Martyrs, and of their imitation, and of the intercession whereby they pray for us, but not at all of the invocacion, which is or should be deferred unto them. So much is evident in the following words, which the Cardinal according to his custom, to clip the tongue of the Fathers, would not alleadge. For *Austin* having said, that no offering was made to *Peter*, or *Paul*, or *Cyprian*, he adds, *Colimus Martyres eo cultu dilectionis & societatis quo & in hac vita coluntur homines sancti Dei*. We honour the Martyrs with the same service of love and society as the Saints of God are honoured in this life. This must be observed. For none calls upon a Saint, or deferreth a religious service unto him while he is in this life. *Austin* saith indeed, that this service of love and society is yielded unto Martyrs with more certainty and affection. But he saith that it is the same kind of honour and reverence.

We have brought many testimonies out of *Austins* books, some shewing that he held that the Saints see not our actions, some that he believed not that they enjoy as yet the heavenly glory.

In the twenty second book of the City of God, chap. 10. after he hath said that no Temples are built unto Martyrs, that no Altars are erected unto them, and that no sacrifices are offered unto them; he adds that in the publike service, *suo loco & ordine nominantur, non tamen a sacerdote qui sacrificat invocantur*. They are named in their place and rank, yet the Priest that sacrificeth doth not invoke them. The Roman Church doth the contrary; for in some Masses the Letany is said, in which a long list of Saints is invocated, especially the Mass of the Saturday before *Easter*. Also Temples are edified and consecrated unto Saints. In great Cities you shall see a multitude of Churches, that bear the name of the Saints, in whose honour they were built, as that of St. *Nicasius*, St. *Anthony*, St. *Gervas*, &c. Altars likewise are dedicated and consecrated unto Saints, whose relicks are under the table of the Altar. That is expressly set down in the Roman Pontifical, in the chapter of the dedication or consecration of Churches, where it is constituted, that on the day of the dedication, the Bishop shall put the relicks under the Altar with three grains of frankincense, and put in a note, with these words. (1) In the year 1611. upon such a day of the moneth. I N. Bishop of N. have consecrated this Church and Altar to the honour of such or such a Saint, and have inclosed in it the relicks of such or such Martyrs, and have this day given a year of true Indulgence unto all the faithfull [servants] of Christ, and upon the anniversary

(1) MDCXI
die N. mensis
N. Ego N.
Episcopus N.
consecravi
Ecclesiam &
Altare hoc in
honorem san-
cti N. & re-
liquias san-
ctorum Mar-
tyrum N. & N.
in eo inclusi-
s. &c.

versary day of the consecration, forty dayes of indulgence unto all that visit the same. These are new coined fopperies, of which no trace is found in all Antiquity. The Antient Church was so far from invoking the Sains at the Altar, that they did not suffer that Christ should be expressly invoked there. The twenty third Canon of the third Council of Carthage, held in the year 399. is expresse upon that,

(t) When one stands by the Altar, let his prayer be alwayes directed to the Father.

The same Austin in the one hundred and fourteenth chapter of his Manual, (u) We must ask of none but God alone, the good which we hope to do, or that which we hope to attain unto by our good works.

The same in the book of the quantity of the soul, (x) God alone must be served by the soul, for he alone is the Creator of the same. But every man, how wise and perfect soever he be, and generally every glorified rational creature (y) must be only loved and imitated. Mark these words must be only loved and imitated, for to yield unto the Saints a religious service, which they now call *dulia*, and to invoke them, is more then loving and imitating them.

The same in the last chapter of the book of true Religion, Let us not apply our Religion, to yield service unto the dead. For if they have led a holy life, we have no such opinion of them, that they seek such an honour. But they will have us to serve him, by whose illumination they rejoyce that we are fellows of their merit.

(z) They must then be honoured for imitation, not worshipped for Religion.

Himself in the book of heresies, ad Quod vult Deus, puts the Angelicks among the hereticks: And the heresie that he chargeth them with, is, that they were addicted to the service of Angels.

And in chap. 10. of the confessions, chap. 42. He speaks thus unto God, (a) whom could I find that should make my peace with thee? Should I have gone to the Angels? By what prayers? By what Sacraments? May I endeavouring to return unto thee, and not being able to do it of themselves, have (as I hear) tried those wayes, and are fallen into a desire of curious visions, and were thought worthy to be deceived with illusions.

In chap. 5. & 6. he sheweth that the true sacrifices are the inward, even those of a contrite and humbled heart, also praises and prayers; and so defineth the sacrifice, That it is every kind of good work whereby we adhere unto God, and tend unto blessedness. Whence he inferreth in the seventh chapter (b) that we must not offer sacrifices unto Angels, and that themselves will have no such service as a sacrifice: for hence it followeth, that they will not be invoked, since invocation is a sacrifice. And in the sixteenth chapter, (c) The Angels say, that all that service is due to one God only. And in chap. 17. (d) In the Law it is commanded to serve the only God of Gods with a religious service. And in the twenty sixth chapter, (e) Is it credible that the Angels whose ministry it is to declare the will of the Father, will have us to subject our selves to any but to him, whose will they announce?

Epiphanius in the heresie of the Collyridians, which is the seventy ninth, doth severely rebuke some women that offered Cakes unto the Virgin Mary calling her Queen of heaven, the same title which the idolatrous Jews gave to an Idol (as we read Jer. 44.) and which the Roman Church giveth to the Virgin Mary. The Cardinal, page 1017. saith that those women worshipped the Virgin Mary with the adoration of *latría*, which is the honour due to God alone, and offered her sacrifices, which the Roman Church doth not. Although it be not like, that Christians ever believed that a woman whom they knew to have been both born and dead, was the sovereign God, or equal unto God. Nevertheless supposing a thing so unlike to be true, yet Epiphanius chiding those women, takes thence occasion to say such things as evidently condemn that which is done in these dayes in the Roman Church: for by teaching how, and how far it is lawful to honour the holy Virgin, he condemneth all them that transgress those limits. These are his words, (f) Certainly the body of Mary was holy, but she was not

(c) Angeli hunc omnem cultum uni Deo creatori omnium debere dicunt. (d) In Lege unus Deus Deorum religione sacrorum iussus est coli. (e) Num igitur Angelos, quorum ministerium est declarare voluntatem Patris, credendum est velle nos subijci quasi ei cujus nobis enunciant voluntatem. (f) Ναὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος τὸ σῶμα τῆς Μαρίας ἵπλην δόξης· ἀλλὰ προσκυνεῖται τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρκὸς γινόμενον, &c. οὐ καὶ ἐστὶν Μαρία· ὁ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἄγιον πνεῦμα προσκυνεῖται· τῷ Μαρία· ὑποδείξις προσκυνεῖται. &c.

(t) cum ad Altare affistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur Oratio.
(u) Non nisi Domino Deo petere debemus quicquid speramus nos vel bene operaturos vel pro bonis operibus adepturos.
(x) Deus solus ei colendus, est quod solus ejus est Author.
Homo autem quislibet alius quamquam sapientissimus & perfectissimus; &c.
(y) Amanda tantummodo & imitanda est.
(z) Honorandi sunt propter imitationem non adorandi propter religionem.
(a) Quem invenire quame reconciliaret tibi? An eundem mihi fuit ad Angelos? qua prece? quibus sacramentis? Multi conantes ad te redire, neque per seipsos valentes, sicut audio, tentaverunt hec, & inciderunt in desiderium curiosarum visionum & digni habitus sunt illusionibus.
(b) Nolunt nos sibi sacrificare sed ei cujus & ipsi nobiscum sacrificium esse novimus.
(c) Angeli hunc omnem cultum uni Deo creatori omnium debere dicunt. (d) In Lege unus Deus Deorum religione sacrorum iussus est coli. (e) Num igitur Angelos, quorum ministerium est declarare voluntatem Patris, credendum est velle nos subijci quasi ei cujus nobis enunciant voluntatem. (f) Ναὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος τὸ σῶμα τῆς Μαρίας ἵπλην δόξης· ἀλλὰ προσκυνεῖται τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρκὸς γινόμενον, &c. οὐ καὶ ἐστὶν Μαρία· ὁ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ ἄγιον πνεῦμα προσκυνεῖται· τῷ Μαρία· ὑποδείξις προσκυνεῖται. &c.

God: Certainly the Virgin was a Virgin, and honourable; but she was not given to be worshipped, but she worshippeth him that was begotten of her flesh. And a little after; Let Mary be honoured, but let the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost be worshipped. Let no body adore Mary, I say not a woman, but not a man neither. Unto God that myserie is due, the Angels themselves are not capable of that honour; placing the Angels above the holy Virgin. Yea, he goeth so far, that to repress that abuse, he speaks of the holy Virgin in terms which border upon contempt. (g) If (saith he) God permitteth not the very Angels to be worshipped, how much less should he have permitted, that such an honour should have been deferred to Anne's daughter, which was given by Joakim to Anne, but was not otherwise begotten, but after the nature of men? He doth especially condemn that title of Queen of heaven. (h) Let Jeremiah (saith he) repress those simple women. Let them trouble the earth no more, Let them say no more, We honour the Queen of heaven.

As for *Hierom*, we have brought many very exprest testimonies out of his books, whereby he declareth his opinion, that the Saints, neither hear nor see humane things.

In his fourth book upon the Prophet *Ezekiel*, chap. 14. he speaks thus, (*) *If there be confidence [to be put] in any, let us put our confidence in God, for cursed is the man that puts his trust in man, though they be Saints, though they be Prophets.* And in the Comment upon the *Proverbs*, which is put among his works, lib. 1. cap. 2. (i) *We ought not to invoke, that is, call any towards us by prayers but God alone.*

Vigilantius accused some superstitious persons, who in his time worshipped the Martyrs and their relics. Against him *Hierom* writes thus, according to his wonted meekness, *Thou mad-headed fellow, who ever worshipped the Martyrs? who ever believed that a man was God?* And in his Epistle to *Riparius*, (k) *As for us, we neither serve nor worship;* I say not the relics of the Martyrs, but not the Sun himself, nor the Moon, nor the Angels, and Archangels, nor the Cherubims and Seraphims, nor any name which is named in this present age, and in that which is to come. For fear that we should rather serve the creature than the Creator, who is blessed for evermore. It is observable, that according to *Hierom's* opinion, if the Martyrs and their relics were to be adored, the Sun much rather ought to be adored, which nevertheless the Roman Church worshippeth not, but adoreth the bones and relics of the Saints, with a furious devotion.

There is a place of *Hierom* towards the end of the Epitaph of *Paula*, which the Cardinal hath never done alleadging. Where he speaks thus to *Paula*, (1) *Fare well Paula ! help with thy prayers the extreame old age of shine honourer. Thy faith and thy works associate thee with Christ. Being present thou shalt more easily obtain what thou askest.* But it is easie to see that it is a rhetorical Apoptrophe, whereby he speaks to *Paula*, and commends himself to her, as if she were living still, and near death, for we bid not them farewell that are already in Paradise, but them that are near their departure, and these words in the future, *thou shalt obtain what thou askest*, shew that he speaks of the prayer which *Paula* was not yet in case to make, but which she should make afterwards.

M. du Perron in chap. 4. of the Treatise of the invocation of Saints, falsifies a place of Gregory Nazianzen in the funeral Oration upon Basil, and he makes Gregory to speak thus to Basil. But thou, O divine head, look upon us yet from heaven, and command that Satans king which was given us to afflict us may be removed. There is in the Greek (m) Stop by thine intercession that thorn in the flesh, which was given us by God. He giveth not to Basil the power of commanding, as the Cardinal translateth.

We must also remember, that this *Gregory* was the first of the Fathers, in whose writings some prayers to the Saints are found, yet mingled with doubting whether the Saints hear them, as we shewed before. Now he writ about the year of the Lord 380.

(g) Εἰ γὰρ ὁ
κύριος προ-
σηυρήθη διὰ
τοῦ πάσης
μαλὸν τῶν
ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ
τῇ Ἀνα-
ιδόματι; καὶ
ἔσ· ἐν αὐτῷ
ἐστίν.
προσηυρήθη
ἐπὶ τῶν
ἐκ πνεύματος
ἀποστόλων.
(h) οὐδέποτε
στον ὑπό ἱερα-
μίας ἀν-
ταγωνιστῆς
γινώσκων,
μηδ' ἐξοφλου-
μένων ἀποκα-
λύψαντος· μη-
δ' ἀγγέλων
παρὰ τῶν
βασιλέων τῶν
ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ.
(i) Quod si
in aliquo
fiducia est, in
solo Deo
confidamus:
Maledictus
enim homo
qui se ipse
habet in
homine,
quomodo
sancti sint,
quomodo
Prophete.
(j) Nullum
invocare id
est in nos
orando voca-
re, nisi unum
Deū debemus.
(k) Nos autem
non dico
Martyrum
reliquias, se-
ne Solem
quidem &
Lunam, non
Angelos &
Archangelos,
&c. omne
nomen quod
hominatur in
presenti sae-
culo & in
futuro colim-
us & ado-
ramus
(l) Vale O
Paula, &
cultoris tui e-
las impenetrabi-
les profectus;

The Cardinal musters up with great noise, testimonies out of *Theodore* in the book of the affections of the Grecians, and out of *Gregory* of *Nyssa* in the Oration upon the Martyr *Theodorus*, and out of *Cyrillus* in his myltalogical Catecheses, and some verses of *Prudentius* and *Paulinus*. I might answer, that it is doubtfull whether that book be *Theodore's*, seeing that *Photius* in his Library, and *Nicephorus* in the Ecclesiastical history, book 14. chap. 54. making the enumeration of the works of *Theodore*, speak not of that book.

I might say also, that the loose and lank style of the Oration upon the Martyr *Theodorus*, differs very much from that of *Gregory* of *Nyssa*, which is nervous and elaborate; and that the narrative of the martyrdom of *Theodorus* is manifestly fabulous. There it is said, that this *Theodorus* was *Jobs* countrey-man, that is, an Arabian, or Idumean, and was a common souldier in *Dioscesians* time. Being accused of being a Christian, he answereth with words of contempt, comparing the Goddes which the Judges worshipped, to a Hare or a Sow. That was enough to send him to the execution, in a time when whole Cities were exterminated for religion, and thousands of people were massacred without any form of justice. Yet the Judges flatter him, and send him back, and allow him time to think upon it. He instead of withdrawing himself, sets the Temple of the mother of Gods on fire. Being brought back to the judgement seat, The Judges instead of punishing him for a crime, among the Pagans unpardonable, give him fair words, and promise that common souldier to make him an High Priest. He upon that, falls to loud laughter, and begins to abuse the Emperours, who took upon them the title and the purple of High Priests. The Angels sing melodiously with him in prison, and make processions with torches over all the Town. All that looks like a fable, and hath much of the style of Legends.

I could say also that the five myltalogical Catecheses, ascribed to *Cyrillus* of *Jerusalem*, are none of his. Their style is far more concise then that of the eighteen other Catecheses. In the first Catechesis the Author dissuadeth the people from frequenting the Hippodrom; but there was no Hippodrom in *Jerusalem*. In the whole Roman Empire there was none but in the capital Cities of the Empire, as *Rome*, *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, and some few Towns where the Roman Legions wintered. In the same place he dehortheth the people from beholding the hunting and killing of beasts in the Amphitheatre. But there was no Amphitheatre at *Jerusalem*.

I could say also that Poets are no good Judges in points of faith, that they allow much license to themselves, and that if they were not lyars, they should not be Poets. But let us grant that all these books are true and none spurious, and that these Poets have used no fiction. Yet these Authors were men subject to fail, and though we had no word of God, which is the only rule of our faith, yet the Fathers of the three first Ages, and of the greatest part of the fourth, are of contrary opinion, and those Fathers that came since contradict one another, and speak doubtfully, and will unsay what they have said, as we have fully proved.

I will add to that I said before, an observation upon a place of *Epiphanius*, hæref. 75. which the Cardinal corrupteth with a notorious depravation. He makes *Epiphanius* to say, that in the commemoration which we make of the dead, we mention the *just*, to distinguish them from Christ. And these *just* he will have to be those Saints that are invoked and desired to pray for us; Which is not done unto Christ, for the Roman Church prayeth not to Christ to pray for us; Their Lerany of the Saints saith, *Sancte Petre ora pro nobis*, *Sancte Gregori ora pro nobis*: But to Christ it saith, *Christe audi nos*. *Fili Redemptor miserere nobis*, as devesting him of the Office of intercessor making request for us. The Jesuite *Salmeron* saith this plainly in the eighth Dispute upon the second chapter of the first Epistle to *Timothy*, (n) The *Catholicks* say not, *Christ pray for us*, lest they should seem to put two persons in Christ, as *Nestorius* doth. Again, (o) We invoke Christ as God, not as man: that is, as Judge, not as Mediatour. For the Roman Church holds that he is not Mediator, as he is man.

(n) S. deinde non dicunt Christe ora pro nobis, ne videantur cum Nestorio duas in Christo constituere personas.

(o) Invocamus eum ut Deum & non ut hominem.

But to return to the Cardinal, I say that he is mistaken, if he think that by those just, *Epiphanius* understands the Saints, that are invocated; for he speaks of the just and faithfull which are prayed for, as it appears by these words which follow, *ὁσῶν τῶν ἀγίων προσηύχην ἐν Χρῴ*, the prayer made for them doth them good. And that which M. du Perron presupposeth in this place is false, that in the time of *Epiphanius* the Saints were invocated in the publike service.

(p) Martin.
Perez. part.
3. Confid. 7.
de cultu
Sanctorum.
Quod autem
Cornelius
Martyrem
nulla extat
mentio (quod
ego viderim)
invocationis
& interces-
sionis sancto-
rum in causa
forte fuit mo-
dus & hu-
milis Apo-
stolica. Quid
enim dicerent
qui eos hæc
dicentes audi-
rent nisi quod
de se magna
pollicerentur,
& se quasi
Deos face-
rent.
(q) Ibid.
Eos intentos
fuisse prædi-
cationi Evan-
gelii & alia-
rum verum
que magis ad
substantiam
salutis atti-
nebant.
(r) Sect.
Sed cum.
(f) Sect.
Nec obstat.

I will conclude by the confessions of our Adversaries. *Martin Perez*, a famous Doctor among them, speaks thus, (p) *That before the Martyr Cornelius no mention is found of the invocation and intercession of Saints (at least for any thing that I could see) perhaps the humility and modesty of the Apostles hath been the cause of it. For what might have been the conceit of those that heard them say so much, (namely that the Saints must be invocated) but that they did promise great things of themselves, and made almost Gods of themselves? Then he addeth, (q) They were diligently employed about the preaching of the Gospel, and about other things which concern more the substance of salvation. This Cornelius dyed the 250. year of the Lord. Wherefore this Doctor might have added 125. or 130. years more. For we have shewed that before the year of the Lord 375. no trace of the invocation of Saints is found in the Fathers. Which M. du Perron hath freely acknowledged.*

The Jesuite *Salmeron* in the seventh Dispute upon 1 Tim. 2. (r) finding no abettours in Scripture for the invocation of Saints, defends himself thus, *Seeing that before Christs coming, the entry into heaven was not yet open, and the godly were detained in the Limbus, and were not perfect in holiness or felicity; hence it comes that few testimonies of just truth are found. The Gospels also describe the life and passion of Christ, and because in that time they were not yet happy, therefore nothing express to that purpose is found, as also nothing about that is found in Pauls Epistles, nor in the Canonical Epistles, which have been written for other ends. Only he goeth about to prove by the Revelation, that the Saints pray for us: A thing which we do not deny.*

In the same place, (f) *In the Old Law, and in the New Testament no command is found of calling upon the Saints.*

The Jesuite *Peter Cotton* in the first book of the Catholick institution, chap. 16. *As for a command of praying and invoking the Saints, the Church never taught that there was any, but as far as we are all commanded to obey the Church. He acknowledged that God did not command the invocation of Saints, but that the Roman Church commands it, which must be obeyed. But God hath not commanded us to obey the Roman Church more then the Greek or Syrian. And these words, Tell it unto the Church, &c. Matthew 18. speak not of the judgement of the Universal Church about the doctrine: but of the authority of the Pastors of a particular Church, to compound quarrels between two brothers.*

CHAP. 13.

What honour is due to Angels and deceased Saints, and of the worship of dulia and latria.

THE ordinary distinctions of our Adversaries in this point are, that the Saints are Mediatours of intercession, not of redemption; and that unto them we must not defer the worship of *latria*, which they affirm to belong unto God alone; but that they must be worshipped with the worship of *dulia*, which is an inferior worship, and a *relative religion*, as the Cardinal calls it. In all his Treatise of the Invocation of Saints, he deferreth no other service of religion to the Saints, but to beseech them that they would pray for us; Wherein he seems to be ashamed of the belief of his Church, which goes far beyond that: For they ask salvation of God, not only by the intercession of the Saints, but also by their merits. It is the ordinary prayer in the Mass, (a) where the Priest asketh Gods help and protection by the prayers and merits of the Saints, as if the Saints by their good works had merited salvation for us. And which is more, the Roman Church believeth that the sufferings of the Saints are satisfactory for others, and that the Pope layeth up the overplus of their satisfactions and labours unto the Churches Treasure (whereof himself keeps the keyes,) and distributeth it into others by his Indulgences. Being thus made to pay for us, they are made in some sort our Redeemers, as (b) *Bellarmin* doth acknowledge it in the fourth chapter of the first book of Indulgences. Wherefore they that pray to the Saints, content not themselves to beseech them to pray for us, but they ask of them to be healed from sicknesses. Vows and offerings are made unto them, to obtain of them the success of some voyage, or important business. The Hymn of the Virgin *Mary* which is commonly and publickly used, hath these words, (c) *Mary Mother of grace, Mother of mercy, be thou our protection against the enemy, and receive us in the hour of death.* That is not praying, that she pray for us.

The Offices attributed to the Saints testifie the same. For one that believeth that the Saints do us no other good, but to pray for us, will not address himself to St. *Nicholas*, rather then to another Saint, to have a good wind upon the Sea, seeing that any other Saint might ask that of God as well as he. But they believe that St. *Nicholas* can appease the Sea, and give a happy navigation. And the title of Queen of heaven, attributed to the Virgin *Mary*, ascribes to her the power of commanding which is much more then praying for us. The Antients recommended the reading of the *Psalms* unto the people. And *Hierom* in the Epistle to *Leta*, adviseth her to make her daughter *Paula* to read them. But now instead of the *Psalms*, they give to simple women the Hours of the Virgin *Mary*, of which no mention is made in Antiquity. Then the adoration of the relics of the Saints is performed with so much fervour by the people, that the service done to God, is cold in comparison. Of which *Ludovicus Vives* complaineth in his Annotations upon book 8. of the City of God, chap. 27. (d) *Many Christians do often sin in a good thing, venerating Saints of both sexes, no other wise then they serve God himself. Neither do I see in many of them, what difference there is between their opinion concerning the Saints, and that which the Pagans held of their Gods.* It is clear, that they that vow themselves unto Saints, or make unto them vows and promises to make pilgrimages to their shrines, or to pay them offerings, do more then to pray to the Saints, that they would pray to God for them.

Then to come to that title of Mediatours of intercession, which is given to the Saints, the Apostle *Paul*, 1 Tim. 2. 5. acknowledgeth but one Mediatour between God and men, (e) *There is one God, and one Mediatour between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.* If upon the word Mediatour it is lawfull to make distinctions between one Mediatour of Redemption, and the other of Intercession, one may use

(a) *Quorum meritis precibusque rogamus ut in omnibus protectionis tue muniamur auxilio.*

(b) *Non erit absurdum si sancti viri redemptores nostri aliquo modo, id est, secundum aliquid, non simpliciter, & largo modo, non in rigore verborum, esse dicantur.*

(c) *Maria mater gratiae, Mater misericordiae, Tu nos ab hoste proteges, Et hora mortis suscipe.*

(d) *Multi Christiani in re bona plerumque peccant quod Dives Divesque non aliter venerantur quam Deum: Nec video in multis quod sit discrimen inter eorum opinionem de sanctis & id quod Gentiles putabant de suis Diis.*

(e) *Ecce Deus est unus.*

use the same license upon the name of God, and so make many Gods. But that distinction of two sorts of Mediatour, ought to be found in the word of God, not forged in ones brains: And it is forged without reason: For we call him a Mediatour of intercession, that receiveth our requests, and presents them unto God. To do so much, he must hear our prayers, and know our heart: Which we have shewed to be impossible unto the deceased Saints.

Some petty Sophists will have it translated, *there is one God*, not *there is one only God*, as the French Geneva Bible hath it; and *there is one Mediatour*, not *there is one only Mediatour*. But that man is deeply ignorant, that knows not that *is* in Greek and *unus* in Latin signifie *unicus*, *one only*, and not *many*. The French version of the Doctors of *Lovain*, approved by the Jesuites, expound it so, *1 Tim. 3. 2.* there is in the vulgar version *Oportet Episcopum esse unius uxoris virum*: The *Lovain* Doctors expound, *Il faut que l' Evesque soit mari d'une seule femme*, *The Bishop must be the husband of one only wife*. And *1 Cor. 12. 11.* There is in the vulgar version, *Hac omnia operatur unus atque idem spiritus*, where the same Doctors translate (f) *One only and the same spirit doth all these things*. And *Eph. 4. 5.* these words *unum corpus, unus Spiritus, unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma*, are thus translated in the same version. *There is but one body, and one Spirit, There is but one Lord, one faith, one Baptism*: We may then translate here in the same manner, *There is but one God, and but one Mediatour*.

(f) ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα ἐργαζόμενον πάντα ταῦτα.

The words of the Apostle are very considerable, for he saith, *there is one only God, and one only Mediatour between God and men*. This word *between* sheweth evidently that he speaks of a Mediatour of intercession. For it would be improperly spoken to say, that *Christ is Redeemer between God and men*. Yet that one might not think that Christ intercedeth only by prayer for us towards his Father, the Apostle addeth, that *he gave himself a ransom for all*.

Which two sorts of being a Mediatour towards God, who so will seriously consider, shall find that in Christ they are one and the same thing: For even in this Christ intercedes for us that he satisfieth for us, and that God in consideration of his death receiveth us to mercy, and accepteth our prayers. So much we learn of St. John, *1 John 2. 1. & 2.* *We have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous*. This word *Advocate* is as good as a *Mediatour of intercession*. But that one may know wherein that intercession consisteth, he addeth, *And he is the propitiation for our sins*: Then his mediation of intercession consisteth in his being the propitiation for our sins, which is the mediation of redemption.

The Mosaic Law brings us to that; For under the Law the High Priest, a figure of Christ, was typically a Mediatour both of intercession and redemption, and there was no other ordinary Mediatour of intercession.

The whole Gospel brings us to that; Christ saith *John 14.* *I am the way, the truth and the life; None cometh to the Father, but by me*. And *Rom. 5. 17.* *They shall reign in life by one Jesus Christ*. It is the privilege of children, that they need no Mediatour to speak to their Father. Having the Son of God for our Mediatour of intercession (for St. Paul saith, *Rom. 8. 34.* *that he makes intercession for us*) we have no need of any other recommendation with God. Though thou shouldst be the unworthiest man of the world, yet when God calleth thee, thou must go straight to him: Now God calls us, saying, *Come unto me all that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest*, *Matth. 11. 28.* *Call upon me in the day of trouble, I will deliver thee*, *Plal. 50. 15.*

It will not serve to say, that God in his word, will have the living to pray for one another, and that God sends *Jobs* friends to his intercession to obtain their pardon: For the prayer of the living for us, hath nothing common with the invocation of the deceased Saints. When we commend our selves to the prayers of our friends, we yield no religious service to them, and bow not the knee before them in the Church: We acknowledge them not as searchers of hearts, or Mediatours between God and men; And that prayer is a mutual and reciprocal office between us, which is not between us and the Saints. In a word
God

God commanded us to pray for one another, but commanded us not to pray to the Saints. To them who instead of addressing themselves to the living, call upon the dead, the reprehension of *Isaiah* belongeth; whereby he rebuketh those that go (g) for the living to the dead. (g) *Isa. 9. 19*

Some texts are found in Scripture, where God declareth that he bestoweth some grace upon his Church, or upon some private persons in consideration of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *David*, &c. But the Church did not therefore call upon *Abraham*, or *Isaac*, &c. Neither must we believe, that God granted these graces by reason of *Abraham's* merits, but in consideration of his promise, and of his Covenant contracted with *Abraham* or *David*, as it is said, *2 Chron. 21. 7. The Lord because of the Covenant which he had made with David, would not destroy the house of David.* See *Luke 1. 55. & 72, & 73.* and *Deut. 7. 8.* So *Austin* in the book of questions upon *Exod.* in the one hundred and fifty question. God said that he accomplished that which he had sworn unto their Fathers; Thereby shewing that he doth it, because he promiseth it to those righteous Fathers; not because these were worthy of it.

That Father is very pregnant upon that matter in the twenty second Treatise upon *John*. It is that which thy Saviour saith, (h) Thou knowest not whither to go but to me, thou canst not go but by me. We must then neither go to the Saints, nor by the Saints: And in the last chapter of the ninth book of the City of God, (i) Knowing that these immortal and blessed persons, who yet are made and created, are not means to bring mortal men to immortality and blessedness. And in the eighth chapter of the second book against the Epistle of *Parmenian*, (k) All Christians recommend themselves mutually unto God by their prayers, but he for whom no body prayeth, but who prayeth for all, he is the only and true Mediatour. And a little after, If Paul were Mediatour, so should also the other Apostles be. And St. Paul himself had been mistaken when he said, that there was but one God, and one Mediatour. Note, that he speaks formally of a Mediatour of intercession, without speaking of redemption, for he is disputing against *Parmenian*, who had called the Bishop the Mediatour between God and men. And upon *Psal. 108.* (l) The prayer which is not made by Jesus Christ, not only cannot blot out sin, but is self also is sin. See also *Austins* first Treatise upon the first Epistle of St. *John*.

It remains that we say something of that distinction of *dulia* and *latria*. The Cardinal saith, that *latria* belongs to God alone. He leaveth then *dulia* to the Saints. They are Greek words which the people understand not. And that distinction is used by *Austin* in book 20. against *Faustus Manichean*, ch. 21. and in the questions upon *Genesis*, book 1. ch. 61.

But now they take that distinction in another sense then that of *Austin*. For these two words both *latria* and *dulia* are sometimes taken in a religious sense, and signifie a religious service: sometimes in a civil sense, and signifie that civil service, honour and obedience which we owe to our superiours on earth, to which Gods ordinance hath subjected us. The word *latria* is taken in a civil sense, *Deut. 28. 48.* *ἀσέβειας πῆς ἐχθροῖς οὖ, Thou shalt serve [or do latria] to thine enemies.* And so in *Phocylides* (m) *κατὰ λατρεύειν* signifieth serving the time. Whence also *ἀδελφός* signifieth a maid-servant. On the contrary *dulia* signifieth the service that is due to God alone. As *1 Sam. 7. 3.* *ἐτοιμάσατε τὰς καρδίας υμῶν πρὸς Κύριον καὶ δαδύσατε αὐτῷ μόνον, Prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and serve him [or render dulia to him] only.* And *Judg. 2. 7.* *καὶ ἐδούλευον ὁ λαὸς τῷ Κυρίῳ, and the people yielded dulia unto the Lord, that is, they served the Lord.* And *Rom. 12. 11.* *Κυρίῳ δαδύοντες yielding dulia to the Lord, that is, serving the Lord.* And *Matth. 6. 24.* *καὶ δύνασθε δὲν δαδύειν καὶ μαμμωνᾷ, You cannot do dulia, or service unto God, and unto Mammon.* See *Acts 20. 19.* *Rom. 7. 25.* *Eph. 6. 7.* *Col. 3. 14.* *1 Thess. 1. 9.* By all these it appears, that the word *Dulia* which our Adversaries reserve for the service, which is done to the Saints, is the word used in Scripture, for the service and adoration which is due unto God.

The Apostle *Gal. 4. 8.* representing to the *Galatians* their condition, before they were converted unto God, tells them *καὶ δαδύσατε πῆς μὴ φύσει θεοῖς. Ye did dulia,*

(h) Non est quo eas nisi ad me, non est qua eas nisi per me.

(i) Medios non esse ad immortalitatem beatitudinemque perducendis mortalibus.

(k) Homines omnes Christiani invicem se commendant orationibus suis.

Pro quo autem nullus interpellat, sed ipse pro omnibus, hic unus verus Mediator est, &c.

Nam si esset Mediator Paulus, essent et ceteri coapostoli eius, &c.

(l) Oratio que non fit per Christum, non solum non potest delere peccatum sed etiam ipsa fit peccatum.

(m) Phocyl. κατὰ λατρεύειν μὴ ἀνθρωπείῳ ἀνέμοισιν.

or service to them, which by nature are no Gods. Where although he speaks of the Gods of the Pagans, yet by speaking thus, he gives it for a rule, that *dulia* must be yielded to none but God.

Suidas an excellent Greek Grammarian expounds thus the word *Latria*, *λatria* ἡ ἐν μισθῷ δουλεία, *latria* is a *dulia* or service for wages, making *latria* to be a kind of *dulia*.

The *Arrians* worshipping Christ, whom yet they said to be a created God, were called *Idolaters* by the *Orthodox Christians*. They might have used that shift to say, *We worship Christ with the service of dulia only, but as for latria we reserve it to the sovereign God*. But that distinction in matter of divine service and adoration was not yet invented. For as the antient Church had but one sort of religion, they had also but one sort of adoration and religious service.

(n) *Dulia* debetur Deo tanquam Domino, *Latria* vero non nisi Deo tanquam Deo.

(o) *August. Qu. 66. in Leviticum.*

Servire hominibus [servitute] qua servi serviunt, quod non

λατρεία vetum δουλεία, Scriptura non prohibet.

(p) *Ego quidem Græcæ linguæ perparum affectus sum & prope nihil.*

(q) *ἡ τοιοῦτων ἀφέλκεν ὁμοιωσὶς ἀνθρώπων τῷ θεῷ προσάγει ἢ αὐτὸς τῷ θεῷ ποιημάτων δούλεια.*

Austin from whom that distinction is borrowed, is clear on our side: For he calls *dulia*, the service done to God. In the book of questions upon *Exodus*, qu. 94. (n) *Dulia* (saith he) is due unto God, as to our Master, and *latria* is due unto God, as to our God. But when *dulia* is taken for a civil service, or for a reverence or subjection of a servant to his Master without a religious service,

(o) then *Austin* holds that *dulia* is deferred unto living men, and to Masters to whom we owe honour, as also to the deceased Saints whose memory we honour. But he saith not, that this *dulia* consisteth in the invocation of the Saints, or in deferring any religious service unto them. Besides, if that distinction must have place, it must be taken from the Greek Authors, not from *Austin*, who in many places confesseth his little knowledge of the Greek tongue: As in the second book against the letters of *Petilianus*, chap. 38. (p) *I have* (saith he) got very little skill in the Greek tongue, and almost none at all.

Theodore in the Epitome of the divine doctrines in the chapter of the Holy Ghost, proveth that the Holy Ghost is not a creature, because *dulia* is deferred unto him. *Christ* (saith he) having abolished the adoration of the creature, did not command again that a created nature should be adored. (q) For it would be one of the most absurd things of the world, to draw men away from them that are no Gods, and to bring them to yield *dulia* to the creature.

Yea whosoever hath some reasonable measure of knowledge in the Greek tongue, knoweth that *dulia* is a greater service then *latria*; For *latria* is a service of reverence and obedience, but *dulia* imports a subjection of slaves.

As for that relative religion which is deferred unto the Saints by the Cardinal, besides the impiety of forging two Religions in the Christian Religion, the one absolute, the other relative; there is want of common sense in it, for the religion towards God is also relative, and relates unto God. Let any equitable person judge whether the people worshipping the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints, and their relicks, understand these distinctions of *latria*, *dulia*, and *hyperdulia*, which are dust cast into the eyes of the ignorant multitude to blind them. For what's the reason that those Gentlemen will not speak to the people in their mothers tongue.

CHAP. 14.

Of the Legends of Saints.

THE antient Church made an anniversary commemoration of the sufferings of Martyrs. That laudable custom gave occasion to the compiling of the Legends of Saints, which is stuffed with ridiculous fables. Of which when his Majesty of Great Brittain complaineth, M. du Perron instead of excusing these Legends, doth expatiate his eloquence upon the praise of the antient Lessons of the Martyrs, which lessons were in nothing like to the Legends of the Roman Church. He was not bold enough to excuse those Legends so superlative in absurdity. Only he saith that the Roman Church believeth not those lessons with a Theological faith, like the Scripture. For who can bear with the Legends that say, that St. *Macarius* did penance six moneths together, for killing a gnat? That St. *Mary* the Egyptian having no money to pay the Watermens fare, offered to pay it with her body? That St. *Francis* preacht unto the Birds, took up Lice fallen from his garment, and made to himself a wife of snow? That an Als worshipped the Host presented to him by St. *Anthony* of Padua? And that Bees built a Chappel of wax to that Host? And a thousand of the like course fables wherewith the windows and walls of Churches are painted all over, and which have been for many ages, and are still the subject of Sermons. These tales are so unsavoury, that (a) *Melchior Canus*, a Spanish Bishop saith, that the lives of Philosophers were written with more gravity by *Diogenes Laertius*, then the lives of Saints by the Christians.

Pag. 972.

(a) L. II. c. 6.
Volemt dico
potius quam
contumeliose:
multo boni-
us à Laer-
tius à Laer-
tius Philo-
phorum scrip-
tas quam à
Christianis
vitis sancto-
rum.

The Cardinal slideth smoothly upon this foul matter, and chuseth rather not to answer, then to undertake the defense of such a gross abuse.

But that it may appear that we are not they only that complain of this abuse, let us hear how *Cassander* a famous Doctor among our Adversaries, expostulates about it. Some men of great note have affirmed that the promise of *Ahasuerus* to *Hester* to give her the half of his kingdom was fulfilled in *Mary*, to which God (say they) hath transferred the half of his kingdom, which is made up of justice and mercy, having retained the one half for himself. Hence come these titles commonly given to the Virgin, of Queen of heaven, Mother of mercy, our life, our hope, &c. What shall I say, that a whole Psalter is found, from which the name of God was put out, and the Virgins name put in the place? Yea, they are come so far, that Christ who now reigneth in heaven, is subjected unto his Mother, as it is sung in some Churches.

Ora patrem, jube natum:	}	that	is,	Pray to the Father; command the Son:
Again,				Again,
O felix puerpera,				O blessed Mother,
Nostra pians scelera,				Which dost expiate our crimes,
Iure Matris impera				Command by right of Mother,
Redemptori				our Redeemer.

Observe by the way the language of this Cardinal, who will have us to believe those Legends with a faith not theological. He gave us above an absolute faith, and a relative faith: Now he coyneth a Theological faith, and a faith not Theological, whereby one believeth without Theology, that is without religion, and without thinking of God. But the Apostle tells us, that there is but one faith. Eph. 4. 5.

CHAP. 15.

Of the Psalter attributed to Saint Bonaventure.

(a) Memen-
do
Domina
David, &
omnium in-
vocationum
nomen tuum.

HIS Majesty of Great Britain could not dissemble the injury done unto God by a Psalter made at the imitation of *David's* Psalms, where the name of God is taken away, and the name of the Virgin put in his place. The 131. Psalm begins thus, (a) *O our Lady remember David, and all that call upon thy name.* As if *David* had called upon the Virgin *Mary*. In Psal. 109. *The Lord said unto our Lady, sit thou at my right hand, &c.* In Psal. 90. (which with us is the 91.) instead of the first words, *He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most high,* they have put, *He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Mother of God, &c.* And in the one hundred twenty ninth Psalm, *Out of the depths I have cryed unto thee our Lady, Lady hear my voice.*

(b) Pag. 974.

(b) *M. du Perron* answereth three things; first that *St. Bonaventure* is not the Author of that Psalter: Yet *Bellarmin* in his Apology against his Majesty, acknowledgeth that Psalter to be of *Bonaventure*, as indeed it never had any other title:

(c) An. 1601.
a Paris chez
Claude
Chappelet.
rue S. Jacques
à la Licorne.

(c) Of late it was printed at *Paris* with that name, and translated into French, with approbation of the Sorbon.

(d) Pag. 975.

In the second place he saith, that the Church is not obliged to answer for all that private persons do. But because he seeth this Psalter to be universally received and approved in the Roman Church, and that Cardinal *Bellarmin* hath written in the defence of the same, (d) he excuseth it, and saith, that the transporting of the Psalms to the Virgin, may have a sense conformable to many places of Scripture, where God ascribeth unto his Saints, that which is said of him.

* Rue S. Jacques
au rase d'or.

(e) *Christe*
redemptor
gentium,
Conserva tuos
famulos,
Beate semper
Virginis,
Placatus san-
ctis precibus.

(f) *Barradin*
in
Concordiam
Evangel.

Tom. 1. l. 6.
cap. 11.
Fortassis
Domine ne
ire celesti
Curia veniret
in dubium
cui potius
occurreret,
tibi Domino
suo an ipse
Domina suc.

I answer, that Scripture expounds it self whensoever it speaks so, either in the same place, or somewhere else, so that one cannot be deceived in it. *Christ's* disciples are called by himself the *light of the world*, *Matth. 5.* But he teacheth us why they are so called, saying of *John* the Baptist, *He was not the light, but he was come to bear witness unto the light*, *John 1.* *David*, *Psal. 82.* saith unto the Judges and Magistrates, *I have said you are Gods:* But in the same place he saith, *but you shall dye like men.* Such expositions are not found in that Psalter of *Bonaventure*. Besides, God speaks as it pleaseth him, and we may speak after him. But hence it followeth not, that by our own authority without any warrant from the word of God, we may transport unto the creature the prayers which are addressed unto God in his word. And our Adversaries acknowledge that *David's* Psalms are a service of *Latria*, and a sovereign adoration, which *David* presented unto God, and which by consequent is incommunicable unto the creature. Who could abide him that would transport the Lords Prayer unto the creature: saying, *Our Lady which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name, &c.*

The like Psalter divided into fifteen Questions was printed at *Paris*, with approbation of the Faculty of Divinity, in the year 1601. and many times since, sold by *Nicholas du Fosse* in *St. James* street at the sign of the golden plate. * There the Virgin is called the *inventrix of grace*, the first cause of our salvation, who hath made the King of Heaven in love with her, and she that must in the day of judgement moderate the sentence of the Judge. She is called in the Hours, Rosaries, and Litanies, the Mother of mercy, the Lady of the world, the gate of Paradise. And a Hymn, which is sung upon *All-Saints* day, saith that (e) she appeaseth the wrath of Christ.

How abominable are the words of *Gabriel Biel* in the eight lesson upon the Canon of the Mass, where he saith that God hath divided his Kingdom equally with the Virgin *Mary*, having reserved justice to himself, and left mercy unto her. And those of the Jesuite (f) *Barradinus* who (after *Anselmus*) makes this ques-
tion

stion unto Christ, why, when he went up to heaven, he did not carry up his Mother with him? And he frameth this answer for Christ; *Perhaps, Lord, thou didst fear, lest the Court of heaven should doubt which of the two they should first meet, either thee as their Lord, or her as their Lady.*

Such also are the words of *Martinus Perezius*, (g) that the Blessed Virgin being ascended up on high, gave gifts unto men.

And those of the Jesuite *Salmeron*, who in the seventh disputation upon the second chapter of the first Epistle to *Timothy*, upon the question, (h) whether it be better done to pray to God by Christ alone, or to pray to him by the Saints! answereth, *Oratio fusca per sanctos melior est. The prayer made by the Saints is the best.*

In the same place (i) he approveth, saying, *Our Father which art in heaven*, in the honour of the Saints: As also the Council of *Trent*, in the chapter of prayer approveth those that say before the image of *St. Barbara*, *Our Father which art in heaven.*

The ordinary excuse is, that the Virgin *Mary* is called the Mother of mercy, she that hath bruised the Serpents head, the gate of Paradise, and the like expressions, because she bore him in her womb who is the cause of our salvation, who hath bruised the Serpents head, and who hath opened unto us the gate of Paradise. If that excuse be good, by the same reason one may say, that the Holy Virgin is dead for our redemption, because she hath born him who is dead for our redemption. By the same reason *Sara* may be called *Isaac*, because she bore *Isaac*: and *Eve* may be called *Abel*, because she bore *Abel*.

These men play with religion, and believe not what themselves say.

(g) *Martin. Perez. par. 3. Confil. 7. de cultu Sanctorum.*
(h) *Seet. Si autem.*

(i) *Qui diceret, Pater noster, ad sanctorum honorem bene faceret.*



Second Controversie,

OF THE

SEVENTH BOOK.

OF

I M A G E S.

CHAP. I.

Of Gods Images.



Oly Scripture teacheth us, that God made man in his image and likeness. Men would do as much for God, making God after their image and likeness; *changing the glory of the incorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man*, saith the Apostle, *Rom. 1. 23.* They would represent in stone, and wood, and colours, an infinite and incomprehensible spirit, not only in Churches, but in the signs of Taverns; with less reason then if they represented an Angel in the

shape of a Moufe, or *Alexander the great* in the form of a pumpion. For between these things, though most unequal, there is some proportion: But between God who is infinite, and the figure of a man, there is no proportion: As the Prophet *Isaiah* saith, *To whom will ye liken God, or what likeness will ye compare unto him?*

Isa. 40. 18.

(a) Lib. 1.
Stromaton.
(b) De Ci-
uitate Dei,
Lib. 4.
cap. 31.
Dicit Varro

The wisest among the Pagans have acknowledged so much. (a) *Clemens Alex- andrinus*, and (b) *Austin* alleadge *Varro* the most learned of the Romans, who affirmeth that the *Antient Romans* for the space of 170. years served the Gods without images, and that if that custom had remained, the Gods should be honoured with more purity. Of which opinion of his, he brings, among other things, the Jewish Nation for a witness, and makes no difficulty to make this conclusion; That they that first

manos plusquam annos 170. Deos sine simulachro coluisse. Quod si (inquit) adhuc mansisset, castius Dii observarentur. Cujus sententiae suae testem adhibet inter cetera etiam gentem Judeam. Nec dubitat eum locum ita concludere, ut dicat qui primi simulachra Deorum populi posuerunt eos civitatibus suis & metum dempsisse & errorem addidisse.

(d) Initio
libri πὲρ τῆς
παλαιᾶς καὶ
κατὰ ἀντι-
παρθενοῦς ἀξί-
ας τῆς ἡμετέρας.

(c) Nec cohibent parietibus Deos nec in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur.
(*) Tu ne feras representationem taillee ne semblances, &c.

[illegible]

τίς δὲ μαρτὴν ποιεῖται ὡς τὸ ἀνδραγάτας διὰ τὸ ἀνταρτὴν μαρτυρῆσαι καὶ εἰχλὸν φέρειν ἀποφάνεσθαι (h) Cur tandem Patrem Domini Jesu non oculis subjicimus ac pingimus? Quoniam quis sit non novimus Deique pietas spectanti proponi non potest ac pinci.

(i) τὰς
 δυνάμεις ἐκ
 ὧν
 ἐπολαμὲν
 τοῦτον εἶναι
 τὰ ἀγαλλ-
 ματα αὐτοῦ
 μορφῇ θεοῦ
 ὡρατοῦ καὶ
 ὡσαύτως
 μὴ διαγε-
 ρόντας.

Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which is a most absurd thing. Long before him, *Origen* in the seventh book against *Celsus* was saying, (i) *We hold not any statues to be images of God: for we do not represent the figure of God, who is invisible and incorporeal.*

Here, as in many other points, the Fathers are wanting to our Adversaries, as well as the Word of God. Instead of proofs, they bring excuses only, and say that Scripture ascribes unto God hands and feet, eyes and mouth. As good as saying, Since Scripture speaking of God useth metaphors, let us make statues. Since Scripture speaks of God in figurate speeches, let us make the figure of God in wood and stone: This is not speaking as men, or to men. They say also, that God appeared unto *Daniel* in mans shape. But Gods actions are not rules of Religion, but his commandments. God doth what he pleaseth, but we must do what he commandeth. Wherefore neither *Daniel*, nor the Church of his time, or since his time, ever made any image of God in consequence of that apparition. It is a new invention, of which the Romanists bethought themselves some fifteen hundred years after *Daniel*.

It is to no purpose to say, that by the images of God they pretend not to represent his essence; for no more can they with pictures represent a mans being, no not the being of a worm: And that excuse doth not dispense them from Gods commandment, which no doubt but the Roman Church would have razed out of the Bible, if the Hebrew Originals and the Greek Version had been in their power, since they have put it out of the Hours and Offices which are put in the peoples hands. For as for the Bible, it is a Book which they are forbidden to read, as we have shewed.

The shape in which they represent God the Father, is that of a Pope. They put a Papal mantle about him, and a triple Crown upon his head, whereby the end appeareth for which that abuse was coyned; it is plain, that it is not to honour God, but to honour the Pope; That the people seeing God Almighty set out in that dreis, may imagine some Godhead in the Pope. Some may be found stupid enough to have a better opinion of God, because of his Papal attire.

CHAP. 2.

Of the images of Saints.

THE same commandment of God, which forbids making any graven image, or any likeness of things that are in heaven above, and in the earth beneath; forbids us also to make images of creatures for a Religious use, or for the service of God. The first table of the Law, contains the rules of Gods service: Whoso then for Gods service, and for a Religious use makes images of creatures, goeth against this commandment of God, *Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth; Thou shalt not bow down thy self to them, nor serve them.* There God forbids two things, the one to make images for the use of Religion; the other to bow down before them, and defer unto them a Religious service. The same prohibition is repeated, and more expressly set down, *Levit. 26. 1. Ye shall make you no idols, nor graven image, neither rear you up a standing image; neither shall ye set up any image of stone in your Land, to bow down unto it, for I am the Lord your God.*

(a) *Vasquez* one of the prime Jesuites preft with the evidence of the words of the Law of God, which forbid not only to worship images, but even to make any for the use of Religion, makes a free acknowledgement; that by this Precept God doth absolutely forbid to make any images, and to make any use of them. But he saith that the Church is not bound to keep that commandment, and that the said prohibition is made in particular to the people of the Jews, because they were more given to idolatry than any other Nation.

But

(a) *Vasquez*
 lib. 2. de
 Adoratione
 Imaginum.
 Disput. 3.
 cap. 4. &
 Disput. 4. c. 3.
 & in 3am
 partem
 Thomæ
 Qu. 25.
 Disput. 104.
 s. 2.

But it is an act of the highest rashness, to give unto God an intention which he did not declare. The whole moral Law, contained in the two Tables (excepting only part of the fourth Commandment touching the Sabbath) is nothing else, but the Law of nature, to which all men are naturally obliged, as *Irenæus* teacheth in the fourth Book, chap. 3. Wherefore also *Tertullian* in the Book of Idolatry, chap. 5. and *Cyprian* in the third Book to *Quirinus*, chap. 59. alleadge this Precept as made to the Christians no less then to the Jews. We learn, *Col. 2. 16.* that Christians are no more obliged to observe Sabbaths. But as for the Precept of making no image, to defer unto them a Religious service, we see not that Christ or his Apostles, made any alteration in it.

It is false, that the Jews were more prone to idolatry then their neighbours, by whom they were seduced to the service of idols, or then the Egyptians that worshipped Onions and Beasts. And who would affirm that those Nations did not sin against that Precept?

Or if that Commandment is only for those Nations that are most given to idolatry, then the Jews after their return from the captivity of *Babylon* were no more subject to that Precept, for ever since that time they had images in execration. And by that reason the Roman Church shall be more subject to that Precept then any other Church, because that Church is come to that excess of idolatry, that they speak unto wood, and that the Doctors teach that images must be adored with the service of *latría*, as we shall see hereafter.

Also if that Precept was made only for the Jews, it will follow, that when a Jew turned Christian in the time of Christ and his Apostles, he shoke off the yoke of that Precept, and that the Law had but nine Commandments for him.

That the Church of the Old Testament believed, that by this Precept they were forbidden all use of images in Religion, it is evident, because there was no image of any of the Patriarchs or Prophets, or of any Angel in the Temple, and in the Synagogues. For the Cherubims set over the Ark, were no images of certain Angels, but Symbols and Characters of the Angelical Office, such as the pictures of Vertues and Vices. Besides, they were put out of the peoples sight, so that there was no fear that the people should abuse them to idolatry. Thus the brazen Serpent was not an image of Jesus Christ; but the saving vertue which God set forth in that Serpent, for the healing of persons bitten by the Serpents, was a figure of the saving vertue of Christ towards the souls infected by the ancient Serpent, the Devil. Also God had commanded the making of that brazen Serpent, and of those Cherubims, but he did not command the setting up of Saints images in Temples, much less did he command that they should be worshipped. Then the Cherubims were not images of any particular Angel, and were not named by any proper name. Our adversaries would not suffer in their Churches an image without a name, and the representation of an unknown Saint.

The Jews since the captivity of *Babylon*, have been most Religious observers of this Precept. Neither threatnings nor tortures could make them bow to idolatry. Some few private men excepted, who in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes* turned Pagans. The Jews had images in such execration, that being become subject unto the Romans, they could not so much as suffer the Roman Eagles in their Countrey. In Christs time, King *Herod* being faine sick of the sickness, of which he dyed, the Jews beat down all the Eagles which *Herod* had set up; that (b) Eagle among others, which was over the great gate of the Temple. The same people raised a sedition against *Pilate*, because he had brought to *Jerusalem* the images of the Emperour, which were joyned with the military standards; For (saith *Josephus*) (c) the Law hath forbidden us to make images. And *Pilate* moved with compassion towards that people, which held out their throats, to be slain rather then to live and see images, commanded them to be carried away. The same Author observeth that *Vitellius* Governor of *Syria*, made his Army to pass about *Judea*, not through it, for fear that the sight of those Eagles and of *Cæsars* images should offend the people; which could not suffer those images, not only to be set up in Towns, but not so much as to pass through the Countrey. Wherefore

(b) *Joseph. lib. 17. Antiq. c. 8.*
(c) *Joseph. Origin. lib. 18. c. 4.*
*εἰς ἰδὼν αὐτῶν τὸν πῶν ἀνα-
παύσασθαι τὸ
νῦν τὸ
τόπον.*

also

(d) *Ioseph.*
lib. 18. c. 7.
& *Antiq.*

l. 8. c. 2.

ὅτι τῶν χαλ-

κῶν βουὸν

ὁμοιοματά

κατεσκευά-

σας τῶν

δαδῶν

ἀνὰ θύματα

καὶ τῶν λε-

γόντων τῶν

καὶ τῶν

δεσφόντων

καὶ τῶν

καὶ τῶν

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also *Iosephus*, who was a Pharisee, and professed an exact observation of the Law, reproveth *Solomon* for putting brazen bulls under the molten Sea in the Temple, and Lyons upon the stairs of his Throne, (d) for (saith he) it was not lawful to do those things.

Tertullian's words are worthy of an especial notice, in the fourth Book against *Marcion*, chap. 22. (e) How could Peter know *Elijah* and *Moses*, but in the Spirit? For the people could not have their images and statues, seeing that the Law of God prohibits them. *Baronius* An. 31. Sect. 74. maintains that the woman whom Christ had healed of her bloody flux, which set up an image unto Christ, was not *Martha*, (f) For (saith he) it was not permitted to the Jews to make images of any person, or for any occasion whatsoever.

That hatred of images passed from the Jewish Church to the Christian, by the means of the Apostles and their disciples. So far that not only they were not permitted to yield a Religious service unto images, but they were not permitted to have them. So that the trades of Picture-drawers and Statuaries were unlawful among the primitive Christians. Whereby the Fable about our Lady of *Lauretta*, and other images which are said to have been drawn by Saint *Luke*, appeareth to be a fable indeed. For Saint *Luke* being a Jew, it was not lawful for him to exercise the Trade of Painting. And no more would the Christians have suffered it then the Jews.

(g) *Clemens Alexandrinus* in the exhortatory Oration to the Gentiles, speaks thus, We are openly forbidden to exercise that deceitful Trade, &c. The same saith, that God hath prohibited the making of any image or statue, (h) for (saith he) that disparageth the venerable Majesty of God. *Iustin Martyr* in the Dialogue against *Tryphon* saith the same; (i) Was it not God that commanded by *Moses* not to make any image at all, nor any likeness of the things that are in heaven above, or in the earth beneath?

Hermogenes, against whom *Tertullian* writ, maintained that second marriages were lawful, and he was a Painter by his Trade. For these two reasons *Tertullian* inveigheth against him, and thus he handleth him in the very beginning of his Book, (k) *Hermogenes* giveth to himself the Licence of Painting and of Marrying continually. He defends the Law of God in favour of lasciviousness, and despiseth it in favour of his Trade, being twice a false man, by his pencill and by his stile. Himself in the Book of idolatry, chap. 3. (l) The Devil hath brought the makers of Statues and Images, and all kinds of representations into the world. And in chap. 4. God adding, Thou shalt not make any likeness of the things that are in heaven, or in the earth, or in the sea, (m) hath interdicted those trades over all the world unto his servants.

In those Texts, and in many more, he doth not only condemn the service of Pagan idols, but he maintains that it is not allowed by Gods Law to make any picture or representation, and condemneth the trades of Painter and Statuary, as forbidden in Gods Law.

In the time of the Apostles *Simon Magus* did rise; Whose Disciples made images both of him, and of his wife *Selene*, and worshipped them, as (n) *Irenaeus* saith in his first Book, chap. 20. and *Austin* in the Book of Heresies, chap. 1.

Shortly after came the Carpocratians, otherwise called Gnosticks, of whom the same *Irenaeus* in the same Book speaks thus, (o) They have some painted images, some also made with other matter, saying that it is the figure of Christ made by Pilate. And *Austin* in the Book of Heresies, chap. 7. They say that a certain *Marcellina*

(i) οὐχὶ θεὸς λέγει ὅτι ἐντεταμένον ἐστὶν τῷ Μωϋσέϊ μὴ εἰκόνα μὴ ὁμοιοματὴν ποιεῖν. (k) Præterea pingit licitè, nubit assidue, legem Dei in libidinem defendit, in autem contemnit, bis falsarius, & caetero & stylo. (l) Artifices statuarum & imaginum & omnis generis similitudinis diabolus seculo intulit. (m) Toto mundo ejusmodi artibus interdixit. (n) Imaginem Simonie habent Simoniani factam ad figuram Jovis, & Selene in figuram Minervæ. (o) Etiam imagines quasdam depictas, quasdam autem de reliqua materia fabricatas habent, discentes formam Christi factam à Pilato.

was of the sect of Carpocrates, and served the images of Jesus, and Paul, and Pythagoras, worshipping them, and burning incense to them. Epiphanius in the Heresie of the Carpocratians saith the same, Sect. 6.

About the year of Christ, 132. the Emperour Adrian willing to gratifie the Christians, caused Temples without images to be built for them in several Cities; which Temples since that time were called *Adrians Temples*. Alexander Severus would do the same, but he was dissuaded from it. These are the words of Lampsidius in the life of Alexander Severus, (p) Alexander would make a Temple unto Christ, and receive him among the Gods. Which also Adrian thought to have done, as it is reported of him: Who had commanded that in all towns, Temples without images should be made; which Temples for that reason are called *Adrians Temples*, because there are no Gods in them. A certain proof that Christians in that age had no images, since thereby their Temples were discerned from other Temples. Of those Temples that bore (q) *Adrians* name, mention is made by Epiphanius in the Heresie of the Ebionites, and in that of Arrins, where he saith that in Alexandria there was a Church called *Casareana*, which before had been a Temple of Adrian, and since had been a place for wrestling and bodily exercise under the Emperour Licinius.

Origen in the seventh Book against Celsus, answereth to Celsus, who objected unto Christians, that (r) they could not abide to see either Altars or Statues; and saith that Christians abstained from those things because it is said, Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him alone, and thou shalt make unto thee neither image nor likeness of things that are in heaven. And in the eighth Book, (s) Celsus saith that we avoid the setting up of Altars, and Images, and Temples. To which Origen answereth, (t) True images, and that which is fit to consecrate unto God, are not images made by sordid Tradesmen, but those that are enlightened by Gods Word, and are formed within us, which are Vertues.

Thus in the Dialogue of Minutius Felix, the Pagan Octavius asketh (u) Why Christians have no Altars, no Temples, no Images that appear? And in the same place (x) What image shall I make unto God, seeing that man is the image of God?

Lactantius came soon after, who in the first Book of his institutions, saith that (y) Devils have taught to make images and statues, and that to turn men away from the service of the true God, they caused faces of dead Kings well adorned and set out with excellent beauty to be set up and consecrated. And in chap. 18. It is a perverse and ill becoming thing that the image of man be served by the image of God. And in chap. 19. It is a thing without doubt, that there is no Religion where there is an image.

For these causes the Eliberin Council about the year 300. of Christ, made this order in the 36. Canon, (a) It is decreed that there must be no pictures in Churches, lest that the thing which is served and adored be painted on the walls. At which Canon the famous Melchior Canus is chafing, and it is good sport to see how he is storming about it, saying, (b) The law of taking images away was established by the Eliberin Council, not only imprudently, but impiously also. Observe these words of the Council, It is decreed that there must be no pictures in Churches, that one may not say that the Council permitteth images and pictures, that may be removed from place to place, and that the Fathers of the Council forbid only the drawing of pictures upon walls, as the Jesuit Vasquez esteemeth in the second book of the adoration, Diff. 5. cap. 6. Sixtus Senensis in the fifth book of his Library, in the 247. Annotation, acknowledgeth that this Council hath absolutely prohibited

Κυδρα Κυδρια. αλλ' ὑπο λόγῳ θεῷ πανέναντα καὶ μορφώματα ἐν ἡμῖν αἱ ἀεσται. (u) Cum nullas aras habent templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra? (x) Quod simulacrum Deo fingam, cum si recte existimes sit Dei homo ipse simulacrum? (y) Hi demones sunt qui fingere imagines & simulacra docuerunt, qui ut hominum mentes à cultu veri Dei averterent, scissos mortuorum Regum vultus & ornatos exquisita pulchritudine statui consecrarique fecerunt. (z) Non est dubium quin religio nulla sit ubicunque simulacrum est. (a) Placuit in Ecclesiis picturas esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus pingatur. (b) Melch. Canus loc. Theol. l. 5. cap. 4. Non imprudenter modo verum etiam impie à Concilio Eliberino lata est lex de tollendis imaginibus.

(p) Alexander Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter Deos recipere. Quod & Adrianus cogitasse fertur qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris iussit fieri, quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur *Adrianæ*.

(q) ἄλως αἰγῆς ἐν Τίβερειδι, ὡς πῖχρα τὰ καὶ ὁμοῖα Ἀδριανέων τὰ τοῦ Καλαῖου.

(r) ἐν ἀνέχον· νέως δὲ ὄντες καὶ βόμης καὶ ἀγαλματα. (s) Κέλσος ὁπὲρ ἡμᾶς βόμης καὶ ἀγαλματα καὶ νέως ἰδούδης φέρων.

(t) ἀγαλματα καὶ εἰκόπτα· θεῶ ἀγαλματα ἐχόντων βασιλευσάντων κατὰ

the images in Churches : But he excuseth it, saying, that this Council hath done it, because they had found no better remedy against idolatry, then to prohibit images, which is a notable confession.

In the time of that Council, that excellent man *Eusebius* of *Cesarea* lived, of whom all the Fathers that followed are Disciples and Prentices. In the seventh Book of his Ecclesiastical History, chap. 18. speaking of Christs statue in the City of *Cesarea Philippi*, set up by a Pagan woman whom Christ had healed of a bloody flux, saith, that it is no wonder that Gentiles, that had received some benefit from the Lord did such things. As we have seen also the images of his Apostles Peter and Paul, and of Christ himself, preserved in pictures of colours, seeing that the antients did constantly use by an heathenish custom so to honour those whom they held for their Saviours. Note that he saith, that making images is an heathenish custom, and by consequent, not received in the Christian Church.

The same *Eusebius* being desired by the Empress *Constantia* to send her Christs picture, answereth, as not understanding what image she meant : Whether she would have the immutable image of Christ, which is his Divine nature, or the image and form of a servant, which he took for us. And he saith, that neither the one nor the other way, the image of Christ can be represented with dead and inanimate colours, and by a shadowed picture. This is related more at large in the seventh Universal Council assembled at *Constantinople*, in the year of Christ, 754.

Amphilochius Bishop of *Iconium*, (d) We care not to represent the carnal faces of Saints with colours in pictures, for we have no need of that, but to imitate their conversation with virtue. That testimony with many more, is found in the second Council of *Nice*.

Soon after those three famous men came, *Epiphanius*, *Ambrose* and *Hierom*. The first of them is alleadged by the second Council of *Nice*, in these words, (e) Be mindful, dear children, that you bring no images into the Churches, and that you set up none in the burying places of the Saints; but bear God in your hearts continually: Yea let them not be suffered in your ordinary houses.

The same *Epiphanius* passing through a Borough of *Palestina*, called *Anablata*, and seeing at the Church door a painted vail hanging, where the image of Christ or some Saint was represented, he did that which himself relath in an Epistle of his to *John* of *Jerusalem*, (f) I found (saith he) a painted vail hanging at the Church door, having the image as it were of Christ, or of some Saint, for I remember not very well whose image it was. I then seeing a mans image hanging in Christs Church, against the authority of Scripture, tore that vail, and gave counsel to the keepers of the place, that they should rather make it a winding-sheet for the corpse of some poor man. And a little after he desireth the same *John*, that for the future a prohibition should be made against hanging such vails in the Church of Christ, as are contrary to Religion.

Sixtus Senensis in the fifth book of his Library, in the 247. Annotation, saith that *Epiphanius* did that to prevent abuse.

Vasquez in the second Book of Adoration, (g) saith that *Epiphanius* tore that vail, because the image painted in it, was the image of some prophane man. But *Epiphanius* declareth the contrary, saying that it was the image of Christ, or of some Saint. *Alfonfus de Castro* a Franciscan Fryer, deals more roundly, for he puts *Epiphanius* among the destroyers of images, who are declared Hereticks by the judgement of the Church of *Rome*.

The same Father in the 79. Heresie, which is that of the Collyridians, speaks

(c) ὁ δὲ Σαυ-
μῶν ἐδίδεν
τοῦ πάρα
οὗ ἐδιδόν
εὐεργετηθέν-
τος ἁγίου τοῦ
Σωτῆρος
ἡμῶν ταῦτα
συντηκέναι.
ὅτι καὶ ὁ
ἀποστόλων
αὐτῶν τῶν
εἰκότας
Παύλου καὶ
Πέτρου καὶ
αὐτῶν ὅτι
χρῆσθαι διὰ
ἡρώματων
ἐν ἡρώματι
Ἱεροσολύμων
ὡς εἰκότας
τῶν παλαι-
ων ἀπο-
σταλάτων
διὰ σατάνης
ἐθνικῆς (υ-
περβία παρ
ἐκείναις
ἡμῶν ἐπα-
στάτων τῶν
ἡρώματι
καὶ τοῖς
(d) καὶ ὁ
τοῖς ἀναγι-
νῶν τῶν
ἐκείνων διὰ
ἡρώματων
ἐπιμαλῆς
ἡμῶν ἐπα-
στάτων, ὅτι
καὶ ὁ
τῶν ἀλλο-
τῶν πολι-
τείαν ἀπο-
δοῦναι
ἡμῶν ἐπα-
στάτων.
(e) Estote
memores di-
lectissimi
filii, ne in
ecclesiam
imagines
inferatis,
neque in

Sanctorum cœmeteriis eas statuatis. Sed perpetuò circumferte Deum in cordibus vestris. Quinetiam neque in domo communi tolerantur. (f) Inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem Ecclesie tinctum atque depictum, & habens imaginem quasi Christi vel Sancti cujusdam, non enim satis memini cujus imago fuerit, cum ergo hoc vidissem in Ecclesia Christi, contra auctoritatem Scripturarum, hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud & magis dedi consilium custodibus ejusdem loci ut pauperem mortuum eo obvoluerent, &c. That Epistle is found among *Hierom's* Epistle, and was translated by *Hierom*. (g) Disput. 5. cap. 4.

thus,

thus, (h) *The Devil* alwayes insinuating into mens minds with the pretence of righteousness, deifying the mortal nature of man before the eyes of men, hath represented images made after the humane shape by several trades. They that are worshipped are dead, but their statues which never had life, are brought to be worshipped. He speaks against the Collyridians, who had images of the Virgin *Mary*, and made offerings of cakes unto her: which he calls idolatry.

What *Hierom's* opinion was about images, he shewed it sufficiently by the pains he took to translate the forementioned Epistle of *Epiphanius* into Latine. Upon the first of *Daniel* he speaks thus, (i) *They say that they serve the Gods, but adore their images, neither of which is fit for Gods servants to do.*

And so Ambrose, (k) God will not be served in stones; so he calleth images or statues.

Austin is excellent and pregnant upon this subject : In the first Book of the manners of the Catholick Church, he complains of the creeping in of that superstition among some in *Africa*. *I know* (1) (saith he) *that many are worshippers of tombes and pictures : I know that many will drink with excess over the dead.*

And in the first Book of the content of the Evangelists, chap. 10. (m) So they deserve to fall into error, that would seek Christ and his Apostles, not in the holy Scriptures, but on painted walls.

And in the 119. Epistle to *Iannarius*, (n) *We must not serve any image of God, but that image which is that which himself is*; meaning Christ, who is one God with him.

The same upon the 113. *Psal.* in the second Sermon, speaking of that which is said in the *Psalme*, that the images of the Gentiles have eyes and see not, saith, that the Church indeed hath vessels, but it may not be said of them that they have eyes and see not. Then he addeth, (O) *The principal cause of that frantic impiety is, that the figure like to a living man, which makes the people to bow the knee to it, hath more strength over the affections of miserable men, then the evident certainty that it is not living, is powerful to make it contemned by the living. For images have more force to bow a miserable soul, because they have a mouth, eyes, ears, nostrils, hands and feet; then they have to correct her, because they speak not, they see not, they hear not, and smell nor.* How ill would it have become *Austin* to upbraid the Pagans, that their images have eyes and ears without either seeing or hearing, if *Christians* had had images, of which the Pagans could have said as much? Can any deny but that one may say of the images of the Saints, that which *David* saith of the images of Pagans, They have eyes and see not, they have a mouth and speak not: But *Austin* found nothing in the Christian Church, that the Pagans might object unto him, but the vessels of the Church, as the tables, cups, plates, books: of which *Austin* saith, that one needs not fear that they be abused to idolatry, because they have neither eyes nor ears. nor any likeness of humane shape.

The same Doctor in the 49. Epistle to *Deo gratias*, (p.) *Who makes a dumb (saith he) that idols are destitute of sense? Yet when they are set up in such places, in an honourable height, that they may be lookt upon by those that pray and sacrifice; by the resemblance of animate members and senses, though they have neither soul nor sense, they work upon the souls of the infirm, so that it seems to them that they are both living and breathing, especially when one seeth the multitude to yield veneration unto them.* Particularly, of the images of God the Father, who is represented sitting in a chair, he speaks thus in the seventh Chapter of the Book of the Faith, and of the Symbol, *Tale simulacrum Deo nefas est in templo collocare. It is not lawful for a Christian to set up such an image in the Church: For (saith he) it is falling into the*

sanctis codicibus sed in pictis parietibus quæseruat. (n) Non quia non habet imaginem Deum, sed quia nulla ejus imago coli debet, nisi illa quæ hoc est quod est ipse. (o) Illa causa est maxima impietatis insensæ quod plus valet in affectibus miserorum similis viventi forma quæ sibi efficit supplicari, quam quod iam manifestum est non esse viventem ut debeat à vivente contemni. Plus enim valent simulacra ad curvandam infelicem animam, quod os habent oculos, &c. quàm ad corrigendam quod non loquuntur non videbunt, &c. (p) Et idola quidem omnia sensu carere quis dubitat? Verumtamen cum his locatur sedibus honorabili sublimitate ut à precantibus immo à vitibus quæ attenduntur ipsa similitudine animatorum membrorum atque sensuum quomodo insensata atque ex anima afficiunt infirmos animos, ut vivere atque spirare videantur accedente præsertim veneratione multitudinis.

(q) Sancto-
rum formas
& species in
materialibus
coloribus
formari
minime
decorum
putamus.

Horum autem
virtutes que
per scripti
tradite sunt
veluti vinas
quasdam
imagines
reficere sub-
inde oportet.
Ex his enim
ad similitudinem
imitationem
& zelum
pervenire
possumus.

Dicant enim
vobis qui
illas enigmata
statuas que-
nam utilitas
ex illis ad-
se redit?
An quod
qualifcunque
reconditio cos
habet ex tali
speciali con-
templatione?
Sed mani-
festum est
quod vana sit
ejusmodi
contemplatio
& diaboli
deceptionis
inventum.

(r) Ergo
his ludicris
ornatis &
grandibus
puppis, &
unguenta
& thura,
& odores
inferunt.

(s) Si tem-
poribus pristinis
neque homi-
nes neque
Dii hujus
thuris ex-
petivere
materiam,
comprobatur

& hodie illud frustra inaniterque preestari quod neque antiquitas necessarium credidit, & sine ulla novitas rationibus
appetit, &c. Habent Dii naves quibus ducant aërios spiritus, ut penetrare illas possint nidorum differentium quali-
tates? (t) Ad imagines vero Sanctorum quod attinet certum est introprædicati Evangelii aliquanto tempore inter
Christianos, præsertim in Ecclesiis, imaginum usum non fuisse, ut ex Clemente & Arnobio patet.

sacrilege of those whom the Apostle bath in execration, who have changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into the likeness of a corruptible man.

The second Council of Nice alleadgeth a testimony of Theodorus Bishop of Ancyra, who lived in the 400. year of Christ, (q) We hold it not convenient (saith he) to form images of Saints with material colours, but to refresh from time to time, the vertues that are written of them, as so many lively images: For thereby we may attain to their imitation. Let those men that set up images to the Saints, tell us, what utility ariseth unto themselves out of that? Is it only to get some indifferent remembrance of them by such a special contemplation? But it is manifest that such a contemplation is vain, and an invention of S. tans deceit.

In these places it is considerable, that the Fathers spake not only against the images of the Pagans, but also against the images of God and the Saints; and that many of them absolutely condemn the trades of Painters and Statuaries, as unlawful and wicked; and that the things which they say of the images of the Pagans, may also be fitted unto the images of the Saints; when they say that the images of the Pagans have no sense, that they have eyes and see not, that they have ears and hear not, that being set up in high places, they bow the minds of the ignorant and draw reverence; That they are great puppets, as Lactantius saith in the second Book of his Institutions, chap. 4. As in effect, images are mens puppets, just as puppets are childrens idols. The same Fathers deride the custom of the Pagans, who clothed their images, burnt incense unto them, and set them out with various attires, tools and weapons. Thus Lactantius in the fore-alleadged place, (r) Then to these great puppets well adorned, they offer sweet perfumes, incense and odours. Arnobius in the seventh book, despiseth that custom of burning incense before images of the Gods. (s) If in the antient times (saith he) neither men nor Gods desired that drug of incense, it followeth that nowadays also the same is vainly and unreasonably done, which Antiquity believed not to be necessary, and the modern age hath desired without reason, &c. And in the same place he asketh, Whether the gods have nostrils to draw in the respiration of the air, and to smell the difference of odours. And as for the equipage of images, the same Author makes a sport with the key of Janus, and with the horns of Jupiter Ammon. With what countenance could these Authors have reproached the Pagans with such things, if in the Christian Churches there had been images with clothes, shifted according to the several Holy-days, and with incense burning before them? Or if the Christians had had then Saint Peters image with a key like Janus? Or the image of Moses with horns like Jupiter Ammon? Or that of St. George with a spear like Mars? Or that of St. Eustach, with a stag like Diana? Or that of St. Paul, with a sword? Or of Saint Laurence, with a Gridiron? Had not the Pagans had just matter of recrimination and reproaching the Christians, that the images of their Saints, set up in Churches and Church-yards, had no more sense then the images of their gods? that they had eyes and saw not? that they were set up in eminent places? that incense was burnt to them? and that they had several and various attires bestowed upon them? Which yet they do not, and never use that recrimination against the Christians.

Here truth is so strong, that it draws many confessions from our Adversaries. George Cassander, a Divine of Colten, in his consultation, in the Chapter De Imaginibus & simulachris, thus begins the Chapter, (t) As for the images of the Saints, it is certain that in the beginning of the preaching of the Gospel, for some space of time, images were not in use among Christians, especially in Churches, as it appears by Clemens and Arnobius. And a little after, Truly it is manifest by Auslin, that in his time the use of images was not in Churches; especially by that which he writ upon the 113. Psalm.

If the first Christians had no images, and suffered none in the Church, what would they have said of those that not only have their Churches full of images of Saints of both sexes, some of them wantonly set out, and some that never were in the world; but also bestow upon them a religious service, kiss them, and worship them?

The second Council of *Nice* held in the year 788. commands above thirty times the adoration of images. These words are found in the second Action, *We hold that the images of the immaculate Virgin Mother of God, and of the glorious Angels, and of all the Saints, ought to be adored and saluted. And if any hath another sense; and doubts about the adoration of the venerable images, our holy and venerable Synod, doth anathematize him.* And that none may take the word *adoring* for a veneration only, the same Council in the fourth Action speaks thus, *All those that confess that they venerate images, and yet refuse to adore them, are reproved by Father Anastasius as hypocrites.* In the same Action it is said that *images are of the same price as the Gospel.* And that *major est imago quam oratio.* The image is greater than the word.

Then lived Pope *Adrian*, who writing to *Tharasmus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, President of that Council, saith to him, (u) *Let your blessedness continue to serve and adore the images of all the Saints.* Yea he writ a book purposely for the defence of that abominable Council, which was condemned a little after by the Council of *Franckford* held under *Charls* the Great, as *Ado* testifieth in his *Chronicle*, and *Hinckmar* in the book of the fifty five chapters, chap. 20. Where also he saith that in his youth (*) he read a book written against that false Synod (for he calls it so) sent by the Emperour (*Charls* the Great unto the Pope, which is the book of *Charls* the Great against images remaining to this day. These two witnesses *Ado* and *Hinckmar* are of the same age as the Synod of *Franckford*, and speak of things that happened in their time.

Under *Lewis* the Meek, son to *Charls* the Great, another Synod was assembled at *Paris* against images. Of which we have all the Acts well preserved. in the beginning of his reign *Cland.* Bishop of *Turin* broke all the images he found in his Bishoprick, strongly opposing the Bishop of *Rome*, who stood for the adoration of images; yea, and he writ a book against Images. The Pope durst not do any thing against him, because he was maintained by the Emperours authority, who then had the chiefrule in *Italy*.

(x) A little before, a Council of three hundred thirty eight Bishops had been assembled at *Constantinople*, where images were condemned. Of that Council we have the fragments in the second Council of *Nice*.

Bellarmin in the second book of Images, chap. 22. saith, that a Council of *Mentz* chargeth Preachers carefully to admonish the people to beware of worshipping images. Which is also the Counsel that Pope *Gregory* the first gave to *Serenus* Bishop of *Marseille*, who had broken the Images of *Marseille*. For whereas he approved not that violence, yet he praiseth him for hindering the people to adore them. Now it is not like, that any of that people was so besotted with the love of images, as to bestow a sovereign adoration upon them. For so he had adored the images of the Saints with a higher adoration than the Saints themselves.

Upon this *Austin* is pregnant, Epist. 119. chap. 11. (y) *It is forbidden in the Law to serve any image of God made by men. Not because God hath no image, but because no image of God must be served, but that which is the same as himself, meaning Christ.*

But in the end God angry with the hardness of men, suffered the worshippers of images to prevail. About which the Popes did powerfully labour. For taking away the holy Scripture from the people, they had need to give them something instead of it; Depriving them of instruction, they must give them recreation, and amuse their eyes with pictures, statues, and variety of ceremonies. All is full of images in the Roman Church; There you shall see a people made of stones, and the people that have soul and life are kneeling before the people that have none. Man who is the image of God, adoreth the images of men,

whereas

(u) Imagines omnium Sanctorum Beatissimæ vestra colere & adorare pergit.

(*) Tempore Caroli Magni Imperatoris iussione Apostolice sedis generalis est Synodus in Francia convocata præfata Imperatore celebrata & secundum Scripturarum tramitem traditionemque majorum ipsa Græcorum pseudo-Synodus destructa & penitus abdicata. De cuius destructione non motum volumen quod in palatio adolescentulus legi ab eodem Imperatore per quosdam Episcopos missum.

(x) Zonaras Annal. l. 3. Cedrenus Ammonius Monachus Hist. Franc. lib. 5. cap. 27. Sigebertus An. 755.

(y) Prohibetur coli aliqua in figmentis hominum Dei similitudo; Non quia non habet imaginem Deus sed quia nulla imago ejus coli debet nisi quæ hoc est quod ipse

(z.) Thom. Sum. part. 3. qu. 25. Art. 3. Sequitur quod eadem reverentia exhibetur imaginibus Christi & ipsi Christo. Cum ergo Christus adoratur adoratione latria, consequens est quod ejus imago sit adoratione latriæ adoranda.

(a) Joh. Azor. Instit. Moral. Tom. 1. lib. 9. cap. 6. Constat est Theologorum sententia imaginem eodem honore & cultu honorari & coli quo colitur id cuius est imago.

(b) Si fuerint imagines Christi, adorantur eadem specie qua Christus, id est, adoratione latriæ. Si beatissime Virginis, hyperdulie, &c.

(c) Vasquez lib. 3. de Adorat. Imaginum Disp. 4. cap. 4. Res inanimata jure nature adorari potest. (d) Idem l. 3. Disp. 1. c. 2.

(e) Imagines Christi & sanctorum venerande sunt, non solum per accidens vel improprie, sed etiam per se & proprie, ita ut ipse terminent venerationem ut in se considerantur, & non solum ut vicem gerunt exemplaris. (f) Ave lignum triumphale. (g) Deduc nos O felix figura ad videndum faciem que est Christi pura.

whereas these images, if they had knowledge, would rather worship man. The very image-makers worship their own work. And the evil is gone so far, that most part of the Romish Doctors assert, that images must be adored with the same adoration as the thing represented; and that the image of the Crucifix must be adored with the worship of *latria*, that is, with the sovereign adoration which is due unto God. Thomas the head and the chief ornament of the School. (z.) It followeth (saith he) that the same reverence is given unto the image of Christ, as unto Christ himself: Seeing then that Christ is adored with the adoration of *latria*, it followeth that his image must be adored with the adoration of *latria*. And Azorius, (a) This is a constant opinion among Divines, that the image is honoured and served with the same honour and service, that the thing whereof it is an image is served. And Gabriel Biel in the forty ninth lesson upon the Canon of the Mass, (b) If they be images of Christ, they are adored with the same kind of adoration as Christ, that is, with the adoration of *latria*. If they be images of the most blessed Virgin Mary, they are worshipped with the service of hyperculia: If of St. Peter or some other Saint, of *dulia*.

The Jesuite Vasquez in the third book of the adoration, (c) sheweth at large that this is the belief of the Doctors, of whom he alleadgeth above thirty. To which multitude he joyneth himself, and it is no wonder that he will have images to be adored with the service of *latria*, seeing he maintaineth that inanimate things may be lawfully worshipped with the worship of *latria*, as heaven and earth, (d) and a beam of light in which the Devil lyeth hidden; yea, even a straw. The Jesuite Gretzer affirmeth the same in the book of the Cross, chap. 57.

Cardinal Bellarmine in chap. 21. of the book of images, will have images adored, not only because of that which they represent, but because of themselves, (c) Images (saith he) must be served in themselves, and properly. And in the same chapter he layeth this for a fundamental maxim, That the images of Christ and of the Saints must be venerated, not only by accident, and improperly, but in themselves and properly, so that the veneration is terminated in the image, considered in it self, and not only in that it represents.

And in the Roman Church they speak with images, as if they understood; and such things are said unto them, as cannot be said to the thing represented by the image. Such is the prayer said to that holy cloth upon which the face of Christ is printed, *Salve sancta facies nostri Redemptoris, Impressa panniculo nivei splendoris, Data Veronica in signum amoris. Salve vultus Domini imago beata, &c.* Hail holy face of our Redeemer, printed upon a snow-bright cloth, Given to Veronica in sign of love: Hail thou face of the Lord, blessed image, &c. Thus also they speak to the wood of the cross, (f) *I salute thee triumphal wood, &c.* It cannot be said, that by a figure which is called *Metonymia*, by the image of Christ, Christ himself is understood, seeing that in that prayer the image of the face of Christ is expressly distinguished from Christ, for they pray to that painted face, (g) that it make them see the true face of Christ. Can there be a greater absurdity then to speak to an inanimate thing that understands not? They say of *Diogenes*, that he would beg alms of statues to accustom himself to be denied: For indeed whosoever comes to pray to an image, must come resolved to obtain nothing.

Here I know not which are worse troubled to justify their doctrine, they that will have the image worshipped with the same adoration as the thing represented by the image, or they that will have it worshipped with an inferiour adoration. For the first, that are worshipping a wooden crucifix with the same adoration as Christ, and with a sovereign adoration, which they call *latria*, they are idolaters in the highest degree, since they put the creature and the creator in the same rank. And they are condemned by the second Council of *Nice* in the first, third and sixth Action, where it is expressly said, that images ought not be adored with the service of *latria*. But if (as they say) the adoration of the image is relative,

and respective to another thing, it cannot be worshipped with the same adoration as God.

On the other side, they that will have the adoration of the image to be an inferior, and another kind of adoration, plunge themselves into insoluble difficulties. For they call the adoration deferred unto creatures *dulia*. If then the images of Saints must be adored with a lesser adoration than the Saints, then that adoration is lesser than *dulia*, and there is no name as yet found for it. And whereas the word *dulia* signifies the service yielded unto one, as to a Master (as *Austin* saith in the book of Questions upon *Exodus*, qu. 94. *Dulia* is due unto God, as unto him that is Master) if we must defer an adoration of *dulia* unto images, we must say that images are our Masters or Mistresses.

And since the *Dulia* due to God, must be of another and greater nature than that which our Adversaries defer unto Saints, and that of the Saints greater than that which is deferred unto their images; behold three sorts of different *dulia*: To which if you add the *dulia* which is deferred unto the images of God and of Christ, which must be greater than that which is deferred unto the images of Saints; We shall have four sorts of *dulia*, which neither the people, nor the very Doctors are able to discern. So that they must come to this, that God, and a wooden crucifix, and the image of St. *Francis*, are equally worshipped with *Dulia*, and that the same service is yielded unto them.

Especially in the adoration of the image of the Cross, the error is palpable. For in the Roman Church upon Passion-Sunday, they speak thus to the image of the wood of the Cross, (h) *I salute thee O Cross our only hope, In this time of the passion, Increase righteousness to the godly, and give pardon to the guilty.* And that it may not be said that by a Metonymy that which is spoken to the image of the Cross must be understood as said unto Christ, such things are added as cannot be said unto Christ, (i) *Thou hast been alone worthy to bear the price of the world.* And a little after, *Thou faithful Cross, the only noble among trees.* And in another hymn, (k) *Thou blessed Cross, out of whose arms the price of the world did hang.* Can one without impiety speak unto wood, and call it our hope and ask of it increase of grace, and remission of sins?

This is such a gross abuse, that many of our Adversaries complain of it; and wish it amended with moderation. *Cassander* in his consultation in the chapter of images. *It is too evident* (saith he) *that the service of images is too much increased, and that too much [licence] was granted to the affection, or rather superstition of the people. So that it seems that our men are not at all behind the Pagans as for the sovereign adoration which they were wont to yield unto their images. Wherefore the most prudent of the Catholick Church have long ago desired that some moderation were used about it, and that the current of the superstition were stoppt.* Whereupon he alleadgeth *William Durand*, *John Billel* a Divine of *Paris*, *Gerlon*, and *Gabriel Biel*; and complains of the ignorant simplicity of the people that worship handsome images with more devotion than the ugly, and the new then the old, and those that are clad and well adorned, then the naked and ill in clothes; and vow pilgrimages to certain Churches in consideration of certain images that are there, believing that they have more vertue and holiness, then other images of the same Saint which are in other places. He saith also, that they that should correct that abuse feed the people in it, that themselves may be fed. Then he makes this ingenuous conclusion, that Christ in the day of judgement will not tell them, *What you have done unto these images you have done it unto me*, but *What you have done unto these little ones, that is, these poor ones, you have done it unto me*; Silently taxing the stupidity of those that clothe images, and leave the poor naked: Persons, whose superstition choaketh their charity, and who are cruell, because they are devout.

Herein their folly is evident, that if the image of our Lady lyeth down upon the Churches floor, no body worships it: But if it stand; and is set up in a high place, it receives many salutations and bowings: Also that in the same Church you may see the image of the Trinity dusty and neglected, and that of the Vir-

(h) O Crux
ave spes
unica,
Huc passionis
tempore.
Auge piis
justitiam.
Reisque dona
veniam.

(i) Sola
designata fuisse
ferre sacri
pretium.
Crux fidelis
inter omnes
arbor una
nobilis.

(k) Beata cu-
jus brachiis
Sacri pepen-
dit pretium.

gin *Mary* curiously attired. The images of that good Virgin are a thousand times richer in clothes, then ever she was in her life time. Those ornaments are given to her images which her self despised. Silver images are made for the Apostles, who in their life time said, *Gold and Silver I have none. Acts 3. 6.* When a Prince dyeth, the images of Saints are clad in mourning, while these Saints are in the highest degree of joy. Near the image of a Saint they set that of a Dog or a Hog: And those beasts have equal part of the incense, and of the light of Tapers.

CHAP. 3.

Reasons of the Adversaries for the adoration of images.

THE falshood of this doctrine which commands the adoration of images, appears by the reasons that are brought for it; They say that *Jacob* worshipped the end of *Josephs* staff. That grounded upon a text of *Heb. 11.* falsified in the version of the Roman Church, *Jacob adoravit fastigium virga ejus.* But there is in the Greek, *οὐκ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀκρῶς τῆς ἐκείνου αὐτοῦ, He worshiped upon the end of his staff.* So the second Council of *Nice* alleadgeth that text in the second *Action*, and *Austin* in the book of questions upon *Genesis*, quest. 162. *Hierom* in the Hebrew traditions upon *Genesis* confuteth that version, *Some in vain would make us believe that Jacob worshiped the end of Josephs staff, but it is quite otherwise in the Hebrew.*

With the like untruth Cardinal *du Perron* affirmeth, that *Joshuah* worshipped the Ark, *Jos. 7. 6.* For in that text it is written, that *Joshuah* fell to the earth upon his face, before the Ark of the Lord. And so *Psal. 99. 5. Worship at his footstool.* It is one thing to bow down before the Ark, and another thing to bow down to the Ark. It is one thing to worship his footstool, another thing to worship at his footstool.

They that say, that the honour deferred to the images of God and his Saints returns unto God and his Saints, thereby alleadge their own reason, not the word of God. They should have enquired before, whether God will be so honoured, and should have told us how they are sure that the Saints accept of that service; For all adoration must be made in faith: now faith is founded upon the word of God. Besides I think not that the Saints are the warmer, when their images are well clad, or that they see better when wax-lights are burning before them, or that they are the richer by the offerings given to their images, but taken by the Priests. Or that Christ is more honoured, when one speaks to a face painted in a cloth. *Hail thou holy face of the Redeemer, painted on a white cloth, O blessed image, &c.* A King would take it for an abuse offered to his person, if one spake to his picture.

It is false, that the contempt of the image reflects alwayes upon him that is represented by the image. For the false coyn that bears the Kings image is broken upon and melted in obedience to the King. Had the King forbidden, that any should erect to him a statue, he that should break statues made for him against his will, should not despise the King, but obey his command. *Epiphanius* and *Serenus* Bishop of *Marseille* had no intention to despise Christ and the Saints, when they brake their images. And if the Saints must not be adored, much less their images of wood and stone.

The texts of Scripture, which the second Council of *Nice* useth for the adoration of images, are these in the sixth *Action*: *Shew me thy face, and let me hear thy voice,* Cant. 2. And, *as we have heard, so we have seen,* *Psal. 48.* And in the second *Action* there is an Epistle of *Adrian* Bishop of *Rome*, whereby he approveth images, because *God made man after his image.* He alleadgeth also *Psal. 27. Thy face Lord will I seek.* And *Psal. 4. Lift up the light of thy countenance upon us,*

us, instead of which the vulgar saith, *Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui*. Whence he inferreth, *Quam ob causam historias imaginum istorum honore & palam adoro*, falsely ascribing that sentence unto Basil, *For this cause I honour and publickly adore the stories of their images*. The same Pope made a Book in the defence of the second Council of *Nice*, where speaking of the Fathers of that Council, he praiseth them for saying, that despisers of images have laid the candle under the bushell. It must be a very ill cause that is put to such ridiculous proofs.

CHAP. 4.

That the excuses and reasons which our Adversaries bring for the defence of their Images, are the same which the Pagans alleadged against the antient Christians

THE Holy Scripture calling idolatry adultery, sheweth that it is no more lawful to use idolatry towards Saints, then towards Devils; for a wife is as disloyal by prostituting her self to her husbands friends, as to his enemies. If those Saints that are glorified with God, had a clear knowledge of things done below, they would be angry with those that transform them into idols, and cloath them with perfections belonging to none but God. And *Paul* and *Barnabas*, who tore their garments when the *Lycaonians* would offer them sacrifices; if they saw the men of our age, consecrating Altars and Temples unto them, acknowledging them as searchers of the hearts, and chusing them for their Patrons and Mediatours; no doubt but they would be no less offended at such an abomination, as they were then: For the more they love God, the more are they jealous of his honour. Yea, I say, that as poisons are more active in the most delicate meats, so the more the memory of the Saints is sacred and venerable, the more is the idolatry pernicious which creeps under the name of true Saints, and turneth the helps to piety, into stumbling blocks. This hath been Satans work for many ages, and is now still. For when he saw the Pagan idols beaten down by the preaching of the Gospel, and *Jupiter*, *Apollo* and *Mercury* out of credit, he endeavoured to raise idolatry again under a more specious title, and to make use even of Christian Religion, which is a sworn enemy to idols, to set up idols: Under a pretence of honouring God in his Saints, he hath sought to dishonour God by his Saints; transporting unto them part of that honour which belongeth unto God alone; attributing unto them the vertue of seeing all things, and knowing mens hearts, and the power of hearing our prayers; to that end, setting up statues unto them in the Church, deferring a Religious service unto them, and worshipping their images.

Now as when two sick persons fall into the like symptoms, use the same remedies, we judge they are both sick of the same sickness: Likewise when we see Christians deferring the same honours to their images, and with the same gestures as the Pagans did to theirs, burning wax-lights and incense before them, kissing them, giving them changes of rayment, and honouring them with most devotion that are best in clothes; and when they are taxed of such a gross abuse, cloaking their actions with the same reasons and excuses which the Pagans used; then I say, we may and ought to say assuredly, that the sickness is the same, and that both are smitten with the like spirit of stumbling.

By the controversies of the antient Christians with the Pagans, and some idolatrous Christians, it is evident, that as the faithful Christians used the same reasons as we do, saying that God forbids in his Law to make any image or likeness of things that are in heaven above, and that God will be adored alone, and that God who is an infinite Spirit, cannot be represented by images, and that the Church of *Israel* had not any image of Saints, or Patriarchs, or Prophets in the Temple; likewise

CHAP. 5.

When the images of Saints were first brought into the Latine or Occidental Church, and of the progreſs of that abuſe.

WE have ſhewed in the firſt Chapter of this Controverſie, that in the time of Pope Gregory the II. who lived in the year of the Lord, 720. The Roman Church had not yet received the images of God. And that Nicephorus, who lived about the year 1300. doth deteſt the pictures of God as moſt abſurd things.

As for the images of Chriſt or the Saints, who ſo will run over the whole hiſtory of the three firſt ages of the Church, and more then half of the fourth, ſhall not find any trace in it, of images or ſtatues ſet up in Churches. The antient Latine Author, that mentioneth images in Churches of Chriſtians, is the Poet Prudentius, who according to the vein of Poets, delighteth to deſcribe pictures, in which the ſufferings of the two Martyrs, Caſſianus and Hippolytus were repreſented. There was a crowd of people painted, and executioners, and horſes dragging Hippolytus: That only for a memorial, and only in a flat picture, without any Religious ſervice. Let us ſuppoſe that Prudentius made no uſe of the Licence familiar unto Poets, who ſhould not be Poets, if they ſaid the truth alwayes.

(a) Painters and Poets in all times retain
Equal privilege to deviſe and ſain.

(a) Horat.
de Arte
Poetica.
Pictoribus
atque Poetis
quodlibet
audendi
ſemper fuit
aqua potestas.

But the Reader may conſider, that Prudentius writ about the year of Chriſt 395. and that he ſpeaks not of ſtatues, nor of that which is called an image in our dayes, but only of hiſtories drawn with the pencil; and of that he hath ſeen in ſome place of Italy, not of the cuſtom of the Universal Church; and that theſe pictures were not venerated with any Religious ſervice, or with any adoration; and that this can have no force againſt the cuſtom of the four firſt ages, much leſs againſt the Word of God, to eſtabliſh, by virtue of the teſtimony of a Poet, the ſervice of images in the Chriſtian Church.

A little after, that is, about the year 425. Paulinus Biſhop of Nola in Italy, cauſed the hiſtories both of the Old, and of the New Teſtament, to be painted on the walls of the Church of Nola, to ſtay the eyes of thoſe that ſate at the Table of (b) Agapes, or Feaſts of Charity, where many times they licenſed themſelves to ſpeak frivolous things, and many times alſo to drink till they were drunk.

At the ſame time, that cuſtom being come over into ſome parts of Africk, Auſtin complains of it in a place lately alleadged, chap. 34. of the firſt Book of the manners of the Chriſtian Church, (c) I know (ſaith he) that there are many worſhippers of ſepulchers and pictures, I know many that drink moſt riotouſly over the dead. Which he ſaith, becauſe the tombs of the Martyrs, were the Tables uſed for thoſe Feaſts of Charity.

The unruly devotion of the people, and mans natural inclination to love pictures better then doctrines, and the recreation of the ſight, then the inſtruction of the ſoul, made this evil ſo to encrease, that from flat pictures, they came to ſtatues, and from representation to adoration, ſo that about the year 590. Serenus Biſhop of Marſeille, ſeeing his people falling to the adoration of ſtatues, brake them, and caſt them out of the Church. About which (d) Pope Gregory the firſt reproveth him in two Epiſtles, ſaying, that images indeed ought not to be worſhipped,

(b) Theſe
Agapes, or
Feaſts of
Charity
were kept
in the
Church
after the
Communi-
on; And be-
cauſe of the
abuſes that
were com-
mitted in
them, they
were put
down by
the Coun-
cils.

(c) Novi

ſepulchrorum & picturarum adoratores: Novi multos qui ſuper mortuos luxurioſiſſimè bibunt. (d) Gregor. Epiſt. li. 7. Epiſtola 109. Zelum vos ne quid manu factum adorari poſſit habuiſſe laudamus, ſed frangere ejuſdem imagines non debuiſſe judicamus. Idcirco enim pictura in Eccleſiis adhibetur, ut hi qui literas neſciunt ſaltem in parietibus videndo legant quæ legere in codicibus non valent.

(c) Sigon. lib. 3. Ita Roma Romana manusque Dacatus à Grecis ad Romanum Pontificem propter nefandam eorum heresim impietatem pervenit. Sigonius calls the enemies of images hereticks.
 (f) Bellarm. de Scripto 116. Ecclesiastico in Damaso. Tribuitur sancto Damaso liber de vita Pontificum sed liber ille est Anastasii Bibliothecarii non Damasi ut notum est.
 (g) Sermo de Gervasio & Protasio Tomo 3. Surii.
 (h) In this same Book, I. Controv. chap. 11.

but that they ought not to be broken neither, because they are instead of books unto the ignorant.

But it was not long before the Popes became the great Patrons of the adoration of images, and made it a means of their rising; for when the Greek Emperours fell to the breaking of images, *Gregory* the II. took thence occasion to shake off the yoke of the Emperours, as enemies of the Saints, and made *Rome* and part of *Italy* to revolt from the obedience of their Sovereign: And he made himself a temporal Prince, under that colour of defending images, as (c) *Sigonius*, after many others, relateth in the third book of the Kingdom of *Italy*. See also *Anastasius* in the life of *Gregory* the II.

Another reason moved the Popes to maintain images. They were labouring to suppress Scripture, which they felt to be contrary to their Empire. Therefore to divert the people from it, they gave them images instead of books, and stones for their teachers, being sure that such books could not serve to dispute against the Popes. Thus while they amused the peoples eyes, they did insensibly steal the Word of God from them. Yet those images they hide in *Lent*, which is the time of Preaching, as acknowledging that images must hide themselves before the Word of God, and that they must not appear in the time of devotion.

All that is brought out of Latine Authors before *Prudentius*, in favour of images, is either fabulous, or taken from such Authors as are not receivable, *Damasus*, whom they say to have lived in the year 376. saith in his Pontifical, in the life of *Sylvester*, that *Constantine* built a Temple, where he set up the images of Christ and his Apostles. But (f) *Bellarmino* doth freely acknowledge, that the book is not of *Damasus*, but of *Anastasius* the Library-keeper. That *Anastasius* writ in the year 858. when the Popes were fighting for images. So it is no wonder if a Library-keeper of the Pope, would lie in his masters behalf; or if he being a man of shallow learning, was easily mistaken about things so remote from his time.

The same I say of a (g) Sermon concerning *Gervasius* and *Protasius*, attributed to *Ambrose*, where it is spoken of the image of Saint *Paul*. For the finding of the bodies of *Gervasius* and *Protasius*, upon which that Sermon was made, was long after *Ambrose*, as we proved before. (h) Besides in that Sermon, there is no mention of images in Churches, nor of any service deferred unto them.

CHAP. 6.

Of the Originall and progress of Images in the Greek and Oriental Churches.

THE Greek and Orientall Churches have been for many ages without images in their Temples. The Fathers of the three, yea of the four first ages, unanimously reject them, as I have fully proved.

For, as for Christs image Printed in a linnen cloth, given by himself to *Veronica*, and of another image made by *Nicodemus*, they are blind tales, no more believed by the learned among our Adversaries. Neither do we need to disprove them, for (as they are described) they were not images set up in Churches, or given to receive any Religious service.

Ensebins in the seventh Book of his History, chap. 14. speaks of a statue of Christ at *Cesarea Philippi*, erected in the street before the door of the Canaanitish woman, healed by Christ of a bloody flux, in memory of that miraculous cure. And in chap. 9. of the fifth book of Evangelicall demonstration, he speaks of a *Terebinth*, (a tree known enough) under which *Abraham* entertained the three men that appeared unto him, near unto which tree, the inhabitants of the Countrey had set up the picture of those three men. But besides, that these examples speak not of images set up in Churches, we heard the same *Ensebins* before, saying, that such images were made by a Pagan custom: As in effect, in the same places

places the people committed idolatry, as the same *Eusebius* relateth in the third book of *Constantines* life, chap. 51. In the thirtieth book of his History, chap. 4. he punctually describeth the Temple of *Tyre*, forgetting not so much as the forms and tables, but speaks not of images.

The same Author in the life of *Constantine* relates, that the same Emperour built Churches in *Jerusalem* and in *Bethlehem*, of which he describes the form, the feeling, the pillars, the ornaments, but of images he makes no mention. He saith indeed in the third book, chap. 38. that *Constantine* set up the signs or marks of a good Shepherd in the marker-place, and *Daniel* with the Lyons in the den, the whole work made of brasse over-laid with gold. But he speaks of no images in Churches.

Athanasius lived in the same time: A testimony of his is alleadged for images out of the Questions to *Anthiochus*, Qu. 39. But that book cannot be of *Athanasius*, seeing that (Qu. 3.) *Epiphanius* is alleadged, who writ many years after the death of *Athanasius*. It is the same of all the Questions attributed to *Athanasius*: For in the thirtieth Question, upon the sayings and parables of Scripture, the Author saith, that the Judge mentioned *Luke* 18. who neither feared God, nor respected men, and yet doth right to a widdow, to be rid of her importunity, is God himself, who feareth not himself. In the tenth Question he saith, that *Peter* the Apostle was crucified; herein contradicting the true *Athanasius*, who saith that he was strangled. (a) In the 76. Question, the Author saith, that the Romans are of the race of the French, that crucified Christ. It were hard to say more absurdities in so few words. Such a great man as *Athanasius*, could never come out with such impertinencies. In the 86. Question *Gregory* is alleadged, what *Gregory* soever he meaneth, he cannot have been but since *Athanasius*.

(a) Editionis
Paris. an.
1627.
p. 416.

About the year of the Lord 370. flourished *Basil* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*. That Doctor in the Sermon upon the Martyr *Barlaam*, having commended the constancy of the Martyr, exhorteth Painters to paint out to the life his virtuous actions, which he could not represent with words. If that be only a passage of oratory, or whether it may be thence inferred that images were set up in the Churches of *Cappadocia*, let the Reader judge. At least this remains, that he speaks only of historical representations in pictures, not of statues, nor of any Religious service deferred unto images.

Then also lived *Gregory* of *Nyssa*, to the end of, whose works a false piece was sowed up, the Oration about the Martyr *Theodorus*, where it is spoken of pictures representing the sufferings of that Martyr; but we shewed (b) before the falsehood of that piece. But though it were true, in that place there is mention only of historical pictures, and that only in a corner of *Cappadocia*, not in the Universal Church.

(b) In the
I. Controv.
of this 7.
Book, ch. 11.

Of the like stuff is the pretended testimony of *Basil*, alleadged by the second Council of *Nice*, where *Basil* exhorteth to the adoration of images. But of that nothing is found in all the works of *Basil*, nor any thing near it. That Council, stuffed with impiety, commanding the adoration of images upon pain of anathema, affirming that the Angels are corporeal, saying that images are as good as the Gospel, and are better then prayer, and alleadging many Texts of Scripture for images in a ridiculous manner, deserveth not to be believed.

So I give this for a certain truth, that from the Apostles time, unto the fourth Council, which falls in the year of the Lord 451. no formal example shall be found of statues set up in the Greek and Oriental Churches, nor of any service deferred to any representation. We might come down lower yet, but it is enough for us to keep within the term set by Cardinal *du Perron*.

In the sixth, seventh and eighth ages, images did multiply exceedingly, and the Greek Churches began to venerate them with a Religious service. And this gave occasion to a great encrease of the Mahumetan Religion, which professeth a mortal hatred against images. For that reason, the Emperours of *Constantinople*, especially *Leo*, in the year 725. and his son *Constantine* after him, brake images, and

and persecuted the worshippers of them; and that trouble and bloody strife lasted till the year 788. when the Empreſs *Irene* and her ſon *Conſtantine* (whoſe eyes ſhe put out ſoon after) called the ſecond Council of *Nice*, where the adoration of images was eſtabliſhed. The Popes have been ſtriving with great fervour for the reception of that Council : And the French were a long time ſtriving againſt it. But in the end; the power of the Popes encreaſing, and with their power the ignorance of the people, the errour did overcome, and images took the place of Holy Scripture; and ſuch as would not bow their knee to wood and ſtone, and adore inanimate things, were persecuted, with fire and ſword.

That the people might not know the wil of God upon this point, the ſecond Precept of the Law was put out of the Hours and Offices, which are put in the peoples hands. And becauſe that Precept could not be put out of the Bible, the Pope hath forbidden the reading of it.

Third



Third Controversie,
OF THE
SEVENTH BOOK.

In Answer to the third instance of
the fourth Book of Cardinal
DU PERRON.

Of PRAYER for the
DEAD.

CHAP. I.

Of Prayer for the dead, and of Purgatory. What Scripture saith of it. And of the Purgatory of the Primitive Church.



Whoever is a little versed in Antiquity, knows that prayer for the dead hath been many ages used in the Christian Church, therefore the great labour of (a) Cardinal du Perron to gather testimonies to prove that, is more then needed, and a superfluous diligence about a vulgar thing. (b) Tertullian who writ in the end of the second age, is the antientest Author that speaks of it; *We make* (saith he) *anniversary offerings for the dead, and for the natalitia*, that is, for the commemoration of the sufferings of Martyrs.

But upon that we say two things, The one, that this custom sprung from the unwritten tradition, and that in Gods word there is neither command nor example for it: But rather that in the Scripture there are many testimonies that the souls

(a) Pag. 931:

(d) De corona militis cap. 3.

of

of the godly after this life, are presently transported into the heavenly rest. *Blessed are they which dye in the Lord; from henceforth* [*ἀπὸ νῦν*, from this very time, if they dye now] *saith the Spirit they rest from their labours, and their works follow them*, Rev. 14. 13. Christ tells us Luke 16. 9. *Make to your selves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations*: that is, that when you dye, they may receive you into heaven. He tells us also John 5. 24. *Verily, verily I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death unto life*. How should that man be sent into a burning flame, who in this very life hath eternal life, and is past from death to life? *Isa. 57. 1. & 2.* saith, that the righteous dying, is taken away from the evil to come, and enters into peace. Wherefore *Simeon* being near his death, was saying, *Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace*. And Christ said to the repenting thief crucified with him, *This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise*. Yet that thief according to the doctrine of the Roman Church stood in great need of purgation. And the Apostle *Paul* preparing himself for death, and laying his hand already upon the crown, was saying 2 Tim. 4. 7. *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness*. For there is no condemnation for them that are in Christ *Jesus*. Rom. 8. 1. If no condemnation, then neither eternal in Hell, nor temporal in Purgatory. *The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin*, 1 John 1. 7. And of other purgation there is no need; for Christ having fully satisfied for us unto Gods justice, there is no need of any other satisfaction. God will not take two payments for one debt, when the first payment is sufficient. By Christ *God hath forgiven us* [*χαριστωμεν* & freely and gratis] *all our trespasses*, Col. 2. 13. God being our Father and having given his Son for us, would he delight to burn his children in a vehement fire, for sins already pardoned? Should not that Father be altogether wicked and unnatural that would torment his children with punishments of no use for their amendment; only to content himself, and to satisfy his own wrath and revenge? Now such is the punishment of Purgatory, where they hold that the souls amend not, and are never the better for their sufferings.

[Note.

Pag. 939. &
943.

It is very considerable that in the Law of *Moses* there are sacrifices and propitiations for all kinds of sin and pollution, even for leprosie, and for the touching of a dead body; but that the Law prescribes no sacrifice or propitiation for the dead, nor any service for their ease or release. Which *M. du Perron* freely acknowledgeth, in the eighth chapter of the third instance of the fourth book, where he groundeth the prayer for the dead upon the unwritten word only.

The other point is, that our Adversaries cannot accuse us of despising the custom received in the antient Church, since themselves also in this point oppose themselves to the antient Church, and reject that praying for the dead, practised by the old Christians: For it was of another nature, and for another end then that which is used in these dayes. And if one would now pray for the dead after the manner of the antients, he should no less be accounted an heretick then *Aerius* who did absolutely reject all prayers for the dead.

All the prayers which the Roman Church makes for the dead, are intended for the ease of the souls which are thought to be in Purgatory. For although in the publick forms of prayers, in the Masses for the dead, no mention is made of Purgatory, because those prayers are more antient then the invention of Purgatory, yet the intention of all that pray for the dead, is to release their souls from Purgatory, according to the instruction which the people receive from their Pastors.

That then the Cardinal may not here object Antiquity to us, it is expedient to shew how the Roman Church in this point is departed from the opinion of the Antients, and hath forsaken the antient customs, forging a new sort of prayer for the dead, which all Antiquity never thought on, making the prayers for the dead which then were used, not only useles, but also wicked and erroneous.

I say then that the Church of the third and fourth ages after Christ prayed
for

for the Saints departed, even for the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, which is no more done in our dayes. The form of those Prayers is found in the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions of *Clement*, chap. 18. *We offer unto thee for all the Saints that have been pleasant unto thee from the beginning of the world, for the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Righteous, the Apostles, the Martyrs, &c.* The like prayers are found in the Liturgies attributed to *St. James*, to *Basil*, and to *Chrysostom*.

Epiphanius in the heresie of *Aerius*, which is the seventy fifth, puts this among his errors that he approved not the commemoration of the dead, which was done in the celebration of the Eucharist. Against that *Aerius*, *Epiphanius* disputeth thus, (d) *As for relating the names of the departed, what is to better purpose or more seasonable and admirable then to make them that are present to believe that they that are gone, are alive still, and are not brought to nothing, but that they are and live with the Lord?* Observe, that *Epiphanius* believed that the dead, of which commemoration was made in the Eucharist, enjoyed life and were with God. He addeth, (e) *Also that the venerable preaching be expounded, that there is hope for them that pray for their brethren as being in a pilgrimage.* In all this there is nothing whence one may gather, that they prayed in those dayes for the dead to ease them of their torment in the fire of Purgatory. Those whom he saith to be in a pilgrimage are not the dead, but the living that pray for the dead. (f) *Epiphanius* goeth on, *The prayer thus made for them profiteth, though it do not cut off all the sins, but to signifie a greater perfection, because often while we are in this world, we offend both willingly and unwillingly.* He holds that prayer made for the dead, serveth to shew that in their life time they did not attain unto perfection, and that having many times offended in their lives, they had need to attain after this life to a greater perfection. His next words are these, (g) *For we make mention both of righteous and of sinners: For sinners looking to the mercy of God; And for the righteous, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, &c. that we may separte Christ from the rank of men by the honour that is deferred unto him, and that we may defer veneration unto him, meditating in our selves that the Lord is not equalled unto any of men.* In all that discourse is there any thing favourable unto Purgatory? For as for the Saints, Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs for whom they prayed, *Epiphanius* saith not, that they prayed to fetch them out of Purgatory, but to put Christ out of their rank, because he is the only one for whom, &c. they prayed not. As for others, he saith that they prayed for them looking to the mercy of God, that is, either to the mercy which God had shewed to them, or to the mercy which God would shew them in the day of judgement, as *St. Paul* speaketh, 2 Tim. 1. 16. & 18. *The Lord grant to Onesiphorus, that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day.*

To the same purpose we have such another discourse of *Dionysius* the Author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, in the third chapter, where he giveth a reason why in the sacred mysteries, the Church made commemoration of the dead. These are his words (h) *After the kiss of peace comes the reading of the holy [Ecclesiastical] tables, wherein the names of those that have led a holy life, and are gone to the perfection of a vertuous immutable life, are pronounced with a loud voyce, exhorting and conducting us to the beatifical habit which is acquired by resembling them, and to an end growing to a divine likeness; and celebrating those as living, not as dead, as Theology saith, but as past from death to a most divine life, &c.* For as Scripture saith, God knoweth them that are his, and the death of Saints is precious before him, [In which text] the death of Saints is put for the perfection which is in holiness. Also consider holily, that when the venerable signs whereby Christ is signified and communicated, have been laid upon the sacred Altar, im-

(g) *ὅτι δὲ δικαίων πνεύματα τῶν μνησθῶν καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν ὑπὸ τῷ ἀμαρτωλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων διὰ τοῦ θείου ὑποφύει δίκαιον καὶ πατέρα καὶ πατέρα καὶ πατέρα, &c. ἵνα καὶ Κρίνον Ἰησοῦν χεῖρον ἀφαιρῶμεν ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταύτων, &c.*
 (h) *ὅτι ἡ ἱερὰ πύλη ἢ τὸ πᾶν ἐν τῇ ἀναρρίσει ἀναρρίσκει τοὺς ὁσὺς βεβαιώματα καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνῳ τῷ ταύτων ἀμαρτωλῶν ἀφαιρῶμεν, ἵνα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ ἐμοῖσι τῷ αὐτῶν μαρτυρίᾳ ἔξω καὶ δεικνύει ἀληθινὰ προτρέψαι καὶ χεῖρον γὰρ τοὺς ὁσὺς ἀναρρίσκει καὶ ὡς ἡ θεολογία φησὶν, νεκρωθέντας ἀλλ' ὡς θεοποιῶντας ζῶντες ἐν θεῷ μεταποιήσονται, &c. καὶ τὸ ὅτι ἱερὰ ἐκείνου ὡς ἐμπλήντων τῷ θεῷ δύνασθαι ἢ ἐκείνους συμβόλων, δὲ ὡς χεῖρον σημαίνει καὶ μετέχεται. πάντες ἀδιστάτως ἢ τῶν ἁγίων ἀπογασθὲν τὸ σὺν ἐκείνῳ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀδιστάτως ἐμφαίνουσι καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν ὑπερκομῶν καὶ ἱερὰς ἐνώσεως.*

N n n

diately

(c) *Etiam offerimus tibi pro omnibus qui a seculo placuerunt tibi Sanctis, Patriarchis, Prophetis, Justis Apostolis, Martyribus, &c.*

(d) *ὅτι τὰ ὀνόματα λέγουσιν ὅτι τελευτήσαντων. ὅτι αὐτῶν τῶν*

περὶ τῶν προφῶντων καὶ τῶν πατέρων καὶ δαυμάτων καὶ τῶν

σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν παύσαντων ὅτι οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὡς αὐτοὶ καὶ οὐκ ἀποσπῶνται

ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶν τὸ δεσπότης

(c) *καὶ ὅπως ἐπὶ τὸ σμῦντα τὸν ἐκτενῆμα διὰ τῶν ὁσίων, ὡς ἐλπίς ὅτιν ὅτι τῶν ἀφαιρῶν ἐν χεῖρον τοῖς ὡς ἐν ἀποδείξει τοῦ χάριτος*

(f) *ὅτι ἐλπίς ὅτι ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γὰρ μὲν ἐκείνη ἐκ τῶν ὁσίων τῶν ἀπαύσαντων καὶ*

ἀποδείξει τῶν ὁσίων ἐν τῷ δεσπότης

διὰ τὸ πολλὰς ἐκείνους ὡς ὁσίων ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ σφάλλειν

ἀποδείξει τῶν ὁσίων ἐν τῷ δεσπότης ἐν τῷ δεσπότης ἐν τῷ δεσπότης

ἐν τῷ δεσπότης ἐν τῷ δεσπότης ἐν τῷ δεσπότης ἐν τῷ δεσπότης

diately after comes the description of the Saints, whereby the inseparable bond of their supernatural and sacred union with him is declared. This Author though he entangle his style with terms borrowed out of Plato's school, yet is antient, and may be read with profit. His description of the publick service of his time, sheweth that the Christian Church did then live in peace, and had Temples and publick ornaments with splendour. It is like enough that he lived about the year 400. of Christ. All this discourse sheweth that the prayer which was then made for the dead, was only for persons whom they held to be happy and holy; not to draw them out of the fire of Purgatory.

(i) August.
de verbis
Apostoli
Serm. 17. &
de 8. qu.
Dulc. qu. 2.

Austin who writ about the year 420. was the first that said that (i) Martyrs must not be prayed for; That he doth injury to a Martyr, that prayeth for a Martyr. And that the usual prayers when they are named at the Altar, are rather thanksgivings.

(k) Memento
Domine fam-
ulorum &
famularum
tuarum que
nos præcesse-
runt in signo
fidei, &
dormiunt in
somno pacis.

The same appears, in that the Antients prayed for the souls that rested in a quiet sleep, and that consequently were held not to be in torment. Which form of prayer remaineth in the Canon of the Mass, where the Priest saith every day, (k) Lord remember the souls of thy servants and handmaids which went before us in the sign of the faith, and now are sleeping in the sleep of peace. Whilest that prayer is said by the Priest, the names of the deceased for whom his friends have paid, are said with a low voyce, requesting that their souls tormented in Purgatory may be relieved by that Mass. But that old clause by Gods permission remaineth in the Mass to condemn Purgatory: For there is no reason why one should give money to awake his friends soul which is sleeping quietly, or why we should believe that souls tormented in a burning fire, which they say to be seven times hotter then our ordinary fire, can sleep in the sleep of peace whilest they are thus tormented.

Pag. 950.

The Cardinal in the second chapter of the fore-alleadged instance is fore troubled to make that prayer agree with Purgatory, and saith things so unreasonable, that it is not like that he had any hope to be believed: First he saith, that the souls of the dead which are in that torment are said to rest in peace, because they departed in the peace of the communion of the Church. It is true, that such as are received into the communion of the Church, are said to be in the peace of the Church; But that peace of the Church is not called a sleep; Now the Mass prayeth for those that sleep in peace. The intention of the Church receiving a man into her communion, is not to lay him asleep, and that peace of the Church may happen and be given to many who are damned nevertheless.

This shift not contenting him, he brings another, saying that these souls tormented in Purgatory are said to be resting and sleeping in peace, not in respect of themselves, but of the Church. This conceit is somewhat extravagant. For it is hard to comprehend, how a man who is burnt and tormented in a fire can sleep in peace, not in respect of himself, but of another; For every one that sleepeth, sleepeth for himself, not in respect of another. If they that are burning in the fire of Purgatory sleep peaceably in respect of the Church, the Church hath a sense contrary to the truth, and to Gods will. And truly when the Church prayeth for one that is tormented, she considereth him as being in torment, not as sleeping in peace. Would it not be a jolly reasoning, if one said, that *Philip* is dead or blind in respect of himself, but living and clear sighted in respect of his friends? Truly in that conceit of the Cardinal there is either jesting, or want of common sense.

(l) Ambros.
Orat. de obitu
Theodosii.
Et ille quidem
abiit sibi
regnumque
non deposuit,
sed mutavit
in tabernacu-
lo Christi,
jure pietatis
ascitus in
illam Jerusa-
lem supernam.

All that was said before, sheweth sufficiently that the Antient Christians prayed for the dead, whom they believed not to be in any place of torment. This is confirmed by the prayer of *Ambrose* for the soul of *Theodosius*. For he speaks of *Theodosius* as certain that he was enjoying heavenly felicity. Being free from the doubtfull combat, he enjoyeth the heavenly light. Again, (l) He was received into Christs tabernacles because of his piety, and into Jerusalem which is above. Again, *Theodosius* dwelleth in light, and glorieth in the brightness of the Saints: And for all that he prayeth for him.

But

But upon that it may be demanded, What good then did the antient Christians hope to procure unto their departed friends by their prayers for them? I answer that their prayers tended to these ends. First, they prayed to God that the departed might one day rise again to salvation; Such was the prayer of Judas Macabees, 2 Mac. 12. 42. For (saith the Author) Judas did very well and honestly, in that he was mindfull of the resurrection. For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead. To that prayer many prayers are conformable which are said in the Mass, for the dead; As this, (m) *We beseech thee, Lord, that thou absolve the souls of thy servants from every bond of sin, that being risen in the glory of the resurrection, they may breath among thy Saints and elect.*

Also that was a constant belief among many of the Antients, that the dead should not all rise again at the same hour, but some sooner, some later; and that sins were expiated by the delay of the resurrection; *Modicum quodque delictum mora resurrectionis luendo, suffering the pains, even of the least sins by the delay of their resurrection,* (n) as Tertullian saith, who will have a wife to pray for her departed husband, and (o) to beg refreshing for him, and that she may bear him company in the first resurrection. Which is Ambroses prayer for Gratian and Valentinian; (p) *I beseech thee, Sovereign God, that thou raise and bring up again these most dear young men with a timely resurrection.* They prayed then for the hastening of their resurrection.

Then the solicitous care which the antient Christians had for their dead friends was increased by a belief received among many, that the Saints were not received into the heavenly glory presently after their death, but remained in underground receptacles, which they called *Abrahams bosome*, unto the day of the resurrection: Which Cardinal du Perron acknowledgeth pag. 994. saying, that then some persons believed that the souls of the godly enjoyed not the sight of God before the final judgement, and that in Austins time the Church had not yet pronounced any decision upon that. For that reason then the old Christians thought it to be their duty to pray for the dead. That such was the opinion of most part of the Antients concerning the state of departed souls, we have shewed it in the third chapter of our Treatise of the Invocation of Saints.

We find also in the writings of the Fathers, that they stood in fear of the fire of the day of judgement, through which they believed that all must pass and be burnt more or less, according as every one had more or less sinned, not excepting the Prophets, and Apostles, nor the Virgin Mary. Ambrose in the twentieth Sermon upon Psal. 118. (q) *All must pass through the flames, though it be John the Evangelist whom the Lord loved, though it be Peter, &c.* And in the third Sermon upon Psal. 36. (r) *The sons of Levi shall be purged by fire, Ezekiel, Daniel, and these having been tried by the fire, shall say, We have past through fire and through water.* Hilary upon Psal. 118. in the letter Gimel, (s) *That purification which is reserved to us after the Baptism of water, may sanctifie us by the coming of the Holy Ghost, and perfect us by the fire of the judgement.* In the same place (t) *Do we desire (saith he) that day of judgement in which we must go through the unwearied fire? in which we must undergo those grievous pains to expiate the souls from their sins? And a little after (u) If that Virgin that conceived God must undergo the severity of that judgement, who is so bold as to desire to be judged by God? And in the second Canon upon Matthew, * To them that are baptized by the Holy Ghost it remaineth yet to be perfected by the fire of the judgement.* Irenaeus saith the same in the fourth book chap. 9. And Lactantius in the seventh book chap. 21. (x) *When God shall have judged the righteous, he will examine them by fire. Then they whose sins shall prevail, either in weight or number, shall be singed and lightly burnt.* Origen in the third Homily upon Psalm 36. (y) *I think that we must all come to that fire, though it were a Paul or a Peter, yet* dus? &c. (u) *Si in judicii severitatem capax illa Dei virgo ventura est, desiderare quis audebit à Deo judicari?* Baptizati in spiritu reliquum sit consummari igne judicii. (x) *Fusos cum judicaverit Deus, igne eos examinabit, tunc quorum peccata vel pondere vel numero praevaluerint perstringentur atque amburentur.* (y) *Ut ego arbitror omnes nos venire necesse est ad illum ignem, Etiam si Paulus aliquis vel Petrus, veniet tamen ad ignem.*

(m) Absolve
quæsumus
Domine ani-
mas famulo-
rum tuorum
ab omni
vinculo deli-
ctorum, ut in
resurrectionis
gloria inter
sanctos &
electos tuos
resuscitati
respirent.

(n) Lib de
anima capi-
ult.

(o) Idem l. de
Monogam.
cap. 10. Re-
frigerium ei
adposuit &
in prima
resurrectione
consortium.

(p) Te quæso
Domine Deus
ut charissimos
juvenes ma-
trua resurre-
ctione resuscites
& resuscites.

(q) Omnes
oportet trans-
ire per flam-
mas sive ille
Johannes
Evangelista
sive ille

Petrus, &c.

(r) Igne pur-
gantur filii
Levi, igne
Daniel, &c.

(s) Emundatio
puritatis
etiam post
Baptismi
aquas reposta
quæ nos
spiritus san-
cti sanctificet
adventu judi-
cii ignis nos
decoquat.

(t) An cum
ex omni
otioso verbo
rationem
scimus præ-
stituri diem
judicii con-
cupiscimus, in
quo nobis est
indefessus ig-
nis obun-

(2.) Ego
puro quod &
post resurre-
ctionem à
mortuis indi-
geamus sa-
cramento
eluciente nos
atque pur-
gante; Ne-
que enim
absque for-
dibus resur-
gere quis-
quam pote-
rit.

(a) ἰσχυ-
ρας ἡμῶς
ἐπὶ τὸ χει-
ρὸν ὑπο-
δύξῃ, καὶ
ταῖς ἐκείσε
θεομελῶν
πυρὸς πῶς.

(b) *Aurum
quod iudicii
die nequeat
igni exurere*

(c) ὁρμῶν
ἡδὴ πρὸς
τὴν διὰ
πυρρὸς
πλεῖωσιν.

* Pag. 990.
(d) Lib. I.
de dulcit.
quæst. & de
vera & falsa
penitentia,
cap. 18.

(c) Signifi-
catur isto
igne dies
iudicii di-
rimens car-
nales per
ignem sal-
vandos &
igne damnan-
dos.

(f) *Ex his
quæ dicta
sunt videtur
evidenter
apparere in
illo iudicio ,
quasdam
quorundam
pœnas pur-
gatorias
futuras.*

(g) Purgato-
rias pœnas
nullas futu-
ras opinatur
nisi ante illu-
cillum
tremendum.

que iudicium
ei vniuerso or

shall he come to that fire. And in the fourteenth Homily upon Luke, (2) I think that after the resurrection we shall have need of a washing and purging Sacrament, for none can rise again without pollution.

Of that fire speaks Gregory Nazianzen, in the 42. Sermon, where he saith, (a) Who can warrant that the judgement shall not overtake us, as being yet indebted, and needing the fire that shall be there? And Ambrose in the book of widows saith, that (b) God requireth of us gold, which the fire of the judgement is not able to burn. And Basil, in chap. 26. of the book of the Holy Ghost, speaks of one Arihogenes, who (c) tended to that perfection which shall be made by fire; and in chap. 15. he interpreteth that Baptism of fire of which John the Baptist speaks, τὸ ἐν τῇ ῥίζῃ δοκιμασθῆναι, the tryal that shall be made in the judgement.

That fire is meant in the Texts which (*) *M. du Perron* alieadgeth, not the fire of Purgatory, which the Roman Church believeth. He alieadgeth *Gregory of Nyssa*, who saith in the book of the sleepers, that man is purged after this life by the furnace of purging fire. And *Hierom* upon *Isa. 66.* laying, *Of those whose works must be purged by fire, we hold the Judges sentence to be moderate, and mingled with clemency.* And *Ansin* saying, (d) that the fire whereby they shall be saved, shall be more grievous, then any thing we can suffer in this life.

I answer, that these Fathers speak not of a fire where the souls be burnt when they come out of the body, but of the fire of the day of judgement, which must (after the opinion of the Fathers) purge the elect after the Resurrection. *Austin* is expresse to that purpose, in chap. 34. of Book 16. of the City God.* (e) *By this fire is meant the day of judgement*, which shall separate the carnal that must be saved by fire, and those that must be *damm'd by fire*. And in chap. 25. of book 20. (f) *Out of the things that were said, it seemeth evidently to appear, that in that judgement, some pains of some persons shall be purging pains*. The title of the Chapter declareth that he speaks of the fire of the last judgement. So the fear of that fire was a reason why they prayed for the dead. Neither doth *Austin* contradict this, in Book 21. of the City of God, chap. 16. when he saith, that (g) *none is of opinion that there shall be any purging pains, but before that last and fearfull judgement*: For by the judgement, he understands only the pronouncing of the last sentence, before which he holds that the purgation shall be made by fire. By these words he condemneth *Origen's* purgation, who extended it till after the last judgement.

I could also bring places out of antient Authors, to shew that in their time the damned souls also were prayed for, at least to ease their torments; and of late Authors, which say that the Emperour *Trajan* was fetcht out of Hell at Saint *Gregories* prayer. The answer to the 34th Question to *Adriochus*, which is put among the works of *Athanasius*, saith, that (h) sinners (so he calls the damned) receive some benefit and ease by the prayers of the Church. And we shall see hereafter, that *Chrysostom* in the third Homily upon the Epistle to the *Philippians*, is of the same opinion.

Note by the way, that *M. du Perron* sheweth sufficiently, that he believeth not the fire of Purgatory, (i) when he doubteth whether it be a real or a metaphoricall fire. I think not that he durst speak so at *Rome*.

Out of all that was said, it is made manifest, that the prayers of the Antients for the dead, were not to fetch souls out of Purgatory, but that they might rise to salvation, or that they might rise soon, or that in their peaceable sleep they might receive some greater refreshing, or that they might be but lightly burnt by the fire of the last judgement, or that the damned might receive some diminution of their pains in hell. And that the Cardinal doth wrongfully challenge the protection of Antiquity, since the Roman Church hath long since rejected these ancient prayers, and altogether changed their use and their end.

Of that imaginary fire, into which the Roman Church sends the souls presently after death, and whence the Pope fetcheth them by indulgence, loosing under the

(h) ἀμαρτωλῶν ψυχὰς εἰμὲν πρὸς ἐνεργείας μεταχρον ἐκ τέτυκ ἀν ἐν τῇ ἀποχρισμῇ
 π. (i) Pag. 950.

earth,

earth, where he cannot bind, and extending the power of the Keyes, even to the dead, which are none of his flock, we may affirm that there is nothing more remote from the belief of the Antients. For many of them hold, that the souls while they are out of the body, can suffer nothing. *Tertullian* in chap. 48. of his *Apologetick*, (k) *The soul alone cannot suffer anything without a solid matter, that is, without the flesh.* The same he saith in chap. 4. of the book of the testimony of the soul. *Gregory of Nyssa* is of the same mind, in the III. Oration of the Resurrection of Christ. *That fire can never touch the separated soul; neither can darkness be troublesome to her, seeing that she wanteth eyes: By these probable reasons, we are moved to believe the Resurrection of the dead.* And so *Ambrose* in the book of Penitence, chap. 17. (m) *The soul without the body, and the body without the soul, cannot be partakers of punishment and reward.* And *Chrysostom* in the 39. Homily upon the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, (n) *The soul without the flesh, shall not receive these hidden goods, as also it shall not be punished.* And *Arnobius*, in the second book, speaking of the soul separated from the body, maintaineth, (o) *That a simple [substance] cannot feel pain, and that all that can feel pain, cannot be immortal.*

It would be an endless labour to gather all the places of Fathers, contrary to the Purgatory of the Roman Church: We have produced a great number of them in another place, (p) Read *Cyprian's* book against *Demetrian*, and his book of Mortality. And *Ambrose*, in the book of the good death. This sentence of *Austin*, in the 232. Sermon, which is the second against drunkenness, may serve instead of all. (q) *Let none deceive himself, Brethren, for there are two places, and there is no third. He that shall not merit to reign with Christ, shall without doubt perish with the Devil.* Observe by the way, that meriting in *Austin's* style, signifieth only acquiring. For that Father denyeth merits in many places, attributing all the merit of our salvation to Gods grace.

In the Dialogues of *Gregory* the I. who writ in the end of the sixth age, it is evident, that the Purgatory which is believed by the Roman Church, was not yet forged. For that Pope puts the purgation of souls in bathes, in the wind, and in rivers. And yet the same Pope in his thirteenth book upon *Job*, chap. 20. speaks thus, (r) *Because we are redeemed by the grace of our Creator, so much we have of heavenly gift, that when we are withdrawn from the habitation of our flesh, we are presently brought to the heavenly recompence.*

The Greek Churches of our time, pray for the dead, but deny Purgatory; herein conforming themselves to the example of the Antients.

(s) Here I must not forgive a notorious falsification of the Cardinal. He alledgeth a place of *Chrysostom*, but quoteth not the Book or the Homily whence he takes it, lest that his false dealing should be perceived. That place is found in the third Homily of the Epistle to the *Philippians*. The words are these, (t) *It is not in vain that the Apostles have constituted, that in the dreadful mysteries commemoration be made of the departed, for they knew that much benefit ariseth unto them from that.* The Cardinal corrupteth that place, putting offering sacrifice for the dead, instead of making commemoration of them. For he tranllateth thus, *It is not in vain that the Apostles have given by tradition, the offering of a sacrifice for the dead: They knew how much profit they get by it.* Note that *Chrysostom* had said a little before, that the help that can be given to the dead is very small, and that the dead for whom we should weep and give alms, are the infidels, and they that are dead without Baptism. So that the Cardinal corrupteth this place, both in the sense and the words.

Observe also, that *Gregory* the I. in the 63. Epistle of the seventh book, con-

decipiat, fratres, duo enim loca sunt, & tertius non est ullus. Qui cum Christo regnare non meruerit, cum diabolo absq. dubitatione ulla peribit. (r) Quia auctoritas nostri gratia redempti sumus, hoc jam celestis muneris habemus, ut cum a carnis nostre habitatione subtrahimur, mox ad celestia premia ducamur. (s) The Cardinals false dealings, pag. 588. (t) ἐκ εἰς πάντα χρόνον ἵνα οἱ ἀποστόλοι τοῖς ἐν τῇ θανάτῳ μυστηρίῳ μνήμην ποιῶντες τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἵσαντο αὐτοῖς πλὴν καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος.

(k) Neque pati quicquam potest anima sola sine stabili materia, id est carne.

(l) Animam per se separatam ignis nunquam attingit, nec tenebræ quidem ei molesta fuerunt, spore quæ oculis caret.

(m) Neque animam sine carne, neque carum sine anima, cum sint sibi gestorum operum consortiæ copulatæ, sine consortiis vel parte esse vel præmi. Vide & orationem de fide resurrectionis.

(n) τὸς ἀρχαῖος χρόνος ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ σῶμα ἐν τῇ κτίσει.

(o) Quis non videt quod sit immortale, quod simplex, & illi posse dolorem admittere?

(p) In the Buckler of the Faith. (q) Nemo se

tradicteth *Chrysostom*. For, he saith that the Apostles consecrated with the Lords Prayer only, and that the other prayers were added since at several times. Besides, *Chrysostom* in this place speaks only of the commemoration of the dead, not of praying for them.

The same Father did not believe that one can repent after death, or that after this life one may satisfy for his sins. For, so he speaks in the second Sermon upon *Lazarus*, (u) Pay all here, that thou may without trouble see that judicial seat; For while we are here we have good hopes, but when we are gone thither, it is no more in our power to repent, or to be purged from sins committed. *Cyprian* speaks the same language towards the end of his Book to *Demetrian*. (*) When one is gone hence, penitence hath no more place, and satisfaction is without effect. Here life is either had or obtained. And a little after, When one is yet in this world, no penitence is too late: The access to Gods mercy is open, and the access is ease to them that seek and understand the truth. (x) If thou pray for thy sins, though upon the point of thy departing, and of the end of temporal life, and implore the only true God by confession, and with an acknowledging faith, the pardon is given to the confessing [sinner] and the saving indulgence is granted to the Believer by the divine compassion, and in death it self, one passeth to immortality. Of a third place, where penance is made after death, the Fathers speak not, (y) There is no middle place (saith *Austin*) for any person; so that he that is not in Christ, could not be any where else but with the Devil. And in another place, (z) We are totally ignorant of a third place, and find none at all in the holy Scriptures.

The Fathers indeed speak often of a purging fire, both in this life and after. But by the purging fire in this life, they understand the afflictions of this present life, or the length of the penance, which Penitents make publicly in the Church. (a) We confess (saith *Austin*) that in this mortal life there are purgatory pains. And a little after, he reckons among the pains of that purgative fire, the loss of friends, and the calamities of this life. (b) Thus *Cyprian* Epist. 52. comparing Martyrdom, with the public penance which sinners do in the Church, calls that penance a purgation by fire.

The same Fathers speak also of a purging fire after this life, through which they make all Saints, and even the Virgin *Mary* to pass. By which fire they understand that of the last day of judgement, and in that fire, they believed that both bodies and souls must be purged, according as they have more or less sinned, as we proved before. They commonly call that purging fire of the day of Judgement, the Baptism by fire, and the flaming sword at the entry of Paradise. But as for a fire, into which the souls of the faithful enter immediately after death, and the way to deliver those souls out of that fire by Indulgences or Masses, no trace of that is found in Antiquity.

Pope *Gregory* the I. in his Dialogues, about the year 595. began to speak of the purgation of souls in bathes, in rivers, and in the wind. Whence by degrees that Purgatory was formed, which is now believed, and which feeds so many idle bellies, who as far as in them lieth, diminish the benefit of Christs merit for their temporal encrease.

I will add here, the prayers used for the soul of a Cardinal, in his Obsequies and Funeral, as they are set down in the first Book of the Sacred Ceremonies, in the X V. Section, chap. 1. that the Reader may judge, whether those prayers may help to fetch their souls out of Purgatory.

(c) O God to whom all things live, and to whom our bodies perish not when they die, but are changed to a better condition, we humbly beseech thee to command that

(u) εως ου
εταυθα
ωμυ ελπι
δαι ε' ουδω
χρησας
επειδεν β
απαλθωμεν
εμει, ημετοι
λοιπον
μαρτυριας
ικ ε' ουδω
ε' δε τα
ημεμενθω
ημεν α' ουδω
λαδ.
(*) Quando
istinc excef-
sum fuerit
nullas jam
penitentiae
locus est,
nullus satis-
factionis
effectus, hic
vita aut
amittitur
aut tenetur.
(x) Tu sub
ipso licet
exitu & vite
temporalis
occasu pro
delictis roges,
& Deum
qui unus &
verus est
confessione
& fide
agnitionis
implores,
venia con-
fidenti datur,
& credenti
indulgentia
salutaris de
divina pietate
conceditur,
& ad im-
mortalitatem
sub ipsa
morte tran-
situr.
(y) August.
de peccato-
rum merito
& remissione, cap. 28. Nec est ullus ulli medius locus ut possit esse nisi cum Diabolo qui non est cum Christo. (z) Quinto Hypognosticon. Tertium penitus ignoramus, nec esse in Scripturis sanctis invenimus. (a) August. De Civitate Dei, l. 22. c. 13. Nos quidem in hac vita esse quasdam penas purgatorias confitemur. (b) Lib. 22. c. 16. Aliud est pro peccatis longo dolore cruciatum emendari, & purgari diu igne, aliud peccata omnia passione purgasse. (c) Deus cui omnia vivunt & cui non pereunt moriendo nostra corpora, sed mutantur in melius, te supplices deprecamur ut suscipi jubeas animam simul tui per manus sanctorum Angelorum deducendam in sinum amici tui Abrahe Patriarche, resuscitandam in novissimo judicii magni die, & quicquid fallente diabolo vitiorum contraxit, tu pius & misericors abluas indulgendo, per Christum, &c.

thy servants soul be led by the hands of thy holy Angels into the bosom of the Patriarch Abraham thy friend, to be raised up in the last day of the great judgement; and that thou who art meek and mercifull blot out all the vices which he had got by the Devils deceit. And a little after, (d) Lord, when thou comest to judge the earth, where shall I hide my self from the face of thy wrath? For I have offended thee very much in my life. I am frighted with mine offenses, and am confounded before thee. When thou comest to judge, do not condemn me. And a little after, (e) We beseech thee, Lord, absolve the soul of thy servants from every bond of sins, that being risen again in the glory of the resurrection, he may be refreshd among thy Saints and Elect. Then the quire singing, answereth, (f) Deliver, Lord, from eternal death, in that dreadful day, when heaven and earth shall be moved, when thou wilt come to judge the world by fire. I am become trembling, and dread the coming of the examination, and of the wrath to come. When the heavens shall be shaken, that day, that day of calamity and misery, that great and very bitter day.

All these prayers are but words of a soul frighted with the fear of hell and eternal death, and they are requests that the departed person may not be eternally damned, and that he may rise to salvation. Of release from Purgatory, not one word. For these prayers are more antient then the invention of Purgatory. Indeed as the Cardinal doubteth whether the fire of Purgatory be real or metaphorical, which is as much as doubting whether it be true or imaginary; so I believe not that half the people of the Roman Church believe it. No doubt but most of them laugh at it in their heart.

Et electos tuos resuscitatus respiciet. (f) Libera Domine de morte eterna in die illa tremenda. Quando caeli movendi sunt & terra, dum veneris judicare saeculum per ignem. Tremens factus sum ego & timeo dum discussio veneris atque ventura ira, Quando caeli, &c. Dies illa, dies calamitatis & miseriae dies magna & amara valde.

(d) Domine quando veneris judicare terram, ubi me abscondam à vultu ire tue? Quia peccavi nimis in vita mea, commissa mea paveſco & anſe te erubeſco, dum veneris judicare, noli me condemnare, &c.

(e) Absolve quaesumus animam famuli tui ab omni vinculo delictorum ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos

CHAP. 2.

Of Indulgences given unto the dead; and generally of Indulgences.

IF the Fathers of the first ages of the Church had made any mention of the Popes power to fetch souls out of Purgatory, and of the Indulgences, which the Pope scattereth abroad, not ony upon the living, but upon the dead, we may be sure that the Cardinal would not have omitted it in his Treatise of the prayer for the dead: For the principal end of his book is, to exalt the Popes power. But he durst not stir that matter, knowing that it is a sink, which the more it is stirred, the more it stinks; and that no mention of the Roman Indulgences is found in all Antiquity. It is a *noli me tangere*, a fore fistula, which they dare not touch. This was it that gave occasion to *Luthers* preaching. It was the first means that God used to discover the abuse, the tyranny, and the shamefull traffick of the Roman Prelat. Whereupon it will be to good purpose to hear that famous President *Thuanus* in the first book of his history. (a) Pope Leo, a man of himself given to all licentiousness, by the instigation of Cardinal Laurentio Puccio, a turbulent man, so whom he deferred too much; that he might scrape up from all parts money to maintain his infinite expenses, sent Bulls over all the Kingdoms of Christendome, promising the expiation of all sins and eternal life, and taxing the rate which every one was to pay, according to the grievousness of the

(a) Leo cum alioqui ad omnem licentiam sponte sua ferretur, Laurentii Pucci Cardinalis hominis turbidi cui nimium tribuebat

impulſu, ut pecuniam ad immenſos ſumptus undique corrigeret, miſſis per omnia Chriſtiani orbis regna diplomatis omnium delictorum expiationem ac vitam eternam pollicitus eſt, conſtituto pretio quod quiſque pro gravitate peccati deberet. In eamque rem per provincias quaſtores & araria ordinavit, quibus additi praecones qui tanti beneficii magnitudinem apud populos commendarent, &c. Quod licentioſe nimis a Pontifici Miniſtris paſſim atque in Germania praecipue fiebat. Ubi qui redimendam pecuniam Romae à Pontifice conducerant per luſtra & per popinas quotidie ſine pudore in dea uſum uſuſque turpiſſimos poteſtatem extrahendi animas ſunctorum ex igne expiatorio proſequebantur.

ſin.

sin. To which end he sent receivers of money, and established places of receipt in all Provinces. And to the receivers Preachers were joyned, which recommended the greatness of that high benefit unto the people, and by Sermons composed with much art, and by the publishing of certain Pamphlets excessively exalted the efficacy of these Bulls. Which was executed too licentious in many places by the Popes Ministers, especially in Germany, where those that had taken the farm of those profits from the Pope did lavish out the benefit of that power they had from the Pope to fetch souls out of Purgatory, spending it every day without shame, in bawdy-houses, and Taverns, upon dicing and most filthy uses. Then arose Martin Luther. Polydorus Virgilius in the eighth book of the inventours of things giveth the same account of that business.

To know out of what stock the Popes bring forth that spiritual liberality, we must know that the Pope boasteth that he keeps the keys of the Churches treasure, wherein are laid up the supererogatory satisfactions of Christ, of the Saints, and of the Monks. By that account Christ suffered more then needed for our redemption. And the Saints and Monks have suffered and done more then was requisite for satisfaction for their own sins. Pope Clement the sixth (b) saith, the dispensation of that treasure is committed unto him, and that the merits of the blessed Mother of God, and of all the elect from the first to the last, serve to heap up that treasure, and that one must not fear that ever it be consumed or diminished.

That Pope makes Christs merit to serve to make up a stricken measure, and the merits of the Saints to make it a heaped measure, which is not a small augmentation of the treasure, and addition to Christs benefit. Christ then is very much in debt. Is he not?

In that treasure the Pope turns his hand, and dispenseth these superabounding satisfactions of Christ and his Saints, when, and to whom, and in what measure he thinks fit. And this is called pardons and indulgences, which are very lucrative to his Holiness, and to the Clergy. Of which pardons the Pope takes what part he pleaseth for himself, as the Jesuite Emanuel Sa (c) saith after Soto, Navarrus, and Bellarmin, so that the Pope pardoneth himself. And whether these indulgences be given upon just or unjust cause, one must not enquire, as the same Jesuite saith, Some say that the indulgence given without cause is valid. Others say that the cause must be just and proportionate to the indulgence. For my part, I hold that one must not at all doubt of the Indulgence given by the Pope. And these indulgences are of such force, that he that commits a reserved sin (which sort of sin is held to be most horrible) in hope that the Jubilee will come, may be absolved by the Jubilee; as the same Jesuite saith (e) after Navarrus and Bellarmin. That is, a man that hath set a Church on fire, or killed a Priest, trusting upon the approaching Jubilee, in which he shall have plenary indulgence, shall not be disappointed of his expectation, and shall be absolved, so that he may be wicked without danger. Cardinal Tolet a Jesuite defineth thus a plenary indulgence. (f) It is that which remitterth all the pain and all the fault.

To proceed with order, every five and twentieth year the Pope celebrates a Jubilee, in which he opens that treasure, and nameth certain Churches of the City of Rome, where he placeth those pardons and plenary indulgences, upon condition of making certain devotions upon certain dayes in the said Churches. He that should do the same devotions in other Churches nearer to him, or lying more conveniently for him, yea though he should do ten times more devotions, yet should have no part in those indulgences, for being so simple as to seek the remission of sins in a place where it is not to be found. That year the inhabitants of Rome have two great advantages; The one, that they have the remission of sins at their door and near home, whereas those that live in Poland, in Ireland, or in Portugal, come from very far to seek it. The other, that they grow fat by receiving pilgrims, whose blood and marrow they suck, and that the Churches of Rome are enriched with the offerings of strangers.

The next year, if it be his Holinesses pleasure, he transports the Jubilee into the remote Provinces, and puts it in one or two Cities of France for the convenience

(b) Extra-
vagante
Unigenitus.
Ad cuius
quidem
thesauri
cunulum
beatae Dei
genitricis
& omnium
electorum à
primo iusto
ad ultimum
merita
adminiculum
praestare
possunt.
(c) Eman. Sa
Aphorismus
in verbo
Indulgentiae.
Indulgentia
uitur etiam
qui eam
concessit. Soto
Navarr.
Bellarm.
(d) Id. ibid.
Ego de indul-
gentia à
Papa data
non censeo
quicquam
dubitandum.
(e) Id. ibid.
Reservatum
crimen pa-
trans, spe
Jubilei,
potest per
Jubilaeum
absolvi.
(f) Tolet.
Instruct.
sacerd. lib. 6.
cap. 24. §. 3.
Indulgentia
plena remittit
totam penam
& culpam.

niency of the French. They that live near, or that have good legs or good horses, and money to travell, get that plenary pardon at an easie rate, but the poor, and the lame, and they that want horses are deprived of that spiritual liberality.

The Pope doth more, for he giveth indulgences to the dead, and appoints certain Altars, upon which whosoever gets a Mass sung on certain dayes, draws a soul out of Purgatory, such as he will chuse; which is not done without paying.

And that one may not doubt of the certainty of the pardon, the Pope gives pardons to several Churches, (g) with an exact reckoning of years and dayes, as if they had cast account with God. For example, the book of Roman indulgences saith, that at the Church of St. *Ensebins* of Rome there is for every day seventy eight thousand years of free pardon, and as many forties. Here is another out of the same book, of singular vertue for recreation. (h) *In the month of February upon Septuagesima Sunday, there is a station at St. Laurence out of the walls, and plenary indulgence, and eleven thousand years of indulgence, and forty eight forties, and the remission of the third part of all sins: and there a soul is delivered from the pains of Purgatory.* I cannot comprehend what good it doth to a man who hath got full pardon of all sins, to grant him over and above the pardon of the third part of his sins.

There is a book well known (i) of the Indulgences of St. Francis his coard, to which the indulgences of Rome are added. There among many the like absurdities, this is found page 251. *Every day (of the month of August, untill the Nativity of our Lady) there are eight hundred threescore thousand two hundred threescore and two years, and a hundred dayes of indulgence, and the remission of the third part of sins, granted in many Churches.* He that needs but a hundred thousand years of pardon, what shall he do with the seven hundred thousand that remain to him? And to what purpose those hundred dayes added to the eight hundred thousand years?

Here is worse, for the Pope distributes indulgences at random, throwing them among the multitude, as if one cast a handfull of farthings among a company of beggars. The Pope doth this on the day of his coronation, sitting upon throne a set upon the top of the stairs of St. Peters Church; There he scattereth upon the people standing in the place of St. Peter, a plenary indulgence, that is, a full and whole pardon, as it is written in the first book of the sacred ceremonies, in the last chapter of the last Section, in these words, (k) *The Deacon that stands on the right hand, sets upon the Popes head the tiara, which is called the reigne, adorned with a triple crown; And the people crying, Kyrie eleison, the Deacon which stands at the right hand, in Latin, and the Deacon standing at the left, in the vulgar tongue, publish full indulgences.* That being done, a banker is brought for the refection of his Holiness. That spreading of Indulgences, is an imitation of Kings, who in the day of their coronation scatter some handfulls of money upon the multitude. As Kings take that liberality out of their temporal treasure, so doth the Pope take that gift of indulgences out of his spiritual treasure. And that scramble of Indulgences being thrown upon the crowd, every one catcheth what he can.

Observe what advantage the Pope giveth to himself over other Bishops in the power of Indulgences. For whereas the Pope distributes Indulgences, by hundred thousands, Bishops cannot give above forty dayes pardon ordinarily, and one years pardon in the dedication of a Church. Then there are many sins, of which the absolution is reserved unto the Pope, although Christ said unto all the Apostles, and consequently unto all their successors, ** Whatsoever you loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven,* reserving no particular advantage unto St. Peter.

The Lord Cardinal du Perron hath been employed for the distribution of that kind of wares. For when he was yet but Bishop of *Evreux*, being Embassadour at Rome to Clement the VIII. and having born the penance and satisfactions enjoined unto his King by the Pope, as representing the Kings person; the Pope to appease the King (who might have taken that usage unkindly, as one who had never yet learned that lesson to be beaten by Attorney) gave to M. du Perron some bags full of little crosses, and blessed grains to bestow among the people of France, with this indulgence, that every Frenchman that should have

(g) Toler. de Instruct. Sacerd. lib. 6. cap. 24. Sect. Secund.

Cum conceditur limitata indulgentia temporis ut mille annorum & bis mille & plurium.

(h) Nel mese de Febraio, la

Domestica delle Setuagesime è sta rose à S. Lorenzo fuori d'ella mura è indulgentia plenaria è undieci mila anni

d'indulgentia è quaranta, otto quarentene è la remissione d'elli terza parte di tutti peccati, è si libera l'ua anima d'elli pene del purgatorio.

(i) Printed at Paris chez Abraham Saugrain rue S. Jacques aux deuz vi-peres 1604.

(k) Diaconus à dextris tiam quod regnum appellat triplici corona ornatus Pontificis capiti imponit. Populo acclamante Kyrie eleison Diaconus à dextris Latine, à sinistris vero vulgariter publicant plenarias indulgentias. * Matth. 18. John 21.

(l) Catherine de Bourbon.

(m) De ortu
indigentia-
rum y ceru-
tudo hab ri
posset veritati
indigende
opem ferret,
reram quia
nulla Sacre
Scripture
nulla prisco-
rum Docto-
rum Græcorū
aut Latinorum
authoritas
scripta hæc
ad nostram
deduxit
notitiam, sed
hoc solum a
trecentis annis
Scripture
commendatum
est de vetustis
patribus, quod
Beatus
Gregorius
indulgentias
stationum
instituit.

(n) Thomas in 4^{to} Sen-
tentiarum

(o) Multa de
Evangelii &
aliis Scripturis
sunt excusa
luculentius,
& intellecta
perspicacius
quam fuerant
olim. Quod
nemo jam
dubitat or-
thodoxus an
Purgatorium
sit, de quo
tamen apud
priscos illos
nulla vel quā
rarissima
sebat mentio.

(p) Gabriel
Biel Lect. one
57. in Cano-
nem missæ.
Dicendum
quod ante
tempo a beatis
Gregorii mo-
dicus vel
nullus fuit
usus Indul-
gentiarum.
Nunc autem

crebescit earum
usus, quia sine dubio
Ecclesia habet Spiritum
Sponsi sui Christi, & ideo non errat.
(q) Multos fortasse
mouet indulgentiis istis non usq;
adeo fidere, quod earum
usus in Ecclesia videtur
esse recentior, & admodum
sero apud Christianos re-
uertus. Quibus ego
respondeo non admodum
certum esse à quo
primum tradit caperint,
&c. De Purgatorio
apud priscos vel nulla
vel rarissima sebat
mentio. Sed & Græcis
ad hunc usque diem non
est creditum esse. Quan-
diu enim
nulla fuerat de Purgatorio
cura, nemo curabat
Indulgentias.

some of these grains in his beads, should get a hundred years of pardon every time that he should kiss them.

At the same time that M. du Perron was venting abroad those light wares, and that these Indulgences were set in the streets, and publick places of Paris, I was Chaplain in Ordinary to (1) Madam the Kings sister, who being then at Fontainebleau, I had some speech with M. du Perron about that subject, and told him, that it was not credible that a man of such an excellent wit as he, should believe that by kissing those grains, he might get a hundred years of pardon, and that he had little care of his reputation, when he brought such wares out of Italy. Upon this he grew angry, saying that I accused him of Atheism: Then he alleadged the example of Christ, who sent the leprous to the pool of Siloam to make them clean, although he could have cleansed them without that; That the Pope also without these means could forgive sins, but it pleased him to make use of these means. But upon farther conference, I could not get from him any command of God, for that practise, nor any example of the Apostles, nor of their Disciples, nor of any antient Doctor. It is not found, that the High Priests of the Old Testament laid up in their treasure the merits or satisfactions of Noah, or Abraham, or Moses, or that they gave any Indulgences. Yea, the Pope exerciseth a power, which Christ did never exercise. Neither the Apostles nor their Disciples gave any indulgence. There was no speech then of pardons of a hundred thousand years, nor of privileged Altars to deliver souls out of Purgatory. Neither is it like, that the Apostles having taught the Church, that the blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin, believed that the Bishop of Rome ought or might gather the overplus of the merits or satisfactions of the Saints, thereby to purchase the remission of sins. For who gave him commission to gather that overplus of their satisfactions, and lay it up in his treasure? Who hath instituted that treasure? Who hath intrusted him with the dispensation of the same? When did that dispensation begin?

Let us hear, what the most famous of our Adversaries say of this point.

Cardinal Cajetan chap. 2. of the Treatise of Indulgences, (m) If one might have some certainty of the origin of Indulgences, it would help us to the search of the truth; but we have not any written authority, either of the holy Scripture, or of the Antient Greek or Latin Authors, that bring us the knowledge of it. Only, since these three hundred years it was written concerning the antient Fathers, that St. Gregory instituted the Indulgences of the stations. He saith, that some, as Thomas (n) have written that of Gregory, yet in Gregories writings no such thing is found. And for many ages after that Gregory, who writ in the year 595. no mention of it is found.

Navarrus in the Comment of the year of the Jubilee pag. 545. speaks thus, That most holy man John of Rochester, neverend for his dignity of Bishop and Cardinal, taught us why the Antients speak so seldom of Indulgences, and the modern Authors so often. And these are his reasons (o) Many things of the Gospels and other Scriptures are now more splendidly printed, and more clearly understood then they were in old time. No Orthodox man doubteth now whether there be a Purgatory, of which yet the Antients speak not at all or very seldom, &c. For when they made no mention of Purgatory, no body sought for indulgences.

Biel speaks to the same purpose, (p) It must be confessed, that before Gregories time the use of Indulgences was very little or none at all. But now the use of them grows frequent, because without doubt the Church hath the Spirit of her Bridegroom and therefore erreth not. Upon this the Cardinal of Rochester is very expresse, whose words are alleadged by Polydorus Virgilinus chap. 1. of the eighth book of the Inventors of things, (q) Perhaps that which moveth many persons not to put much trust in Indulgences, is that the use of them in the Church seems to be new, and very lately found among Christians. To which I answer, that it is not very certainly known by whom they began first to be given. Then he addeth, No Ortho-

dox

dox man makes a doubt whether there be a Purgatory, of which yet there is either no mention or very little among the Antients: And to this day the Grecians do not believe it. For as long as no man cared for Purgatory, no man also cared for Indulgences: For hence depends all the value put upon Indulgences. Take away Purgatory, what need of Indulgences? At that time then began Indulgences when men began to be afraid of the torments of Purgatory.

Bellarmin doth not contradict this, but saith (r) If we had nothing certain about the treasure of Indulgences (which yet we do not grant) before Clements constitution: Yet we might be certain enough of the truth of that treasure, by the declaration of the High Priest Clement: For we know that God gave him to be a Master, and a Doctor. Now that Clement lived but three hundred years ago.

Navarrus goeth further, for although he was the Popes Penitentiary, yet when he writ for Indulgences he could not abstain from speaking ill of them, saying that (s) the grant of them is odious, because the Collectors seek not the good of the souls, but the profit of money, as the Gloss of the rules of Chancery observeth in the fifty sixth rule. He saith also that (t) by Indulgences the penitential satisfaction is much enervated. (u) Yea, he snibs the Pope his Master very smartly, laying that he that giveth Indulgences payeth the debts of the one with the estate of another, according to the Proverb; It is cutting large thongs out of another mans leather. Which he saith, because the Pope by his Indulgences turneth the merits and satisfactions of Saints and Monks into a payment for others.

It is true that the word Indulgence is often found in the Fathers, but taken in another sense, for the remission of sins, and for the ease from penances imposed upon penitents by the Ecclesiastical Canons.

Especially of Indulgences given to the dead, we have seen above, that Pope Gelasius (x) who lived towards the end of the fifth age doth formally condemn them, and denyeth that the Bishop of Rome can give any absolution to the dead, because it is written, All that thou shalt loose upon earth, not under the earth. And how can the Pope pretend to be the Pastor of them that are no more in the world, seeing that they are no more of his flock, and that no charge of them is committed unto him? For the power of binding and the power of loosing were given together unto the Apostles, and these two things are inseparable. Yet the Pope useth not the power of binding towards the dead. Of which the reason is evident. * Even that none would give money to bind the souls of his departed friends, and to increase their torment, or condemnation. (y) The Pope then hath reserved that which is lucrative unto himself, for he gets an incredible revenue that way. Observe, that this is the most important point of religion, namely the remission of sins. Wherefore Satan was most busie about it, and into such a holy matter, brought such an horrible corruption.

About this point there is a dissent among the Doctors, some say that the Pope draws souls out of Purgatory by a power of jurisdiction. Others say, that he doth it by way of suffrage; But all agree, that souls come out of Purgatory by virtue of the Indulgence. The first sort hath reason to mock the second. For he that intercedes for a sinner, doth not forgive him. To pardon by intercession is an expression that contradicts it self. Now every indulgence is a pardon.

Observe also that the Pope being able (if we may believe him) to deliver as many souls as he pleaseth out of Purgatory, yet leaveth them by millions, and for so many ages in that burning torture, which is an unmercifull and most cruel part.

I will add for a corollary some expressions of Bellarmin, which will shew how Indulgences derogate from the merit of Christ, and clip the benefit of the same. That Cardinal Jesuite speaks thus, (z) Christs merits are partly necessary to all, partly not necessary, but usefull; and in that second respect they belong to the ground of Indulgences. Now to shew how the merits of Christ are only usefull, not necessary, he addeth, If any after he hath obtained the grace of reconciliation is yet in guilt and debt, as for the temporal pain, that person hath no need of the merits of reconciliation; adeptam adhuc sit reus luenda pœne temporalis, is non necessario eget meritis Christi ut per ea reatus illi simpliciter condonetur, &c.

(r) Bellarm. lib. 2. de Indulgentiis cap. 1. Sect. Quarta.

(s) Navarrus de Jubileo pag. 548.

Arrotal. Gloss. fa ea ratione quod quaestiones non

quarunt commodum animarum sed pecuniarum.

(t) Per eam multum enervatur satisfactio penitentialis.

(u) Concedens inde legentiam de alieno soluit alterius debita, &

indecorum esse id sibi facere significat illud barbarum

proverbium, De alieno corio corrigias longas.

(x) Gelas. Commonitorio ad Faustum Legatum.

* Note. (y) Navar. Comment. de Indulg. & Jubil.

pag. 570. Inferior Papa non potest indulgentiam intendere ad mortuos

Purgatorii. (z) Bellarm. l. 2. de Indul. cap. 1. Sect. Tertiâ, Me-

rita Christi partim sunt omnibus necessaria

partim non necessaria, sed utilia, atque hoc modo ad fundamentum indulgentiarum pertinent, &c.

Ac si quis post gratiam

of Christ, that by them that obligation to the pain be absolutely remitted. Not that without the merits of Christ that obligation to the pain can be absolutely remitted, but because he may perhaps not ask of God so great a liberality, and be content to make himself the satisfaction by his own labours and pains, either in this life, or in Purgatory, the merit of Christ alwayes working together. Of which he giveth the reason in the third chapter, because it is a thing more honourable to us, and more usefull, that the second causes be not idle, but contributing with the first cause. That Jesuite seems to personate a sinner speaking thus unto God, *It pleaseth thee to give me an absolute pardon by Christ, and remis the whole pain, both the eternal and the spiritual: But I will not accept such a great liberality. I chuse rather to be burnt for some hundredths of years, and to satisfie thee my self. For it is honourable for me to satisfie in person.* Is not that a magnanimous part, to send back unto God his gift, and refuse to be too much obliged unto him? Upon that account the Devils who make the whole satisfaction unto God by their punishment, are the most honourable. And it is not credible that a man who hath taken that generous resolution, will desire the Popes indulgences to shorten his sufferings, unless he choose rather to be obliged to the Pope, then to God.

Fourth



Fourth Controversie,
OF THE
SEVENTH BOOK.
OF THE
Celibat of Clerks & Monks.

CHAP. I.

A comparison of continent Virginitie with Matrimony. That many Prophets and Apostles were married. That the high Priests under the Law were married. Examination of the Cardinals shifts.



Although chaste and holy matrimony hath God for the Author, who did institute it in Paradise, even before mans Fall: And though Christ himself did honour it with his presence, and the woman was given to man for the propagation of mankind, for help and mutuall comfort, and for a remedy against incontinence: Yet it must be acknowledged, that continent Virginitie, not tempted with any carnal desires, but possessing integrity of mind, no less then of body, hath many advantages above matrimony. For a continent man who leads a single life, is not distracted with the care of his family: He hath fewer bonds to tie him unto the world; He hath more time to employ in study and meditation, and being less loaden with other burthens, he is the fitter to bear the Cross. When it is put on any to take a forced or voluntary exile for the Gospel, a single man will flie with more ease, then he that is clogged with wife and children.

But that gift of continence untempted with concupiscences, is given but unto few persons. And God giveth it not sooner to a Pastor of the Church, then to one of the people, and they that ask it of God by prayers, have no promise to be heard in that point: For God hath promised to hear us in things necessary to salvation; but that gift, to be able to be without a woman, and without any temptation

1 Cor. 7. 7.

tion in that kind, is not necessary for that end. Yea many that made that vow of a single life, before they had well measured their strength, have cast themselves into ruine, and intangled themselves in the Devils nets. In that, as in all other things, God sheweth his wisdom : For having created man for society, not for solitude, and taking care of the preservation of mankind, he hath bestowed that gift upon few persons, and hath planted in man a natural desire of marriage. Which desire, whosoever out of an affectation of greater perfection will resist with obstinacy, or with a rash vow, shall find in the end, that he hath drawn a great deal of sorrow upon himself, and insinared himself into many sins, and that to his own harm he would make himself wiser then God. For this cause the Apostle *Paul*, to whom God by an especiall priviledge had given the gift of continence, said to the *Corinthians*, *I would that all men were, even as I my self* : But acknowledging that it is beyond humane strength, and that it is a gift which God bestoweth upon few persons, he addeth, *but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that*. Next, he chargeth all to whom God hath not imparted that gift, to marry. *If they cannot contain (saith he) let them marry, for it is better to marry then to burn*. It is to be noted, that in all that Chapter in which he speaks at large, both of marriage and virginity, and of the conveniencies of a single life, especially in time of persecution ; he speaks not of the Pastors of the Church, but of all the godly in generall : Knowing that God giveth the gift of continence, not according to the charges that a man hath in the Church, but according to his own will, and distributeth his gifts as he thinks best : And that where that gift of continence is wanting, he will have all persons to marry, making no exception either of Ecclesiastical charges, or of a Monastical vow, which then was not in use.

In this point, as in all others, we must consult the Lords mouth, and take his Word for our rule. In that Word, we find that the most excellent servants of God were married : That *Moses, Samuel, Isaiah*, &c. had wives : In *Isaiah* especially it is observable, that even when he had those excellent revelations, and when God had filled him with the Prophetical Spirit, he begot a son on his wife by Gods command, as is to be seen in the eighth chapter of his Prophecy, ver. 3.

Thus the high Priests and other Priests under the Old Testament, who continually attended the service of the Temple, yet were married, and that in a time when God tyed his people unto many outward purifications, and to a bodily cleanness, far more strictly then under the Gospel. Sure, if there had been some pollution in matrimony, or something derogating unto the holiness of the sacred Ministry, God would have provided for the Priesthood by some other means, then by the lineal succession.

Mark 1. 30. Christ healeth *Peters* wives mother. Our Adversaries deny it not, but they say, that such as were married among the Apostles, abstained from their wives, since the time that they were called unto the Apostleship. But that is said without proof, and against the sentence of the Apostle *Paul*, 1 Cor. 7. 34. *The husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife*. And in the same place, *Defraud not one another, except it be for a time*. And against Christs prohibition, *Matth. 19. 6.* *A man shall cleave to his wife, and both shall be one flesh, so they are no more two, but one flesh : What therefore God hath put together, let no man put asunder*. Now Christ speaks there of the separation of the bed, and of the conjunction which makes husband and wife to be one body and one flesh. Had Christ taken from his Disciples the use of their wives, the Pharisees that spied his life and actions narrowly, would have been sure to defame him for it, and make his doctrine odious.

It must not be omitted, that the Roman Church puts Saint *Peters* daughter among the Saints, and calls her *Petronilla*, by her Fathers name. Whence it follows, that *Peter* begot her in the time of his Apostleship, for before he was an Apostle, his name was not *Peter*.

The text of the same chap. *Matth. 19.* where the Apostle *Peter* saith to Christ, behold we have left all things and followed thee. Whence our Adversaries infer, that he had left his wife, shall be examined hereafter.

Not

Not only St. Peter was married, but many others among the Apostles, if we believe Ignatius in the Epistle to the Philadelphians, (a) Peter and Paul, and the other Apostles did marry. And Clemens Alexandrinus, speaking against those that despised matrimony, (b) Do they reject the Apostles? for Peter and Philip got children: Philip married his daughters to husbands. Ambrose upon 2 Cor. 11. (c) All the Apostles, John and Paul only excepted, had wives.

Acts 21. 9. it is written, that Philip the Evangelist had four daughters.

Platina in the life of Cletus, saith that St. Luke had his wife in Bithynia.

Wherefore also the Apostle Paul, who was not married, declareth that he had power to carry along with him a sister that should be his wife, as well as the other Apostles, 1 Cor. 9. 5. Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord and Cephas? It is true, that the Greek word for a wife, signifieth also any other woman. (d) But in vain to the word sister, had he added the word woman, seeing that every sister is a woman, if by the word woman, he had not understood a wife. That this might not be perceived, the Cardinal alleadging this text, saith, a woman sister, instead of a sister woman or wife, making that word sister, added to the word woman, to distinguish her (saith he) from a married woman, whereas in Greek, the word *γυναίκα*, woman or wife, is added to the word *ἀδελφή*, sister, to distinguish her from all other Christian women, which generally were called sisters. Tertullian in the book of Pudicity, chap. 8. confirmeth that explication, saying, It was lawful for the Apostles to marry, and to lead their wives along with them. And Clemens Alexandrinus, (e) Paul makes no difficulty in a certain Epistle to name his wife, which which he led not along with him, that he might be served with less trouble. He saith then in a certain Epistle, Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, &c. Which I alleadge not because I believe that St. Paul was married, but to shew how Clemens understood that sister woman, and that he took it, as we do, for a wife. I am content to presuppose, that these Apostles who led their wives about, used them only for household businesses, not out of any vow, or any prohibition from Christ, or because they held that contrary to their Ministry; but because minds transported unto divine things, will easily forget humane things. (f) Pope Leo the IX. though an adversary to the marriage of the Clergy, understood that text of women married with the Apostles.

I am not ignorant that some of the Antients, as Hierom and Austin, understand these Texts of some women that followed the Apostles for their household service, like those women that followed Christ, ministering unto him of their substance, Luk. 8. 2, 3. not considering that in the Greek there is not a woman sister, that is a Christian wife, as St. Austin saith, but a sister woman, or wife. Truly it would have been unbecoming for an Apostle, that had a lawful wife, to leave her at home, and carry another about to use her about household businesses; or if he had been a single man, to carry a woman about, especially in journeys of a thousand or twelve hundred leagues. For although the Apostles had vertue enough to overcome that temptation, yet they could not tye the tongues of the people, or avoid distraction. Certainly such a service had been performed with more decency by a man then by a woman, and by many women, more decently then by one. The example of Christ, whom many women followed, is nothing to this purpose: For these women that St. Luke speaks of, followed him in great number, and their farthest journey was twenty five or thirty leagues, which is the distance from Galilee to Jerusalem. But here St. Paul speaks of a woman that followeth an Apostle travelling from East to West, and making journeys of above two thousand leagues.

Distinct. 3. Can. Omnino. Omnino confitemur non licere Episcopo Presbytero diacono propriam uxorem causa religionis abicere à cura sua; sed ut ei victum & vestitum largiatur, sed non ut cum illi carnaliter ex more jaceat. Sicut & sanctos Apostolos legimus egisse, beato Paulo dicente, Nunquid non habemus potestatem mulierem sororem circumducendi?

(a) *ἀδελφὸν καὶ Παύλον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποστόλους*.
(b) *Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 3. c. 1. τὸν φησὶν ἔχειν τέκνα, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ ἐξέδωκεν ἰσοκρίτους*.
(c) *Omnis Apostoli exceptis Johanne & Paulo uxores habuerunt.*
(d) *Note that both in Greek and in French, the same word serveth for a wife and any woman*.
(e) *Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 3. p. 192. καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἔχει γυναῖκα, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἀποστόλοι οὐκ ἐξέδωκεν τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ ἰσοκρίτους ἀδελφὰς περιάγειν, &c.*
(f) *Leo IX.*

CHAP. 2.

That the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. 7. obligeth incontinent Clarks to marry. Confutation of the Cardinals reasons.

THis advantage we have in this point, that our Adversaries confess that the Celibat of Priests and other Ecclesiasticall men, is not commanded in the Word of God. It is then a tradition, and a Law taken from the unwritten Word. I would charitably believe, that the Pope and his Clergy maintain that doctrine and practise with so much eagerness, because they will tend Gods service with less distraction, but that I see the great profits which the Pope reaps by it, the Celibat being very fit for the preservation of the Patrimony of the Church, and for keeping the Clergy in subjection under the power of his Holiness: Also that I see how the same that forbids marriage, permits fornication, and that by barring the Clergy from marriage, both natural and unnatural vices have overflowed the Clergy. (a) *Thomas* the Angelical Doctor acknowledgeth, that the Celibat of Clarks is but of humane right, not of divine institution. (b) *Bellarmino* doth the like after him.

Since then marriage is of divine institution, but the Celibat of humane institution, it is a wonder that humane institution prevails over the commandment of God; and that the fornication of a Priest, is held to be a far lighter sin, then if he had taken a lawful wife. But let us hear what the Word of God saith of this.

1 Cor. 7. 2. *To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband.* Note, that the Apostle saith *every man*, that one may not except Priests and Fryars; and that he saith, *to avoid fornication*; Then a Priest subject to fornication is obliged to marry.

The same Apostle in the ninth verse of the same Chapter, saith, *If they cannot contain, let them marry, for it is better to marry then to burn.* Then if a Priest cannot contain, he is obliged by the Apostles command to marry. *Cyprian* practised that rule. For in his time, about the year 250. of Christ, when Monasteries were not yet, some Virgins living in their Fathers house, made a vow of perpetual Virginity, which afterwards were found in bed with men, yet protesting that they did no harm with them. Of those women, *Cyprian* makes this judgement, in the 62. Epistle to *Pomponius*, (c) *If they have dedicated themselves unto Christ, let them continue to live chastly and honestly, without raising tales about themselves; and being thus strong and firm, let them expect the reward of Virginity. But if they will not, or cannot persevere, it is better for them to marry, then to fall into the fire by their voluptuousness.* He will have such women, that will not or cannot contain, to break their vow and marry. Now I cannot conceive, why a vow made unto God by a young woman, in her fathers house, by her parents consent, must be less binding, then if she had been vailed by a Bishop. For the strength of the vow lyeth not in that Ceremony, but in the obligation not to lie unto God.

* To this Cardinal du Perron gives three answers.

First he affirmeth, that *when the Apostle saith. If they contain not, let them marry, for it is better to marry then to burn; he giveth that order by way of counsel, not by way of precept.* Sure, when the Cardinal writ this, his mind was somewhere else, for he considered not that *counsel*, when it is distinguished from *precept*, is not an order, so that by saying that *St. Paul* gave an order by way of counsel, he speaks things contradictory. Besides, one might that way elude all the Commandments of God, and dispense himself from them; saying, God commands me not to believe in Christ, or to obey my father, or not to be a murderer, only he counselleth me so. When the words of God are imperative, as in this place, *If they contain not, let them marry*; then to take his words for counsels, is a manifest impiety.

Also

(a) 2^a 22
Qu. 88.
Art. 11.
(b) Bell.
Ldc Clericis
c. 18. sect.
At B. Thom.
Nunc solum
breviter
probandum
est non jure
divino, sed
humano
duntaxat
prohibitum
esse conju-
gium.

(c) Quod
si ex fide se
Christo dedi-
caverunt
pudice &
caste sine
ulla fabula
perseverent,
&c.
Si autem
perseverare
nolunt vel
non possunt,
melius est
nubant quam
in ignem
delictis suis
cadant.
* Pag. 688,
689.

Also this Prelate ought not to have been ignorant, that Gods counsels ought to be taken for commands by those that fear him. Thus *Prov. 1.* Heavenly Wisdom denounceth Gods judgements to the prophane, *that set at nought his counsel.* And *Luk. 7. 30.* the Pharisees are condemned for *rejecting the counsel of God.* *Rev. 3. 18.* Christ saith to the Church of *Laodicea*, *I counsel thee to buy of me gold tryed by the fire.* A counsel which the Church of *Laodicea* could not reject, but to their perdition.

The Cardinal useth another shift : He saith that this counsel is given only to those that had made no vow of Celibat, and that were free. Of which vow he produceth an example (and repeats it often) of the widows that had dedicated themselves to the service of the Church in the Office of Deaconesses, and then married, breaking their vow. Of these widows *St. Paul* saith, *1 Tim. 5. 12.* that *they had damnation, because they had cast off their first faith.* But the Cardinal is much mistaken, if he think that the faith mentioned in this place, is the vow of a single life; for the Apostle speaks of the vow given by those women to consecrate their whole life to the service of the Church, in the Office of Deaconesses. It is so far then, that the Apostle would oblige them never to marry after that promise, that on the contrary he commands them, if they be yet young, to marry notwithstanding their promise : For speaking of the same widows, he saith, *v. 14.* *I will that the younger women marry, bear children, &c.* But that for the time to come, they should not be constrained to abandon their Church-service for marrying, and to violate their faith and service, he forbids that any woman be received into that charge, or (as our Adversaries speak) to make that vow, before she be threescore years old. Let us suppose then, that these widows Deaconesses, had made a vow never to marry, how comes it that the Apostle will have those of their number that were young to marry, and not to keep their vow ? Why doth he forbid that any be admitted to make that vow, if she be under threescore years of age ? Why doth the Roman Church go directly against that command, admitting young Girls to make that vow, before they can know the desires of nature ? Why do they condemn the Apostle, who forbids young widows to keep that pretended vow ? But the plain truth is, that the Apostle speaks not here of the vow of a single life, for at threescore years of age that vow would be ridiculous.

Here the Cardinal pronounceth a sentence both severe and rash, absolutely affirming that those widdows, that had violated their faith, were damned. *Saint Paul* saith not that he saith only, that *they had* [that] (d) *condemnation, that they had cast off their first faith.* He condemneth them as guilty, but pronounceth not an absolute sentence of eternal damnation against them. He takes not the hope of pardon from them that repent.

What then, may one say ? do you teach men to break their vows ? are you preachers of disloyalty ? Before I answer, I would wish our Adversaries to answer their own Canons, which say, (e) *In ill promises break thy faith. Perform not what thou hast imprudently vowed. That promise is impious, which is fulfilled by sin.* For things ill, to vow, are worse yet to perform. He that vowed to be unfaithful, must he keep his vow that he may be faithful ? He that vowed to kill his father, must he be a Parricide for fear of offending God ? Or if one promiseth that which is not in his power, as to take the Moon ; or a thing ridiculous, as never to walk abroad, but with a green cap and a mealy face, or a thing to him unknown, as they that from their childhood vow things which they know not ; or that make a vow grounded upon a perswasion, that God will give them that which he hath promised to none : Must all such vows be performed ?

Then especially the vow is evil, when one cannot fulfill it, without breaking another vow which was good, necessary to salvation, and to which all are naturally bound. Then vows must be kept, when they are of good and righteous things, not dishonest, not absurd, not harmful to others, not hurtful to our salvation, and such as are within the compass of our power.

If the vow of single life be examined upon these rules, it will appear that it is a vow which ought not to be made, and to which those that consecrate themselves

Pag. 697,
698.

(d) The Translator craves leave to say here, that our English version, Having damnation, needs a mild construction, *κρίμα* may here signifie judgement, as *Mat. 7. 2.* and the sense of the text may be, that these widows are condemned in the judgement of godly persons, for breaking their faith and promise.
(e) C. 22. qu. 4. cap. in malis. *In malis promissionibus frange fidem. In voto inhonesto frange consilium.*

to the holy Ministry, ought not to be tyed. Also that many who have made that vow, are obliged by Gods commandment to break it. For they that wanting the gift of continence, make a vow not to marry, go against Gods command by his Apostle, *If they contain not, let them marry; and to avoid fornication, let every one have his wife.* That vow also is contrary to a precedent vow, to which we are bound by our birth, by our Baptism, and by our ordinary prayers; even to the vow which every Christian makes to obey God.

Then it is a rash part to vow that which is not in our power. Now the continence, not only of body, but of spirit, free from all desires and carnal concupiscences, is a gift which is not in our power, and which God giveth but to few persons: Neither hath he promised to give it to those that ask it, because it is not necessary to salvation. Whosoever voweth continence, doth rashly presuppose, that God will give it him, and will bestow a grace upon him, which he did not bestow upon many Saints, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs. He doth, as if he vowed never to be sick, and never to have the desires which are natural unto all men. A man burning with incontinence, who voweth unto God never to marry, is like a sick man that voweth never to use the remedies which God presents unto him. He saith to God silently, *Lord I promise thee to disobey thy Word.* And yet he will have that disobedience allowed him as a work of supererogation, and a greater perfection than to fulfill the Law of God. If then he hath made that vow without knowledge, as those that are cast into Monasteries, before they be acquainted with the stings of concupiscence, when he comes by age to see himself engaged in a dangerous vow, which kindleth his lust, and barreth him from the means to quench it, he must break that vow which he made ignorantly, and get out of Satans snares. *Hierom*, the great enemy of marriage, found it so; for in his Epistle to *Eustochium*, he confesseth, that among the austerities and fasts, he had his heart among fair maids, and burnt with incontinence. *Bernard* confesseth the same, in the Book of the inward house, chap. 29. & 36. In *Cassian*, in Collation 12. chap. 9. and in Collation 2. chap. 23. and in Collation 22. chap. 2. the Monks, *Moses, German*, and *Theonas* confess, that after their fasts and prayers they had nocturnall pollutions: And to allay their heat, they permit in their rules things dishonest to relate.

Pag. 688.

The Cardinals third answer is, that the gift of continence which the Apostle Paul speaks of, is not the possibility of containing, belonging to the general grace, which the School-men call sufficient. Otherwise the acts of incontinence should not be so inexcusable, and should not be sins, being committed by persons that had not the power not to commit them. But he understands by the gift of continence, the act of containing, belonging to the efficacious grace, which not only enableth to do, but causeth to do. What a deal of dark gibberish in a clear matter? But it is this Prelates custom, when truth presseth him, to hide himself in darkness. I let alone for the present that School distinction, truly ridiculous, which forgeth a grace to be able to do without doing; a grace to be able to contain, but not to contain, which is an useless grace. Then a sufficient grace, which yet hath no efficacy; for therefore it is insufficient, because it hath no efficacy. And that false maxime which he sets down, that sins are no sins, when they are committed by persons that have not the power not to commit them. Upon that score the Devil should never sin, for he is altogether incapable and unable to do any good. And drunkards, who by a long habit cannot leave their intemperance, should not sin by their excess in drinking. In him that by his fault hath brought himself to the unability of doing good, and to the necessity of sinning, that very necessity encreaseth the sin, as *Aristotle* (f) teacheth, That those persons are damnable, and wilfully vicious, who by custom have brought upon themselves the necessity of doing ill.

But to fetch *M. du Perron* out of his dark hiding place, the summ of his discourse is, that when Paul saith, *If they contain not, let them marry*; by not containing, he understands, not being incontinent in their desire and lust, but committing the act of fornication. And to the same purpose when Paul saith, *It is better to marry than to burn*; by burning, he understands not being tempted with fervent concupiscence,

(f) *Aristot.*
Ethic. 1.3.c.7.
ἐπὶ τῷ κα-
τὰ φύσιν
καὶ τὸ ἀκα-
τάφρον ἐξ
ἀπορίας καὶ
ἐξ ἧς τοιαύτης
μὴ γινώσκου-
σας ἐκόντες
ἐπὶ τῷ κα-
τὰ φύσιν καὶ
ἐκ τῆς ἐξου-
σίας.

piscence, but bringing that temptation to act. This man cuts his throat with his own sword; for if *not containing*, signifieth here *fornicating*: And if the Apostle commandeth them that contain not, to marry, all fornicating Priests and Fryars are of necessity bound to marry, and (as the same Apostle saith) *to avoid fornication, every one ought to have his wife*. By the way, how can *burning* be interpreted *fornicating*, seeing that by *fornicating* men seek to quench their burning? Who knows not that in all languages, unchaste love is called *burning*, (g) especially when one cannot compass the end of his desire.

(g) Formosum pastor Coridon ardebat Alexin.

To conclude, If he to whom God hath given continence, makes a vow not to marry, as long as he hath that gift, and is not tempted with carnal desires, he doth wisely and righteously to keep his vow, and not to marry. But if he fall into ill desires, and see himself in danger of falling; that man not being able to quench his lust without marriage, ought to marry to obey Gods command. Wherefore it is more expedient not to make that vow. A wise man will mistrust his strength, and not put himself in danger to break his vow. And they that will oblige all those to that vow, that will consecrate themselves unto the service of the Church, are the causes of many evils, and oppose Gods Ordinance.

I pass by the abuse of the Franciscans and other Monks, who when they enter into the Monasticall life, make the vow of perpetual continence, not to God alone, but also to the Patron of their Order, as Saint Francis and Saint Dominick. When a Dominican Novice becomes Profess, he makes the vow in these words, *I make a vow to God, and to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and to all the Saints, to yield obedience to such or such a Prelate, &c.* Against the Word of God, Psalm 50. 14. *Offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the most High.* For vowing is an action of *latría*, and of the highest Religious service, as (h) Thomas teacheth. And (i) Cajetan after him; who to excuse those vows made unto the Saints, saith, *that the Saints are Gods by participation.* (k) Bellarmine saith the same; and freely acknowledgeth, *that when holy Scriptures were written, it was not yet the custom to make vows unto the Saints.* For the Apostles had not attained yet that measure of instruction.

(h) Thomas 2^a 2^e Qu. 88. Art. 5.
(i) Cajetan. in notis in illum locum Thomæ.

(k) Bellar. de Cultu. Sanctor. l. 3. c. 9. §. Præterea Cum scriberentur Scripturæ, nondum cæperat usus vorandi Sanctis. Et S. secundâ, Votum non convenit Sanctis nisi quatenus Dii sunt per participationem. At sanctos cum Christo regnantes cetero scimus esse tales.

CHAP. 3.

Another text of the Apostle Paul, 1 Tim. 4. against the prohibition of marrying. Examination of the Cardinals answers.

THE Apostle Paul speaks thus, 1 Tim. 4. 1. *The Spirit speaks expressly, that in the latter dayes some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of Devils; speaking lies in hypocrisie, having their conscience seared with a hot iron: Forbidding to marry.* That holy Apostle saith, that forbidding to marry is a doctrine of Devils.

Cardinal du Perron answers, that Saint Paul speaks there historically of the Legalists, that would have the Law observed with the Gospel, and forbad the use of meats forbidden by the Law, and the use of marriages forbidden by the Law, that is of marriages contracted with other persons, but such as were descended from Abrahams family. Pag. 699. 700.

Those Legalists, who were also called Nazarenes, of whom the Cardinal speaks, were in the Apostles time. Against them, Saint Paul writ the Epistle to the Galatians, and part of that to the Colossians. That sect did vanish a little after the Apostles time. Whence it is evident, that it is not of them that Saint Paul speaks in this text. For he speaks of some seducing spirits that should come in the latter dayes, and that were not yet come when he was writing. In the latter dayes (saith he)

he) *some shall depart from the faith, &c.* speaking in the future. He that saith that some persons are to come thereby, signifieth that they are not yet come. Wherefore the Cardinal mistrusting that answer, hath recourse to the ordinary shift, that Paul speaks of those that condemned marriage in it self, as the *Eneratites and Manicheans, who dogmatized that marriage was an institution of the Devil.*

It is true, that they that maintain marriage to be evil of its nature, do wickedly, and are condemned by the Apostle. But therefore they that condemn marriage out of scruple or superstition, or out of an opinion of superarrogation, are not excuseable, but have part in the same condemnation. For Paul calls generally and without distinction, all that forbid marriage, *seducing spirits, teaching doctrines of Devils.* Whosoever brings exceptions to the general rules of Gods Word, must draw them out of the same Word of God, not forge them in his brains. Did the Word of God except the Clergy from that rule, or those that forbid marriage for exercise, or out of affectation of greater holiness, or to make works of superarrogation; it were well done to alleadge that exception. But these men bring nothing out of the Word of God, and themselves confess that their Celibat is not of divine institution. So, as by divers wayes, several persons may come to the same precipice, likewise by divers wayes and for divers ends and considerations, several persons may transgress the same Commandment, and come to the same condemnation.

The Cardinal is mistaken, when he saith that the Manicheans did absolutely condemn marriage in it self, as evil by its nature, and an institution of the Devil. *Austin* freeth them of that blame, (a) *They that are called Auditors, among the Manicheans, eat flesh, plow the land, and have wives if they list; of which things nothing is done by those that are called Elect.* Those *Auditors* were the people; and those *Elect* were a few persons, who among the Manicheans, by austerity of life, affected a greater holiness. Themselves complained, that they were wronged in the report and opinion of men, as *Austin* saith, (b) *Here I make no doubt (speaking to them) that you will exclaim, to make us odious, that you greatly commend and praise perfect chastity, but yet forbid not marriage, seeing that your Auditors, which are in a second degree amongst you, are not forbidden to marry, and to have wives.* That is very far from believing, that marriage was of the Devils institution. Thus in the Council of *Gangra*, *Eustach* Bishop of *Sebastia* was condemned, because he prohibited eating of flesh, and condemned married Priests; although he protested that he did it, (c) *not out of disdain, but out of a pious exercise, according to God, as we learn of Sozomenus.*

I will say more. That who so will take the pains to read the Decrees of the Popes *Syricius* and (d) *Innocent*, shall find that the Hereticks that condemned matrimony, as evil and polluted by its nature, have not spoken of it in such odious terms as the Popes have done: For they not only forbid the habitation of Clergymen with their wives, as a thing contrary to their vow; but also forbid to admit unto holy Offices, those that dwell with their wives, because it is written, *Be ye holy, for I am holy*, as though there were no holiness in marriage, and because it is written, *unto the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving nothing is pure*; and *they that are in the flesh cannot please God*; as if married persons were impure, unbelieving, and debarred from the possibility to please God; wickedly wresting that which in the Word of God, is said against the prophane in general, to use it against the marriage of Clergy-men. And the same Pope *Syricius* (e) calls the habitation of a Clerk with his wife a crime, & *carpem coitum*: And married Priests, *sectatores libidinum & praeceptores vitiorum*, followers of whoredom and teachers of vices. To these expressions the practise is suitable. For why do they exact of a man the vow of perpetual Celibat, before they admit him into the Clergy? Why is a married man excluded from all Orders

(a) August. Epist. 74. Auditores qui appellantur apud eos & carnibus vescuntur, & agros colunt, & si voluerint uxores habent, quorum nihil faciunt qui vocantur Electi.

(b) Idem lib. 2. de moribus Ecclesiae & Manicheorum, chap. 18. Hic non dubito vos esse clamatores invdiamque facturos, castitatem perfectam vos vehementer commendare atque laudare, non tamen nuptias prohibere, quandoquidem Auditores

vestri quos in apud vos secundus est gradus, ducere atque habere non prohibentur uxores. (c) Sozom. Book 3. ch. 13. Εὐστάθιος ἐπιδικάζωντος ὅτι οἱ ἀυδοῦντες ἐνέκα αἰσῆς καὶ δόξης ἀποστρέφονται τὸ γάμον. (d) Innocent. Dist. 82. Can. Proposui. (e) Ibid. Can. Plurimos.

of the Church, but that they hold the marriage of a Clerk unlawfull of its nature, and incompatible with the holiness of Ecclesiastical ministry? They are the very words of Pope Innocent, *That it is not lawfull to receive into the sacred Offices those that use carnal acquaintance with their wives, because it is written, Be ye holy, for I am holy, saith the Lord.* This sentence is of the Old Testament, when Priests were married by Gods commandment, and is not said to the Priests only, but to all the people.

The Cardinal giveth a third answer, (g) that the Roman Church doth not forbid marriage, because it is in every mans liberty to choose celibat or matrimony, and that no body is constrained to the ministry of the Church or to monastical profession.

I answer, that in the Roman Church there is a constraint to the celibat three ways, 1. He that finding not himself fit for civil busineses, nor capable of a great labour, sees no other way to pass his life with some honour and commodity then by serving the Church, is constrained to make that vow, which he takes half willing, and half unwilling, and he will do it because necessity lyeth upon him to have that will. 2. Then many are cast into Monasteries, not by their choyce, but by the will of their parents, or from their infancy have mitres set on their head, and great Church-livings bestowed upon them, so that they have not their free choyce when they come to the age of choosing, and when nature is most prone to corruption. 3. But the greatest constraint is in them, that have vowed and acknowledging themselves incapable to keep their vow, and being unable to contain, yet are kept against their will under the yoke of that vow against the Apostles command, *if they do not contain, let them marry*; For humane institution hath prevailed over Gods commandment.

(f) Ibid. Can. Proposuiſti, Neque eos ſuſcipi ad officia ſacra admitti qui exercent etiam cum uxore carnale conſortium, quia Scriptum eſt Sancti eſtote quoniam ſanctus ſum, dixit Dominus.

(g) Ch. 28. pag. 700.

CHAP. 4.

Another text of the ſame Epistle, chap. 3.

ONE text more remains, which more then any puts our Adversaries to the rack. The Apostle Paul, 1 Tim. 3. 1. speaks thus, *A Bishop must be blameless the husband of one wife, &c. one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity, for if a man knows not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God.* And the like order he giveth for the choosing of a Bishop, Tit. 1. 6. *If any be blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not accused of riot, or unruly, For a Bishop must be blameless, &c.* Observe that the Apostle saith that the Bishop must be (not that he hath been) the husband of one wife. For if the Apostle said, the Bishop must have been blameless the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, &c. he should make Episcopacy a cessation of virtues, and a dispensation from doing good. And when the Apostle will have the wives of Bishops and Deacons to be grave, not slanderers, sober, &c. it is evident that he instructeth them that are wives of Bishops and Deacons, not them that are their wives no more.

Pope Leo the first understands it so, (a) saying, *The Apostle bids that such a man be made a Bishop, which is known to have been or to be the husband of one wife.*

And Chrysostom upon Tit. 1. (b) St. Paul sheweth that marriage is so honorable, that with it one may get up into the holy See, so he calls Episcopacy. He saith *ὁτι αὐτὸν* with it, not *μετ' αὐτὸν* after it, as all that have some little skill in Greek understand well. Here admire the Cardinals ignorance in Greek; For whereas he reads *μετ' αὐτὸν* (instead of *ὁτι αὐτὸν*) he joyns *πρῶγμα* with *αὐτὸν*, the neuter with the masculine, as if one said *negotium ille pro illud*, which is a gross incongruity.

To know how and in what sense the Apostle will have the Bishop to be the husband of one wife, it must be known that a man may have two wives together,

(a) Leo. Epist. 85. in quibusd. codicibus est Epist. 87. (b) Hom. 2. τοῦ πρῶτου καὶ ἑκτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἕτα τιμὸν ἀγαπᾷ αὐτὸν ὁτι αὐτὸν καὶ ἑκτον ἀγαπᾷν ὁρῶν.

TWO

(c) Joseph. Origin. l. 11.
c. 11. Salome
suyor Herodio
Coflobayum
v:rum suum
repudiat.
(d) Cælli
Epist. 8. Ep. 7.
apud Cicero-
nem. Seneca
de Benef.
l. 3. c. 16.
(e) τὸ ἀνδρ-
ῶνον παρ
ὁμιν ἐστὶν
ἡ μὲν δὲ
ἐν αἰσῶν.
(f) Apud Bal-
samonem.
(g) Chry-
sost. in 1 Tim.
3. cap. 3.
Hom. 3.
τὴν ἀνδρῶνα
καρῶν ἐπι-
δὴ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἰσθμῶν
ἔστιν καὶ
ἐν τῇ τοῖς
ὁμιλῶν γὰ-
ρον καὶ δὲ
ἐκεῖν καὶ
ταυτὶν
γυναικας.
(h) Baron.
an. 58. Sect.
14. Salmeron
Comment.
in 1 Cor. 16.
Disp. 30. Sect.
Septimā.
Estius Com.
in hunc lo-
cum.

two several wayes, Either having two wives together in one house, Or one at home, another divorced without cause of adultery. In this manner a woman may have two husbands, for it was in fashion then, both among (c) Jews, and (d) Pagans, that wives would give the bill of divorce to their husbands. Of which we might bring a great number of examples. The same custom was practised of old among the Christians. *Iustin Martyr* in the beginning of the first Apology speaketh of a Christian woman that put away her husband (e) giving him the bill of divorce. Which is condemned by the Eliberin Council in the eighth and ninth Canon; And in a Council of *Carthage*, which is the one hundred and second Canon in the Code of the Canons of the (f) Church of *Africa*. *Hierom* in the eighty fourth chapter to *Oceanus*, saith, that *Fabiola* put away her husband And in the Epitaph of *Marcella* he saith, that it was the custom of the rich women to marry poor husbands to put them away: For which cause the Apostle giveth order, that the widows that had been wives of more then one husband, should not be admitted into the office of Deaconesses, that is, if at the same time they had a husband at home, and another divorced. *Chrysostom* understands it so, and saith that the Apostle forbids the Bishop to have two wives at the same time, saying that (g) the *Apostle* forbiddeth the excess, because among the Jews the association of a second marriage was lawfull, and to have two wives together. Here the truth is so evident that Cardinal *du Perron*, and with him (h) Cardinal *Baronius*, and *Salmeron*, and *Estius*, acknowledge that in *St. Pauls* time married men were received to be Bishops. But they say it was only for a time, by reason of the variety of unmarried persons in the time of the birth of the Church, when the Jews cursed the Ministers, and the Pagans punished them; But that after the Emperour *Constantin* had given priviledges to them that did lead a single life, the Church began to make use only of persons that lived in celibat.

This is a remarkable confession, that in the Apostles time Bishops were married. For God would not have permitted in the Apostles time a thing evil of its nature in a matter of so high importance as the Ministry of his Gospel. Also it is a great concession, that the celibat of Clerks began in *Constantins* time, that is, above three hundred years after Christs birth: As in effect all the Canons and testimonies of Antiquity, which Cardinal *du Perron* brings upon that subject are since that time. We have then for us in this cause by the confession of our Adversaries the whole Church of the old Testament, and the three first ages of the Christian Church. We may safely believe that the Apostles were at the least, as wise as the Bishop of *Rome*, when they commanded that the *Bishop should be blameless, the husband of one wife*, without declaring that it was a commandment only for a time, or saying how long it must be observed in the Church.

For indeed *St. Paul* spake not of toleration, but gave a rule without exception. Else we should say, that as the command of being husband of one wife was given to the Bishop by toleration and for a time, so the command which obligeth the Bishop to be blameless, sober and vigilant, is but a command for a time. And it will follow, that the Apostle suffers *ad tempus*, and provisionally, that the Bishop be of a holy and blameless life, for these things are tyed together by the Apostle, and equally recommended to the Bishop. But who seeth not that when *St. Paul* saith, *Let the Bishop be blameless, the husband of one wife*, he gives us to understand, that the Bishop must be the husband of one wife, that is, he must not have two together, that he may be blameless. For that was an ordinary thing in those dayes to have two wives, the one at home, the other divorced. Yea, wives would put away their husbands to take other husbands, as we have proved. *Hierom* in the Epistle to *Oceanus* confuteth those, that by one wife understand the Church.

CHAP. 5.

Vindication of the assertion of his Majesty of Great Brittain, that the Canonists teach, that fornication is more tolerable in the Ministers of the Church, then lawfull Matrimony.

THIS doctrine of the Canonists and other Doctors of the Church of Rome, who hold that whoredom is more tolerable in Priests, then lawfull marriage, seemed very harsh and prophane to his Majesty. To which the Cardinal answereth, *I have read no such thing in the Latin Canonists, as having little applied my self to turn over their writings.* This Prelat makes himself an ignorant when he pleaseth, and will not take notice of a thing known to all. Who knows not that at Rome marriage is forbidden to the Clerks, but that Brothel-houses are there publicly licensed? Who knows not, that (a) if a Priest keeps a concubine, or commits whoredom, it is made a laughing matter, but if he had a wife lawfully married, he should be held a monster, and should by no means be suffered? Doth not Cardinal *du Perron* call the marriage of one that hath vowed continence a sacrilege? Who ever gave that odious name unto whoredom? Hath not Pope *Innocent* the third pronounced his judgement upon that? For this being a rule without exception in the Roman Church, that a *bigame* that is, one that was married the second time is irregular, that is, incapable to attain unto the order of Priesthood, as being in a condition incompatible with the holiness of the Order; yet he that keeps many concubines may be admitted to that Order, and is capable of the Priesthood; and that by the judgement of Pope *Innocent* the second in these words (b) *Thou hast desired to be taught by the Apostolick See, whether Priests that have many concubines ought to be accounted bigames.* To which we have thought good to answer, that since they have not incurred the irregularity of bigamy, thou maist dispense with them, as for the exercise of the Office of Priesthood, as with persons that are noted but with simple fornication. That Pope held, that a second marriage leaveth a stain which is for ever incompatible with the Order of Priesthood: but as for whoredom with a multitude of harlots, he holds it compatible with the holiness of the Order, and saith that it is but a simple fornication. To that Decree of Pope *Innocent* the Gloss of the Canon *Maximianus* (c) is consonant, which speaks thus, *It is commonly said, that a Priest ought not to be deposed for simple fornication, seeing that very few persons are found without that vice.*

Cardinal *du Perron* himself joins with them in that opinion, calling (with (d) *Bellarmin*) the marriage after the vow of continence, a manifest sacrilege, speaking thus, *Besides that the infractiō of the vow is against the precepts of the first Table, and imports a manifest sacrilege; other sins are but acts of sin, not resolutions and habits of sin, Whereas the violation of the vow by marrying, is not a simple act of sin, but a continuance, an habit, a perpetual resolution of sin, and a breach of the vow made, not by a simple contrary action as fornication, but by a contract, and as it were by a vow of persevering in the breach of the vow.* This Prelat casteth dust into the eyes of the ignorant, speaking against his conscience. For he knew that a great multitude of Priests and Bishops commit whoredom, not by one only action, but by a continued habit. He knew that by so doing, they sin against the vow which they have made unto God to obey his law, which vow every man is obliged to fulfill. He knew also that a Priest having a concubine, or many, goeth against the vow which he made, when he took upon him the order of Priesthood, that he would live honestly and continently. He knew also that a vow made against God, and against his word, ought not to be kept; and by consequent that a Clerk subject unto whoredom ought to marry, because God saith by his Apostle, *If they contain not, let them marry, for it is better to marry then to burn.* So that whereas Holy Scripture saith, *If they contain not,* quod sacrilegium est non conjugium, sed etiam sanctorum matrimonium sine pollutione quadam & turpitudine non exerceri.

(a) Eman Sa
Aphorism in
verbo Epif-
copus, mere-
triciū est
jure permis-
sum.

(b) Extra de
Bigam. cap.
Quia circa.

Tostulasti
per sedem
Apostolicam
edoceri si
Presbyteri

plures concu-
binas habentes
bigami cense-
antur. Ad
quod diximus
respondendū;
quod cum
irregularita-
tem non
incurrerint
bigamie,
cum eis
tanquam
simplici

fornicatione
notati, quod
ad executio-
nem sacerdo-
talis officii
poteris di-
spensare.

(c) Dist. 81.
Communiter
dicitur, quod
pro simplici
fornicatione
quis depōni
non debet, cum
pauci sine illo
vicio inveni-
antur. Vide
Dist. 82. Can.
Presbyter, in
Glossa.

(d) Bellarm.
de Monachis
cap. 19. Sect.
Jam vero.
Non solum
conjugium
sacerdotum,
let

let them marry; the Roman Church saith, *If Clarks contain not, let them not marry for that.* And whereas St. Paul saith, *It is better to marry then to burn,* the Roman Church saith, *It is better for Priests and Monks to burn then to marry.* And whereas St. Paul saith, *To avoid fornication let every man have his wife,* the Roman Church saith, *Let not Priests given to whoredom have any lawfull wife.* And whereas St. Paul saith, *Let the Bishop and the Deacon be husbands of one wife, and let them instruct their children in all gravity,* The Roman Church saith, *Let neither Bishop, nor Priest, nor Deacon have a wife, and let them not beget children.*

So many texts of Scripture are so many thunderbolts, which the Cardinal thinks to turn away with blowing, bringing testimonies of Fathers against them, that is, men against God. To those testimonies of Fathers we will give a chapter apart.

But how can the marriage of Clarks be but odious in the Roman Church, and held worse then fornication, since Sodomy is held among them more tolerable then marriage? For whereas marriage is judged altogether incompatible with sacred Orders, the like judgement is not made of Sodomy. For by the rules of the Roman Church, a Sodomist may exercise the Priesthood, and by that abominable vice doth not run into irregularity. Navarrus the Popes Penitentiary teacheth that, saying, (c) *The crime of Sodomy is not comprehended among the crimes that bring irregularity. First, because a man incurreth not irregularity but by the cases exprest by the Law, in which number that crime is not. Secondly, because such are the words of Pope Innocent. Thirdly, because it matters not if that crime be foul and detestable, seeing that mental heresie is worse, as Thomas saith; which yet brings no irregularity.*

(c) Navarr.
in Caput in
inferenda
23. Q. 3. De
defensione
proximi.

CHAP. 6.

Answer to the reasons and testimonies which the Cardinal brings against the marriage of Clarks.

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THE Cardinal having confest that the action of matrimony, which hath no other end but to get issue, is free from sin, saith nevertheless, that in that action there is much imperfection, and that it works a total subversion and sinking down of reason. To which I answer, that how great soever mans imperfection be in that point, yet Gods institution, and his especial command covers that defect; God regarding more his ordinance, then our imperfection. If he that drinks in his burning thirst hath all his senses so diverted from all other thoughts, that it is impossible for him to pray to God at that time, or to attend any holy meditation, it followeth not that such a diversion is vicious, or that Clarks must be forbidden to drink when they are dry.

The Cardinal addeth, that by that action original sin is communicated. It is true, that without that action original sin would not pass to posterity, for mankind should perish, and there would be no posterity. But that doth nothing against matrimony, which is more antient then sin; And by the same reason they that attend Gods service ought not to eat, because by meat the life of the wicked, and the sin which is in the world, is maintained.

He saith next, that God did alwayes put off those that exercised the act of matrimony from dealing and partaking with his mysteries, unless they were purified before.

That is altogether false, and no such thing is to be found in Gods word. If it were true, God would have commanded the Pastors of the Christian Church to abstain altogether from their wives, because they ought continually to attend Gods service. And God would have forbidden those that are married among his people to be partakers of the Lords holy table, unless they had purified themselves

selves before by some especial ceremonies; For as for the purity of the conscience, it ought to be continual. Of purification after the marriage bed Christ and his Apostle spake not a word. Wherefore the Cardinal alleadgeth no examples but out of the ceremonial Law, though he knew it to be abolished by the preaching of the Gospel. He ought by the same reason to have spoken of the touching of a dead man, and of the like pollutions which by the Law of Moses hindered a man from administering holy things. Yet let us see what examples he brings.

All the time (saith he) that the Priests of the Law attended the service of the Temple, they abstained from the use of their own wives. This is altogether false.

Of such a constitution there is not one word in the Old Testament. Yea, the contrary is clearly proved by several texts. The High Priest every day burnt the incense, and ordered the lamps in the Holy place, as it is commanded, *Exod. 27. 21. & 30. 7.* (a) The same High Priest made the continual morning and evening sacrifice in the Temple. And the ordinary food of the Priests was the shoulder and the breast of the sacred victims, and the offerings of the people, and the shew bread. By the Cardinals rule Aaron and his successors till David ought not, and could not be married. It is true, that David instituted four and twenty courses of Priests serving by turns, every one a fortnight in a year. Of that order was Zachariah father to John the Baptist, who, because he lived far from Jerusalem was constrained to leave his family all the time of his service. But the High Priest with his wife and children were lodged in the very Temple (as it may be seen 2 Chron. 22. 11, 12.) and absented not himself from his wife.

(a) Aug. Qu. in Leviti. cum. qu. 31. In tabernaculum necesse erat quotidie introire & accedere ad altare propter continuam servitutem,

The Cardinals next allegation is, that when God would give his Law to his people of Israel, he commanded them to abstain from their wives. But is the abstinence of three dayes to any purpose to prove the perpetual Celibar? By the same reason if God had commanded in his Law to abstain from eating certain dayes, one might infer that the Clergy must not eat all. Legal abstinences are no rules under the Gospel. Note also, that the alleadged abstinence for three dayes from the use of women, was not for the Priests only, but for all the people. Wherefore we might with more probability infer, that God requireth no greater abstinence in that point from the Clergy, then from the people.

The Cardinal alleadgeth also that when David and his followers desired to eat the shew-bread, Abimelech the Priest asked them whether they were pure from women, that is (as the Cardinal expounds it) from touching their lawfull wives.

The absurdity of this exposition is evident. For if for lying with his own wife a man was made incapable or unworthy of eating the shew-bread, the Priests were to abstain for ever from their wives, seeing that the shew-bread was their ordinary bread. Either then by those women, other women then lawfull wives are understood, or the Priest Abimelech asking David (b) whether his men had kept themselves at least from women, meant the abstinence from the marriage bed in the time of their separation, in which women were declared polluted according to the Law: and so may Hierom be understood, who upon the twelfth chapter of Matthew, understands that question of the Priest to Davids men of the use of their lawfull wives.

(b) 1 Sam. 21. 4.

But in this point Hieroms authority is of no weight, seeing that he was a mortal enemy to matrimony. For if we must be ruled by him, we must say, that marriage is a shame, that married persons are vessels to dishonour, and that the fruit of marriage is death, but that the fruit of virginity is eternal life, and that they that are in the flesh, that is, the married persons (for so he expounds it) cannot please God. Yet let us receive the Cardinals interpretation; For what strength can there be in that argument? *The shew-bread was not to be given to those who a day or two before had lien with their wives: Ergo, Monks, Deacons, and Priests must never marry.* Will any man that is in his right sense approve that consequence?

This is all that the Cardinal could find in the Old Testament for the perpetual celibat. For he was ashamed to use *Bellarmins* proofs, who proveth that the Clarks of the Christian Church must never marry, because the Priests of the Old Testament had a girdle about their loyns, and wore drawers.

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The Cardinal having alleadged texts of Scripture with so little reason, to amend the matter, he alleadgeth fables and Pagan histories, saying, that *Hippolitus* saluted *Venus* afar off, and that *Alexander* in that act acknowledged that he was no God but man, and that the Kings of *Taprobana* were deposed whensoever they married. If thence it may be gathered that God in his word prohibited the Clarks to marry, let any man judge. May it not rather be hence gathered, that a mans cause is weak, when he is brought to use fables, and Pagan histories.

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From the Old Testament the Cardinal passeth to the New, and saith, that marriage turneth away the affection of Ministers from the love which they owe unto the Church, and divides and transfers it to the love of their children and family, as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. 7. 32. *He that is unmarried, careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord, But he that is married, careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife, and is divided.*

I answer, that if the care of children distracteth the care which a Pastor ought to have of the Church, the burning lust of those that live in an incontinent Celibat doth far more distract them. If in the one there be distraction, in the other there is profanation of the Ministry, and rebellion against God. That distraction did not hinder the Apostle Paul from commanding a Bishop to instruct and breed his children in the fear of God. The Prophet *Isaiah* who begot children in the time of his prophesie and divine revelations, was no less carefull of the Church for that. The same I say of *Moses*, of *Samuel*, of St. *Peter*, and of so many faithfull Pastors of whom we will speak hereafter. This also will serve for an answer to the Cardinals allegation of *Rom. 12. 8.* where the Apostle commandeth, that *he that ruleth*, should do it *with diligence*. Note also, that *Paul* speaking of the distraction from Gods service through the care of wife and children, speaks not of Pastors only, but of the people in general.

To that reason he addeth an evident untruth: That St. *Peter*, *Matth. 19.* saith to Christ upon a discourse about women, *Behold, we have forsaken all and followed thee*, thereby inferring, that *Peter* had forsaken his wife to follow Christ. But it is most false, that *Peter* said that unto Christ upon a discourse about women. These words of *Peter* are in verse 27. now from verse 13, to ver. 27. there is not a word of women and marriage. It is true, that in ver. 29. Christ addeth *Every one that hath forsaken Houses, or Brethren, or Sisters, or Father, or Mother, or Wife, or Children, or Lands, for my names sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit eternal life.* Christ took occasion of saying that upon *Peters* words, *Behold we have forsaken all, and followed thee*: But *Peter* did not say that upon the subject of women. Besides, it is wresting Christs words, to limit to the Clergy only that which Christ said unto all; for all without exception are obliged to forsake Houses, Lands, Wives, Children, Fathers, Mothers, yea, and their own life, when they cannot keep it without breaking their faith unto Christ, and renouncing the profession of the Gospel. Wherefore Houses, Lands, Fathers, Mothers, Wives, and Children are here put in the same rank. Whence it is made plain, that as Pastors are not obliged by their charge to forsake their fields, their houses, and their children, no more are they obliged to forsake their wives. Only in case of persecution, and when a man must either lose these things, or forsake Christ, he must lose all these things to follow Christ. So doth *Austin* expound it in the Epistle to *Hilary*, which is the eighty ninth, (a) *Sometimes there happens a point of necessity, that one must leave either his wife or Christ.* And *Basil* in the eighth interrogation of the more general rules, expounding that text, saith, that God commandeth (b) to leave these things, *when they oppose his commandments.*

(a) Occurrit aliquando necessitatis articulus, ut aut uxor dimittatur, aut Christus.
(b) ὅτε ὁ ἀνὴρ ἢ ἀφείκει τὸν φίλον ἢ τὸν πατέρα ἢ τὸν υἱόν ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα ἢ τὰς ἀγαθὰς, ὅταν ἐκείνην ἢ ἐκείνους ἀποστήσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

The Cardinal shuts up his proof by a text out of *Matth. 19.* where Christ speaks

ſpeaks of thoſe that made themſelves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of heaven. But he abuſeth the Readers, going about to perſwade them, that theſe words are ſaid only of Monks and Clerks who have vowed virginity or perpetual celibat, ſeeing that Chriſt ſpeaks of every godly man that leads a chaſte life, and abſtains from the luſt of women, to ſerve God with more liberty. But every one that makes the vow of celibat is not of thoſe Eunuchs, ſeeing that many with that vow lead an unchaſte life. And Chriſt ſpeaks not there of a vow, but of a ſeparation from bodily pleaſures, which is commendable in Lay-men that have the gift of continence, as well as in Clergy-men.

In vain doth he go about to ſecond that text with another, *Iſa. 56. 4. Thus ſaith the Lord, unto the Eunuchs that keep my Sabbaths, and chooſe the things that pleaſe me, &c. Even unto them will I give in my houſe, and within my walls a place and a name better then of ſons and of daughters.* Our Adverſaries, and Cardinal *du Perron* after others, wreſt this text to an Allegory. Theſe Eunuchs (if we may believe them) are thoſe that have vowed never to marry. And that name better then of ſons and daughters, is the glory given in Paradife unto works of ſuperarrogation, that is, a degree above the vulgar ſouls, and the plebeian Saints. But there is no need of an Allegory, where the literal ſenſe is plain. The ſtrangers and the Eunuchs by the Law of *Moses* were excluded from entering into the houſe of God. The Prophet *Iſaiah* foretells, that theſe diſtinctions ſhall be taken away by the vocation of the Gentiles, and by the preaching of the Goſpel; and that neither Nation, nor bodily imperfection ſhall be a hinderance to any man from entering into Gods Church. And the Spirit of God declareth, that by that reception into the Church, their condition ſhall be better then of thoſe that are ſons and daughters, and natural children, that is, then the *Iſraelites*.

Of the Canon of *Neoceſarea* which the Cardinal addeth out of order, as if it were a text of Scripture, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

CHAP. 7.

What was the belief of the Antient Church about the marriage of the Miniſters of the Church. The reaſons and allegations of Cardinal du Perron are examined, and ſome of his falſifications obſerved.

THE queſtion about the Celibat of Eccleſiaſtical men is the point about which the Fathers diſſent moſt, not only the one from the other, but each one from himſelf. Canons of Councils are found pointed one againſt another, and the ſame Fathers that commend the Celibat, yet acknowledge that it was not practiſed by many. Then the cuſtoms of Countreys were diverſe; The Greek and Oriental Churches commonly receiving married perſons into the ſacred Orders, and not ſeparating them from their wives after their Ordination. And as humane Laws brought in without authority of Gods word, will get ſtrength and take root by the length of time; So we find that in the end of the fourth age, and in the fifth, the Laws of the celibat were ſtrengthened in ſome places, and that from other places alſo God raiſed oppoſitions againſt them. And that as the Popes power increaſed, that yoke grew heavier upon the Clergy of the Weſt, whence great troubles and tumults aroſe in Chriſtendom.

We deny not, that in the writings of the Fathers virginity is much exalted, and that they exhort them that have vowed virginity to keep their vow. But in the three firſt ages, and very far within the fourth, none was conſtrained to make that vow before he was received to the ſacred Orders, and commonly Prieſts were married and dwelt with their wives, although they that lived in celibat were held by many to go beyond others in holineſs. We find alſo that other Churches

is an excellent continence, and that a woman which God hath conjoynd [with a husband] cannot be separated, when a man hath married her when he was a Reader, a Chanter, or a Lay-man. Wherefore he saith that the Council left it to the will of the Clerks to abstain if they would from their wives by mutual consent.

See also *Cassiodorus* (g) and *Nicephorus Calistus* (h) who observeth that *Paphnutius* said, that if sacred persons were forbidden the use of their wives, that Law should cause both the Priests and their wives to lead an unchaste life. But because then some Bishops and Priests to get the reputation of a more exact holiness were not married, but instead of a lawfull wife, kept at home a woman whom they called (i) a well beloved, or Associate, which was covered with the title of holy love, or of some alliance (a thing subject to obloquy and sinister interpretation) the Synod made a Canon whereby it was forbidden to Ecclesiastical persons to keep those Associates in their houses, and command to have no other women about them, but such as were unsuspected, as a Mother, a Sister, and an Aunt. The words of the Canon are, (k) The great Synod hath wholly forbidden, that it be permitted to any Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, or any of the Clergy, to have an associate; but only his Mother, or Sister, or Aunt, or those only persons that are out of all suspicion.

To answer that history of *Paphnutius*, and fence himself against the authority of the Council of Nice, (l) the Cardinal laboureth and sweateth hard. He accuseth that history of untruth, as invented by *Socrates*, not considering that so he accuseth the Roman Decree of falshood wherein the same history is inserted, (m) and that he giveth the lye to so many witnesses, which we have produced. He saith then that there are six recusations against that History, but he brings but five.

The first is, that *Socrates* was a Novatian, and by consequent not to be believed. Which I have shewed to be a calumny, and brought diverse testimonies of *Socrates*, whereby he accuseth the Novatians of schism, and reckons them among hereticks. That objection of the Cardinal is against him, for the Novatians profest a preciser holiness then the Orthodox, and therefore would rather have been contrary to *Paphnutius* who disallowed the rigour of that yoke. Yet let us suppose that *Socrates* was an heretick, for since in the point of the Celibat of Clerks the Novatians dissented not from the Orthodox, a Novatian historian cannot be suspected in this history. Besides, it is with little reason that he falls out with *Socrates* and medleth not with so many other witnesses which we have brought, who say the same as *Socrates*. It seems that the Cardinal had read none but *Socrates* upon that question.

He saith in the second place, that the Grecians unanimously hold the relation of *Socrates* to be false as for Episcopacy; but he alleadgeth no Author for that but *Cedrenus* a new Writer, who saith that *Paphnutius* hindered the Council of Nice who would forbid to the Clerks the conjugal acquaintance with their wives, and decreed that Bishops only should observe it. But we shall hereafter see an Author of far greater authority then *Cedrenus* even (n) *Balsamon*, of all the Grecians the most versed in Councils, and Ecclesiastical Canons, who saith that before the Council of *Trull* held in the year 692. Bishops also might keep their wives. *Justinian* and the Council of *Trull*, which *du Perron* alleadgeth after to invalid the relation of *Socrates*, are to no purpose, for they speak not of *Paphnutius*, nor of the Council of Nice.

In the third place, the Cardinal saith that *Socrates* is manifestly convinced of falshood by the act of the Council of Nice which (designing what sort of women the Council alloweth to lodge in the Bishops house, as the Mother, the Sister, the Aunt) excludeth the wife from that number; and thereby will perswade us that the Council forbids the Bishop to have his wife at home. This is an extream ignorance to

(g) Cassiod. hist. tripartitæ lib. 2. cap. 14. (h) Niceph. Callist. l. 8. cap. 9. Synodum rogavit ut eam legem non perferret. Gravem enim utrisque sacerdotibus scilicet & conjugibus eorum, atque etiam fortasse vite parum pudice causam fore. Vide Polydorum Virgilium lib. 5. de Inventoribus rerum cap. 4. ubi hanc historiam confirmat. (i) ἡ ἀγαπητὴ ἢ συνέσκητον. De Agapetis Hier. ad Eustochium. (k) ἀπογορεύσειν ἢ μεγάλη σύνοδος μὴτε ἐπισκόπων μὴτε πρεσβυτέρων μὴτε διακόνων μὴτε ὁλοῦ τινος ἐκ κλήρου ἔχειν καὶ συνέσκητον ἔχειν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ ἀεὶ ἀδελφὴν ἢ ἀδελφόν ἢ ἀδελφὴν ἢ ἀδελφόν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀδελφὴν ἀδελφόν. (l) Chap. 20. of the third Observation pag. 705. (m) Dist. 31. Can. Nicæna.

have so ill understood the word *συνοικῶντες* which signifieth an Associate. This Cardinal believed, that when the Canon of the Council of Nice, which I have here produced, forbids the Bishop to keep an Associate at his house, by that Associate the Bishops wife must be understood. One must be very little versed in Antiquity to be ignorant, that these women which they called *συνοικῶντες* were strangers not wives. *Rufinus* in the first book of his history chap. 6. so translateth this Canon of the Council of Nice, (o) Let none of the Bishops or other Clerks dwell with strange women, saving only his Mother, his Sister, or his Aunt, which are very near persons, where he termeth strangers those which in Greek are called *συνοικῶντες* or Associates. The first Council of Carthage speaketh the same language in chap. 3. (p) Let it not be lawfull [to them that have a pastoral charge] who abstain from carnal affection, to dwell with strange women; For the occasions of sin must be cut off. And the fourth Council of Toledo, Can. 42. (q) Some Clerks being not married, seek the company of strange women, or of their maids, which is forbidden unto them. Hierom in Epist. 22. to Eustochium shews plainly enough that those women were no wives. (r) Which way (saith he) is that plague of Agapets [or well beloved women] crept into the Church? Whence came that other new name of wives without marriage? Tea, whence came that new kind of concubines? And Epiphanius in the sixty third hereise, (s) We call Agapets the Associate women. Eusebius in the seventh book of his history chap. 22. puts that among the crimes of Paulus Samosatenus, that he had about him a company of unmarried women, not without suspicion of lying with them. The Law of the Emperours Honorius and Theodosius is formall to this purpose, (t) All that are promoted to any degree of Priesthood, or honoured with Ecclesiastical Office must know, that the association of strange women is interdicted unto them, being only permitted to have their Mothers, Daughters and Sisters within their houses. Wherefore Justinian in the 123. Novell chap. 29. alleadging the words of that Canon of Nice, instead of *συνοικῶντες*, and in the Latin *superinductam*, hath put *ἐπιεσάκτων* that is, brought in, or crept in from abroad. Among the verses of Gregory Nazianzen there is an Epigram against these *συνοικῶντι*, Associates, (u) where he saith that he knows not whether the persons so associated be married or not married. In a word, who so will believe that those Agapets or associate women were married women, sheweth himself very ignorant in Antiquity.

Out of all this it is made evident, that this Canon of the Council of Nice, is made only against unmarried Bishops who kept Associates instead of Wives. Photius teacheth that very expressly in his Nomocanon, setting down this Canon in these words. (x) Let no Clerk that hath no wife, keep an associate at home, saving only his Mother, his Sister, &c. The second Council of Tours hath the like Canon, (y) Let no troop of women follow a Bishop that hath not a Bishoppess.

Also the Cardinal goeth about to convince Socrates of untruth for saying, that the Council of Nice being perswaded by Paphnutius made no new order about that point. If (saith he) that dissuasion had been true, the Council neither could nor ought to abstain from it: For that Law which he saith to have been opposed by Paphnutius had been made already by many particular Councils, as by the Eliberin Council where the same Osius, that presided in the Council of Nice, had been present. Nay, the clean contrary followeth. For since Socrates, Sozomenus, Gelasius, Cassiodorus, Nicephorus, and Suidas, of whom the first four are antient witnesses that Paphnutius spake of that Law of Celibat as of a new Law and a yoke which had not been before, we may certainly affirm that as yet there was no such Law. Neither could the Cardinal produce any Council more antient then that of Nice for that Law: for the Eliberin Council which he alleadgeth prescribes the

(o) Ne quis Episcoporum caterorumque Clericorum cum extraneis mulieribus habitet, præterquam cum matre, &c. (p) Nullis licet ab affectu abstinentibus carnali apud extraneas pariter commorari. (q) Quidam Clerici legimus non habentes conjugium, extranearum mulierum interdicta sibi consortia appetunt. (r) Unde in Ecclesiis pestis Agapetorum introiit? unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? Unde novum concubinarum genus? (s) Epiph. hæc. 63. num. 2. τὰς ἀγαπητὰς ἀποκαλεῖται συνοικῶντας γυναῖκας. Vide Pectavium in Epiph. pag. 331. (t) Cod. de Episc. & Clericis lege 19. Quicumque & cuiuscunque gradus sacerdotio fulcrum vel

clericatus honore censetur, extranearum sibi mulierum interdicta consortia hac tantum eis facultate concessa, ut matres filias atque Germanas intra domorum septa contineant. (u) Τὸς ὃ συνοικῶντες οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ἐπαυ-
ται. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶναι ἀγῶνις ὀφθαλμοῖς. (x) Photius Nomocanone Tit. 8. de Paroch. cap. 14. ἀνδρὲς κληρικὲς γυναῖκα μὴ ἔχον ἐπισάκτων ὡχέτω. Apud Balsamonem pag. 99. (y) Cap. 14. Episcopum Episcopam non habentem nulla sequatur turba mulierum.

contrary.

contrary. The words of the Canon are, (z) *We thought it good to forbid altogether Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons establish in the Ministry to abstain from their wives and from begetting children.* Can more expreis terms be devised to condemn Clarks that make conscience to come near their wives, and to beget children? Truly, if that Canon ought to be taken in a quite contrary sense, as the Cardinal will have it, and if thereby the marriage of Clarks had been forbidden, *Hosius* who was both present and President in the Council of *Nice*, and who had been before one of the *Eliberin* Council would have contradicted *Paphnutius*. Would he not have told him, *You erre saying that this Law of Celibat is a new Law, and not established before, seeing that it was established in the Eliberin Council, where I was present?* This is then the difference: The *Eliberin* Council saith, *It is ordained that prohibition be made to Bishops to abstain from their wives*, but Cardinal *du Perron* maintains that *prohibere* signifieth commanding or enjoining to abstain, which is an horrible licentiousness. Yet he defends himself with a text of *St. Paul*, *1 Tim. 4. 3. prohibentes abstinere à cibis*, which (saith he) signifieth commanding to abstain from meats: But that's false. For there is in the text *prohibentium nubere, abstinere à cibis*: The word *prohibentium*, belongs to the precedent clause. And better it is, in the second clause, *abstinere à cibis*, to supply a convenient word to the Apostles intention, and translate commanding to abstain from meats, as also the Doctors of *Louvain* have done in their French version. Thus when *Virgil* saith, that (a) *Evander* sat clad with a short robe, and with a crooked staff, he means not that *Evander* was clad with a staff.

Note also, that this *Eliberin* Council was held in *Spain*, and that in *Spain* since that Council Bishops were married, and begot children in the time of their *Episcopacy*, as we shall see hereafter by the example of *Carterius*.

The Cardinals fourth answer whereby he labours to weaken the authority of that history of *Paphnutius*, is, that the constitution made in the *Eliberin* Council, before the Council of *Nice* was repeated again after the Council of *Nice* in many subsequent Councils. This Cardinal having said, *That the Law of the Celibat had been already made by many particular Councils before the Council of Nice*, could not bring any Council but that of *Eliberis* which commands the clean contrary, as we have shewed. Now he brings Councils much later then that of *Nice*, wherein he saith that this Law was confirmed, which against truth he pretends to have been constituted in the *Eliberin* Council; But what doth that for the weakening of the relation of *Socrates* about the dissuasion of *Paphnutius*? Who knows not, that in points of discipline and Ecclesiastical order ages will alter, and customs will vary? He alleadgeth then the second Council of *Carthage*, held about the year of our Lord 390. that is, sixty five years after the Council of *Nice*, and but a particular Council of some Provinces of *Africa*. But in the same time, both in *Greece*, and in all the East, Priests were married, and kept their wives which they had married before their ordination. The same I say of the first Council of *Toledo*, and of (b) the second Council of *Arles*, if the Acts that are extant be true: For we have them only in the Latin Tomes of the Councils, the first of which hath almost nothing certain but the Canons which the Greek Church hath preserved for us. Neither is it like that those petty Councils which are put a little after the Council of *Nice*, would have opposed themselves unto that venerable Universal Council which had rejected those that would bring in that Law of the Celibat, and had left that to every mans liberty.

In the Roman Decree Dist. 28. (c) a Canon of the third Council of *Arles* is alleadged, saying that a married Priest must not be admitted, unless he promise conversion. Which is not found in that Council of *Arles* in the Tomes of *Collen* of the year 1567. But in the elder Editions of the year 1538. at *Collen*, and of 1551. and in that of *Bartholomew Caranza*, there is the clean contrary. For the Canon speaks thus, *Assumi aliquem ad sacerdotium non posse in conjugii vinculo constitutum non oportet, nisi fuerit promissa conversio*. That is, *It is a thing that must not be, that a man being in the bond of matrimony should not be received*

(z) *Placuit in totum prohibere Episcopis Presbyteris Diaconibus & Subdiaconibus positum in Ministerio abstinere sese à conjugibus & non generare filios, &c.*

Page 703.

(a) *Ipse Quirinali lituo parvum que sedebat Succinctus trabea.*

(b) The Cardinal hath quoted in the margin the first Council of *Arles* instead of the second.
(c) *Can. Assumi.*

(d) Concil.
in Trullo
Can. 2.

ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(e) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(f) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(g) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(h) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(i) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(j) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(k) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(l) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(m) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(n) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(o) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(p) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

(q) ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ πατέρων

ceived to the Priesthood, unless he promise conversion before. So little trust there is to be put in those Latin Canons of Councils which are not found in the Greek.

It is very considerable, that a few years after the Council of Nice a Council was held at *Gangra*, whose Canons (though but of a provincial Council) were of so much authority that they were inserted in the Code of the Universal Church, and approved by the Universal Councils that followed, especially by the sixth Council assembled again in the Palace of *Trull* to make Canons. For such is the second Canon, (d) *We ratify all the sacred Canons of the holy Fathers, &c. those of Neocesarea, as also those of Gangra.* Now of that Council this is the fourth Canon, (e) *If any make a difference of a married Priest, as if none ought to partake of the oblation when he doth the service, let him be anathema.* There is in the Greek *ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡγιασμένος*, which signifieth a married Priest, not one that hath been married. So doth the Apostle speak *1 Cor. 7. 10.* *τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις*, to them that are married, not to them that have been, as our Cardinal (after *Bellarmin*) would perfwade us pag. 708. And *Theodoret* saith, (f) that *St. Peter* was called to the Apostleship *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡγιασμένων συμμορίας* out of the company of married persons, not of those that had been married.

The Roman Decree (g) translateth this Canon, *presbyterum conjugatum, a married Priest.* And *Socrates* in book 2. cap. 33. speaking of the condemnation of this *Eustathius* by the same Council saith, *He commanded that the communion of a Priest, ὡς εἴς τις ἐχούσας, that had a wife, should be avoided like a crime.* Truly although the Greek tongue should suffer that interpretation, yet the occasion upon which that Canon was made, doth not admit it. For the Preface of that Council sheweth, that this Council was assembled against *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, who among many errors taught wives to forsake their husbands, and to shave themselves, and commanded fasting upon the Lords day, and forbad eating of flesh, (h) and dissuaded Christians from praying in the houses of married persons, (i) despising married Priests, and teaching men not to be partakers of the holy mysteries touched by their hand. Which errors the Council condemning, addeth in the end, *We admire virginity when it is with humility, and honour the best cohabitation of matrimony.* Where it is clear, that persons that live in matrimony, are understood, not they that sometimes lived in that state.

The Cardinal adds places of *Eusebius*, and *Epiphanius* which he hath falsified as we shall hereafter see. And those places speak neither of the Council of *Nice*, nor of *Paphnutius*, of whom it is in question in this place; We shall see what authority those Fathers may have whom he alleadgeth.

About the time of the same Council the Emperour *Constantin* made a Law which is the second in the title *de Episcopis & Clericis*, and speaks thus (k) *Let not Clerks be obliged to the expenses of publick messengers or posts, nor their goods and estates. Let this prerogative serve for all the Clerks, that their wives and children, both sons and daughters be exempted from such charges.*

The eighth Canon of the Council of *Neocesarea* commands a Clerk (l) *to send his wife away, if she hath committed adultery after his ordination.* For that Council which forbids (m) Priests to marry after their ordination, permits them to keep their wives which they had married before their ordination. Which custom the Greek Church hath alwayes observed, and observeth to this day.

The Council of *Chalcedon* in the fourteenth Canon (n) forbiddeth Readers and Singers to marry with wives of diverse religion. And in the sixteenth Canon power is given to the Bishop to give permission to marry to persons that have vowed virginity.

Pope *Syriscus* Can. *Quisquis*, in the eighty fourth Distinction speaks thus, (o) *Let any Clerk that shall marry a widow or a second wife be immediately deprived of all priviledges of Ecclesiastical dignity.* That Canon permits not only married

(m) Can. 1. (n) *μὴ ἐξέσθαι τῷ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡγιασμένος καὶ ἡγιασμένην.* (o) *Quisquis clericus aut viduam vel secundam duxerit uxorem, omnis Ecclesiastica dignitatis privilegio mox denudatur.*

persons

persons to be Clerks, but the Clerks also to marry. This agreeth with the Council of *Tela* or *Tellene*, where there is a Decretal Epistle of that *Syricius*, containing nine Canons, of which this is the fourth, (p) *Let not a Clark marry a widow.* The twelfth Canon of the third Council of *Carthage* saith, (q) *Let not the sons or daughters of Bishops, or other Clerks whatsoever, be joyned in matrimony with Pagans, or Hereticks, or Schismaticks.* And in the Epistle of *Innocent* the I. to *Vitricius*, *Let not the Clark marry a widow.*

Socrates in the fifth book, chap. 22. speaks thus, *I have observed another custom in Theffalia, That one that is made a Clark is degraded, if after he was made Clark, he lye with the wife which he had married before he was a Clark.* Whereas in the East, they that are famous (r) and the Bishops themselves, abstain altogether [from their wives] if they will, but they do it not being constrained by any Law: For many among them in the time of their Episcopacy have begot children of their lawful wives. He addeth that *Theodorus* or *Heliodorus*, Clark of *Triba* or *Trixa*, the same that writ the love-book called *Ethiopica*, brought that custom into *Theffalia*.

The Cardinal in the same twentieth Chapter, brings many Texts of *Hierom* against marriage. Which is not fair dealing, for he knoweth how much *Hierom* was blamed for that, as himself confesseth in his Apology to *Pammachius*. We need not repeat the slanderous and reviling words of that Father against marriage, of which we brought some before: Wherefore his words in this question are of no weight. But that which is most observable, is, that himself in the first Book against *Joinian*, where he dealeth so unworthily with matrimony, acknowledgeth nevertheless that in his time Bishops were married. If (saith he) *Samuel* brought up in the *Tabernacle* did marry, what doth that to the prejudice of *Virginity*? (s) *As though many Bishops in our dayes were not married.* Seeing that the Apostle describes the Bishop, the husband of one wife, having children with all chastity. And in the same place, *Married men are chosen, I deny it not.* Again, (t) *Many times in the Ordination of a Priest, a Virgin is neglected, a married man is taken.*

Yea the same *Hierom* in the Epistle to *Oceanus* praiseth *Carterius* a Bishop in *Spain*, that being a Bishop, he begot children of a second wife. *Carterius* (saith he) (u) *desired to have children by his wife, but thou applying thy self to an harlot, hast lost thy race.* He was hid in the secret of his chamber, whilest he served nature and the blessing of God, who saith, *Increase and multiply, and fill the earth:* But thou in thy libidinous heat wast detested by the looks of the people. He did cover with an ingenuous shamefastness that which was lawful, but thou hast impudently exposed unto the eyes of all, that which was unlawful. For him it is written, that marriage is honourable, and the bed undefiled: But for thee it is said, that Whoremongers and Adulterers God shall judge.

In the same place speaking of married Bishops; (x) *If I would name all the Bishops one by one, I might assemble so great a number, that it would go beyond the number of the Synod of Ariminum.* In which Council there was above six hundred Bishops.

The same Doctor in the same Epistle, expounding the Text of Saint Paul, *Let the Bishop be the husband of one wife*; saith, (y) *the Apostle commands that the Bishops of the Church take that licence no more, and forbids them to have two or three marriages together, but will have them to keep but one wife at once.*

Epiphanius, in the Heresie of the *Novatians*, which is the 59. saith, that where the Ecclesiastical Canons are exact and strict, a man begetting children, is not received into Ecclesiastical Orders. But in the same place he acknowledgeth that these Orders were not practised every where. (z) *Thou wilt tell me* (saith he) *that yet in some places, Priests, Deacons, and sub-Deacons beget children.* To which he answereth, that this is done, not by the rules, but by the looseness of men; (a) and

dicenti crescite, &c. cubicalorum secreta texerunt, te subantem ad coitum publica facies execrata est. Ille quod licebat verecundo pudore celavit, tu quod non licebat impudenter oculis omnium ingessisti. Illi scriptum est, honorabiles nuptia, &c. (x) Episcopus si voluerit nominari, tantus numerus congregabitur ut Ariminensis Synodi multitudo superetur. (y) Apostolus praecepit ne eandem licentiam Ecclesiae sibi vindicent sacerdotes, ne binas pariter & trinas conjugia sortiantur, sed ut singulas uno tempore uxores habeant. (z) Quia partus ipsius mei in non timens in timore uxoris procreatus est & diuturnus. (a) Quod multis evenit ad cupiditatem impetibus.

Rrr

because

(p) *ut mulierem id est viduam clericus non ducat uxorem.*
(q) *ut filii vel filiae Episcoporum vel quorumlibet clericorum gentilibus vel hereticis aut schismaticis matrimonio non conjugantur.*
(r) *απεχουμένων & ἀμαρτανών & βλασφημῶν, & ἁδύων νόμων πολέμων, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν & παύσειν ἐν τῷ νομίμῳ γάμῳ μένειν πειθήσονται.*
(s) *Quasi non hodie plurimi sacerdotes habeant matrimonia, & Episcopus Apostolus describat unus uxoris virum habentem liberos cum omni castitate.*
(t) *Frequenter in ordinatione sacerdotali virgo negligitur, maritus assumitur.*
(u) *Ille in uxore optavit liberos, tu in meretrice sobolem perdidisti; illum naturae & benedictioni Dei servientem*

Falsification
of the Car-
dinal.

because they found not persons enough that might fill up the charges, because of the great number. The Cardinal alleadgeth this place according to his wonted faithfulness, for he falsifies it, and clips from it what displeaseth him. He tranflateth for his own conveniency ἀνεγκίς, *sincere*, whereas it signifieth *exact and strict*, and clips this clause, *Thou wilt tell me, that yet in some places Priests and Deacons, &c. beget children*; Also that which Epiphanius saith, that for want of others, Priests that beget children are chosen.

The same Epiphanius in the Heresie of the Apostolicks, which is the 61. praiseth those that vow perpetual Virginity, yet acknowledging that such a vow hath no ground in Scripture, but in tradition. He saith that a Virgin that breaks her vow, sinneth grievously: Yet he declareth, that it is better for her to break that vow, and to marry, then to fall into fornication. (a) *It is better (saith he) to have one sin then many. It is better if a man be faine off from his course, to take a wife openly, according to the Law, and being decayed from Virginity, after a long penance, be brought in again into the Church, &c. then every day to be wounded with secret arrows, and by the vice suggested by the Devil.*

And now since we speak of falsifications, the Cardinal in the same twentieth Chapter, bringing his fifth recufation against the History of Paphnutius, quoteth a Text of Eusebius, which is found in the seventh Chapter of the first Book of Evangelical demonstration. There is according to the Greek, (b) *The Heralds of the word of piety, for the present, necessarily study to keep themselves retired from matrimony, because they tend better things, employing themselves to the divine, and not carnal generation of children.* The Cardinal contented not himself to omit these words, *for the present*, whereby Eusebius signifies, that they that abstained from matrimony, did it in consideration of the present time: But he hath translated also ἀναχώρησις, *dissolution*, to perswade that they that consecrated themselves to the holy Ministry, forsook their wives, and made a dissolution of Matrimony: A thing forbidden by Christ, *Matth. 19. 6. & 9.* And by Paul, *1 Cor. 7. 11.* Indeed ἀναχώρησις, signifies not dissolution, but retirement from society, in the same sense as the Hermites are called in Greek *Anachorets*, that is, *living a retired life far from society*, but that word signifieth not *makers of dissolution*; in the same sense as in the first Book of Herodian, ἀναχωρητικὸς τόπος, signifieth, *a place of retirement, far from communication*; but that doth not import any dissolution. Eusebius then saith, that in his time many Christians, the Pastors of the Church especially, did not marry, that they might tend their office with more liberty. Which is very commendable in them that have the gift of continence. And it is credible, that God at that time gave it to more persons then he doth now. But they did it by a voluntary abstinence, without any binding Law: For of that Law or Rule, Eusebius speaks not. If there had been such a Law, Paphnutius would not have spoken in full Council against that Law (that some would have brought in) as new and intolerable. And the Synod would not have followed his advice.

But in the same time lived Athanasius, who in the Epistle to Dracontius hath these words, (c) *Many Bishops never were married, but there are Monks that are Fathers of children. As on the other side, we have known Bishops that were Fathers of children, and Monks altogether without issue, and Clerks that fasted, and Monks that drank.* (d) *For it is permitted so to do, and it is not forbidden to do otherwise.*

Theodoret speaks thus, (e) *The Lord God made no Laws about Virginity, for he knew that to be above nature. And in the same place, The divine Apostle saith of Virginity, I have no commandment of the Lord, for the Lord gave no Law about Virginity.* (f) *And in the following Chapter, The first of the Apostles was called out of the company of married persons.*

(c) Theodoret. summa divinarum dogmatum, cap. de Virginitate, ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐπέθηκεν νόμον περὶ παρθενίας ἢ γάμου. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ὑπὲρ φύσιν τὸ χεῖμα, &c. ἀλλὰ παρθενοὶ ἐκπαύλῳ κυρίῳ ἢ ἐγγύ. νόμον γὰρ περὶ παρθενίας ὁ κύριος οὐ τίθει. (f) τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ πρῶτος ἦν ὁ τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἐκκλησίᾳ συμφορίας.

Austin in the book of Heresies, in the Heresie of the Apostolicks, (g) *They receive not into their communion, those that make use of wives, and that have propriety of goods : Of which sort of men the Catholick Church hath many, both Monks and Clerks.* We have heard before *Chrysostom* saying, in his second Homily upon the Epistle to *Titus*, that marriage is so honourable, that with it men may rise even to the Episcopal See.

In the twenty eighth Distinction of the Roman Decree, *Can. De Syracusana*, Pope *Pelagius*, though he followed the course of his predecessors, *Syriscus* and *Innocent*, sworn enemies to the marriage of Clerks, yet the people of *Saragossa*, being desirous of a certain Bishop that had a wife and children, granted him unto them, upon condition that he should not bestow the goods of the Church upon his wife and children. (h) *For (saith he) wife and children are they, by whom the Church goods use to be endangered.* Thereby shewing two things; the one, that then there were Priests married, and that the marriage of a Bishop was not held a thing of its nature unlawful, since it was permitted to some. The other, that the true reason which moved the Popes to make that constitution in the Roman Church (for the Greek Church never received it) was the preservation of Ecclesiastical goods.

Isidorus in the beginning of the second Book of Ecclesiastical Offices, brings this rule of the ancient Fathers, (i) *Let not Clerks desire to keep strange women at home. Let them study to keep the perpetual chastity of an inviolate body; or let them, at least be allied with the bond of one marriage.* It is evident, that by those strange women, those *Agapets* or *Associates* are understood, which the Council of *Nice* prohibited. And note, that this rule permits not only to make married men Clerks, but Clerks to marry, as (k) *Tertullian* told us before, that it was lawful for the Apostles to marry.

Baronius an. 453. brings a Synod of *Anjon*, which saith among other things, (l) *Let none be ordained Priests or Deacons but such as are husbands of one only wife, and that have married Virgins.* That constitution was still kept in *Gauls*, in the ninth age. For *Hincman* in his Epistle to the Clergy, and the people of *Tournay*, speaks thus, (m) *Let him not presume to make unlawful Ordinations. Let him not receive a bigame to Orders, nor him that married a woman that was not a Virgin; if it be in question of married persons.* And in the Epistle to the Clergy and people of *Beauvais*, (n) *That man is not received into the Clergy that marrieth a Widow.*

Du Haillan in the life of *Charles the Simple*, saith, that in that Kings reign a Council was held in *France*, in which it was permitted unto Priests to marry Virgin wives.

This is the 43. Canon of the Council of *Toledo*, *The Clerks that have married without the Bishops counsel, or taken widows, or divorced women, or whores for their wives, must be separated by their own Bishop.*

Pope *Innocent* the first, in the fourth Epistle to *Felix* Bishop of *Nocera*, speaks thus, *It is forbidden in the Law unto the Priest, to have a woman that was a widow; or one of a sordid condition.* The same in the Epistle to *Vitricius*, chap. 4. *Ut viduam Clericus non ducat uxorem.* Let not a Clerk marry one that was a widow.

Above all, the thirteenth Canon of the Council of *Constantinople*, reassembled at *Trull*, is expresse to this purpose, *Whereas we have heard, that in the Roman Church this is given for a rule, that such as are to be honoured with the Order of Deacon or Priest, must openly promise that they shall joyne no more with their wives; We according to the ancient rule of the exact Discipline and Order of the Apostles, will that hereafter the co-habitation of sacred men, made according to the Laws, remain firm, not separating them in any wise from touching their wives, nor depriving them of their mutual company in convenient time; so that if any be found worthy to be Ordained sub-Deacon, or Deacon, or Priest, he shall not be kept off from that degree upon pretence of*

est sortitus uxorem. (n) Non recipitur ad clerum qui maritus vidue sit. (o) Clerici qui sine consultu Episcopi sui uxores duxerint, aut viduam aut repudiatam vel meretricem in conjugium receperint, separari eos à proprio Episcopo oportebit.

(g) In suam communionem non recipiunt utentes coniugibus, & res proprias possidentes, quales habet Catholica Ecclesia monachos & Clericos quamplurimos.

(h) uxor superflua & filii per quos ecclesiastica solet periculi substantia.

(i) Contubernia extraneorum fœminarum nullatenus appetant, Castimoniam quoque inviolati corporis perpetuò conservare studeant, aut certe unius matrimonii vinculo fœderentur.

(k) Tertul. lib. de pudic. c. 3. L. cebat Apostolis nubere.

sect. 54. (l) Non nisi unius uxoris viri, indeque virginibus copulati, diaconi vel Presbyteri ordinantur.

(m) p. 590. Nec unquam ordinationes presumat illicitas, ne bigamum aut qui virginem (si de conjugatis agendum est) non

(p) Can.
sextum
Dist. 3. de
Conse-
cracione.

Sextam Syn-
nodam re-
cipio cum
omnibus Ca-
nonibus suis.

(9) ὡς
τῆς ἑλπίς
συνεῖδ᾽ ὅτι
ἐν πρῶτῳ
τῷ παλαίῳ
θυσιαρίου
ἔβλεπεν τοὺς
ὀπισκοπούς
ἔχοντες θυ-
γατέρας, καὶ
μετὰ τὸ
ὀπισκοπεῖν
αἰτίωμο.

(r) Habent
quippe sancti
viri hoc pro-
prium. Nam
ut semper ab
illicitis longè
sint, à se
plerumque
licita ab-
scindunt.

(f) De ordinationibus vero vel de nuptiis clericorum, nullus quicquam præmi præsumat accipere.

(t) Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublata nuptias, majori restituendas videri.

his cohabitation with his lawful wife : And at the time of his Ordination, no promise shall be required from him, that he shall abstain from the lawful habitation with his own wife, for fear that by that means we be constrained to wrong and disgrace matrimony, which God hath instituted, and blest with his presence, seeing that the Gospel cryeth up, That which God hath joyned, let not man separate. The thing most to be observed in that Canon, is that the Church of Rome is by name condemned in it. (p) Pope Adrian approveth the Canons of that Council, as doth also the second Council of Nicæ.

It is true, that in the same Council marriage is forbidden to Bishops. But *Balsamon* Patriarch of *Antioch*, upon the fifth Canon of the Apostles, speaks thus, (q) *Before the VI. Council, which was held in the Palace of Trull, Bishops were permitted to keep their wives, even after they had the Episcopal dignity bestowed upon them.* And he addeth, that in *Africa, Lybia*, and other places, they are allowed to cohabit with their wives.

That I may not amplify this matter further, I will shut up this discourse with a place of *Gregory* the I. who writ in the year 595. when the Law of the Celibat of the Clergy was strengthened in those places, where the Bishop of *Rome* had power. In the IV. Book of his Dialogues, chap. 1. he speaks of the wives of Priests, which he calls *Presbyteras*, *Priestesses*; and saith that a Priest of *Nursia* abstained from touching his wife. (r) For (saith he) *holy men have this property, to cut off themselves from lawful things, that they may alwayes be far from the unlawful.*

The same Pope in the twenty fourth Epistle of the third Book, (f) forbids to receive money for the Ordination, or for the marriage of Clerks. These Popes, though fully bent upon planting the Law of Celibacy with all their power, yet were often forced to give place unto nature; and conscience did many times put them to the rack, and made them confess the truth: So far that *Pius* the II. was saying, that (t) *for great reasons marriage had been taken from Priests, but that for greater reasons it should be restored to them, as Platina saith.*

The words of *Polydorus Virgilius*, are notable in the fifth Book of the *Inventors of things*, chap. 4. The *Apostle Saint Paul* hath prescribed to our *Priests* the manner how they ought to contract matrimony, writing thus unto *Timothy*, The *Bishop* must be blameless, the husband of one wife; And a little after, Let the *Deacons* be the husbands of one wife only. That which is permitted to *Bishops*, is also granted to *Priests*, seeing that upon *Hieroms* testimony we have said in another place, that *Priests* in old time were called *Bishops*. Of sub-*Deacons* he saith nothing, who in those dayes were not a sacred Order.

С Н А Р . 8.

Examples of Clarks married, both Antient and Modern.

(a) ἐγὼ τε
καὶ οἱ παῖ-
δες καὶ
πολλοὶ ἄλλοι
ἐλθόντες,
&c.

(b) εἰς τὸ
ἀγρεῖν
καταλὺν καὶ
παῖδας
ἔχων ἀλλ'
εἰς τὸ τῆς
τῆς δειῆς
χέρων.
(c) D: 709.

(c) F.P.C.

WE heard before *Ignatius*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Ambrose*, saying, that most part of the Apostles had wives: And *Athanasius* saying, that he had known married Bishops, and others living single: And *Hierom* praising Bishop *Carterius* for begetting children on his second wife, in the time of his Episcopacy. I will bring here a few more examples.

Dionysius Alexandrinus, a man of holy life, who writ about the year 260. (a) speaks of his children in an Epistle which is in the sixth Book, chap. 40. of *Eusebius*.

Sozomenus, book i. chap. 11. speaks thus of *Spiridion* Bishop of *Cyprus*, (b) *That rustick man, having a wife and children, yet never the unfitter for that, for divine things.* (c) The Cardinal, who to wrest the Fathers finds nothing too hard, saith that *Sozomenus* understands, that *Spiridion* for being a rustick man, was not the unfitter for divine things; but the Greek construction is repugnant to that, for the word *ῥῆτο*, relates necessarily to that which is next, and the Authors

meaning

meaning is that *Spiridion* was not unfitter for Gods service, for having a wife and children. Also the Cardinal would perswade the Reader, that *Spiridion's* wife was dead when he was made a Bishop. Which *Sozomenus* contradicth, saying, *That rustick man having a wife and children, not that sometimes had a wife.* The Menology of the Grecians alleadged by the Cardinal, that is the Lunar Calendar which the Greek Churches use now, is of no more authority, then if he alleadged a new Almanack printed at *Venice*.

He is ridiculous, when he will prove that *Spiridions* wife was dead because his daughter served him, as though a daughter did owe no service to her Father during her mothers life.

In the ninth Epistle of the seventh book of *Sidonius* Bishop of *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, (d) *Sidonius* puts this among the praises of *Simplicius* Bishop of *Bourges*, He hath a wife of the race of the *Palladians*, and two sons well and prudently instructed.

Sidonius himself had married a wife named *Papianilla* daughter to the Emperor *Avitus*, who distributed her plate unto the poor.

Gregory Nazianzen was son to *Gregory* Bishop of *Nazianza*, who during his Episcopacy lived with his wife *Nonna* to an extream old age in the same house; as it is seen in the said *Gregories* life set before his works; And in the Oration which the said *Gregory* made upon his father, and in the oration about his sister *Gorgonia*, and in that about his brother *Casarius*.

The Cardinal pretends to prove, that he did not touch his wife since he was a Bishop; because he dyed being a hundred years old, and was fourty years Bishop. He meaneth that a man hath lost his vigor at the age of threescore years. Which cannot be true in a man that liveth a hundred years. Yet suppose that it is so: But who knoweth not that a man then jumped not into Episcopacy with one leap, and that this *Gregory* had past many years in the other Orders of the Church, before he was a Bishop.

St. *Gregory* of *Nysa* brother to St. *Basil* was married. *Nicephorus* speaks thus of him book. 11. chap. 19. (e) *Although he had a wife, in other things he was not inferiour to his brother.*

Liberatus in his Breviary, chap. 10. (f) observeth in *Dioscorus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* as a thing not ordinary, that he had neither wife nor children.

Synesius Bishop of *Cyrene* being desired to take upon him the office of Bishop would not accept of it, but upon condition that he might be allowed to keep his wife, and have her with him, and beget on her as many children as he could, as himself saith, Epist. 105. *As for me, I will not separate my self from her in any wife, and will not lye with her by stealth like an adulterer, but I will endeavour and wish to have by her many fine children.*

This example sheweth indeed that in *Africk* the Law was more rigid then in other places, and that they made difficulty to admit a married Bishop. But this shews also that this rule was not generally observed. In vain the Cardinal alleadgeth, that this *Synesius* did not believe the resurrection: For that is nothing to this question. It is enough that he was a Bishop dwelling with his wife, and was very much honoured.

In the fifty sixth Distinction of the Roman Decree in the Canon *Ofius*, there is a long list of Bishops, children of Clerks.

(h) Pope *Ofius* was son of *Stephen* Subdeacon, Pope *Boniface* was son of the Priest *Jocundus*. And that one may not think that they were begotten by fornication, or before their fathers were Clerks, The Canon *Cenomanensem*, in the same Distinction hath these words, (i) *When then we read before, that persons*

(d) De Sidonio vide Gregor. Turonensem & ejus vitam scriptam à Savanarola.

Pag. 710.

(e) Et quamvis is conjugem habuerit, rebus tamen aliis fratri minime cessit.

(f) Ordinatus est Episcopus Alexandrinus Dioscorus qui fuit quidem Archidiaconus ejusdem Cyrilli, qui neque uxorem neque filios habuit.

(g) ἐγὼ ταύτης καὶ ἀλλοτρίων οὐ καὶ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς αὐτῆς ἀθέου ὡς ποιεῖται ἀπὸ βυβλίου καὶ τῶν

καὶ ἐν ἑσπερίαις συγχαίρει τοῖς πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ καὶ ἀπὸ βυβλίου καὶ τῶν ποιεῖται. (h) *Ofius* Papa filius fuit *Stephani* subdiaconi. *Bonifacius* Papa fuit filius *Jocundi* Presbyteri, &c. (i) Cum ergo ex sacerdotibus nati in summos Pontifices supra leguntur esse promoti, non sunt intelligendi de fornicatione sed de legitimis conjugis nati, quæ sacerdotibus ante prohibitionem ubique licita erant & in Orientali Ecclesia usque hodie licere probantur.

(k) ἡ γυνὴ
ἐν τῇ Ἀπο-
κάλυψιν ἡρώ-
δης ἐκ
κλήσεως τοῦ
ἐκ γένους
ἱερατοῦ
κατὰ Ἰουδαίαν.

(l) Gregorius
Papa convoca-
ta Synodo
Simoniacos
anathematiza-
vit, &
uxoratos

sacerdotes à
divino officio
removit, &
Laicos missam
eorum audire
interdixit,

novo exemplo,
& ut multis
visum est in-
considerato
prejudicio,
contra sancto-
rum Patrum
sententiam.

(m) Contra
hoc decretum
quo statuitur
ne quisquam
ad sacros
ordines admittatur, qui non perpetuam continentiam vitamque celibem profectetur: tota Clericorum factio vehementer
infremuit, hominem esse hereticum clamitans, &c. (n) Westmonast. in floribus historiarum lib. 2. An. 1125.
& Matth. Paris. (o) Nemore unicus Tractatu 6. qui inscribitur Labyrinthus cap. 35.

born of Priests were promoted to the charge of High Priests, we must not understand, that they were begotten by fornication, but in lawfull matrimony, which before the prohibition were allowed every where; and yet to this day they are permitted in the Oriental Church. In Armenia the marriage of Clerks was in such honour, (k) that none was received to the sacred Orders unless he was of sacerdotal race. For which the Armenians are condemned by the Council of Trull Can. 33. which forbids to regard the extraction in the ordination.

Yea in the West, for all that the Bishops of Rome could do, Priests were commonly married. In Germany especially, where Pope Gregory the VII. surnamed Hildebrand stirred up many troubles and scandals about that, as it is related by Schafnaburgensis, and Sigebertus, who speaks thus upon the year 1074. (l) Pope Gregory having called a Synod, excommunicated the Simoniacs, and expelled married Priests from the divine Office, and forbad Lay-men to hear their Mass, by a new example, as many hold, and by an inconsiderate prejudice against the opinion of the Holy Fathers, &c. And so Schafnaburgensis on the same year; (m) Against that Decree [of Gregory the VII.] whereby it was constituted that none should be admitted to holy Orders, but such as would profess perpetual continence and single life, the whole faction of the Clergy began to inveigh vehemently, crying out that the man was an heretick, who having forgotten the words of the Lord, All men cannot receive this saying [Matth. 19. 11.] and those of the Apostle, If they do not contain, let them marry, by a violent constraint imposed upon men an Angelical life.

In the year 1225. Innocent the third, and after him Innocent the fourth sent Legats into England, to dissolve the marriages of Priests. (n) One of these Legats called John de Cremona labouring for that separation was found in a Bawdy-house.

Theodoricus a Niem Secretary to three Popes who writ about the year one thousand four hundred and ten (o) affirmeth, that in his time in Norway, Ireland, Gascony, and Portugal, Priests were married, and that it was a shame for Priests not to be married.

CHAP. 9.

Confession of the Adversaries.

ANEAS Sylvius who since was Pope, and was called Pius the II, in the end of second Book of the history of the Council of Basil, saith that when it was in question of electing Felix Pope instead of Eugenius, some alleadged that it could not be because he had been married, and had children. Upon which the same Aneas relateth the reasons propounded by others against it in a full Council, to which the Council adhered. These are the words, (a) As for that which is said of his wife, I make nothing of it, seeing that not only he that had a wife, but he that hath one, may be elected. For to what purpose do the Doctors dispute, whether a Pope that is married be bound to pay the due [benevolence] unto his wife, if a married man may not be admitted? And there have been married Popes, as you know; and St. Peter the Prince of the Apostles, was not without

(a) Illud
autem quod
de uxore
dicitur, nibili
pendo, cum
non solum
qui uxorem
habuit, sed
uxorem

adhuc habens queat assumi. Cur enim disputant Doctores, an uxoratus electus in Papam uxori solvere debitum teneatur, nisi quoniam etiam conjugatus recipi possit? Fuerimque, ut scitis, in matrimonio Pontifices. Nec Petrus Apostolorum Princeps uxore caruit. Quid ista modo objicimus? fortasse non esset pejus, ut sacerdotes quamplures uxorati essent, quoniam multi salvarentur in sacerdotio conjugati, &c.

a wife.

a wife. But why do we object these things? Perhaps it were never the worse if many Priests were married, because many should be saved in matrimony who are damned in a barren Priesthood. In the margent of that discourse, there is this annotation, Read the fifth Epistle of Ignatius the Martyr, and you shall see that all the Apostles had Wives. Read also Baptista Mantuanus in Fallis, and you shall find that Hilary Bishop of Poitiers had a lawfull wife. This is the same Pope Pius the second who told us before, that for great reasons women were taken from Priests, but that for better reasons, they ought to be restored unto them.

The Roman Decree in the twenty third Distinction Can. *His igitur*, speaks thus of Clarks, (b) *Let them study to keep alwayes the holiness of an inviolate body, or at least let them be allied with the bond of one marriage only.*

In the one and thirtieth Distinction Can. *Aliter*. The tradition of the Oriental Church is diverse from that of this holy Roman Church. For their Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons are married, &c.

In Cause 26, Quest. 22. Can. *Sors non est*. (d) *The marriage of Priests is not forbidden, neither by the authority of the Law, nor by that of the Gospel; yet by the Ecclesiastical Law it is altogether forbidden.*

Pope Leo the first in the eighty seventh Epistle, (e) *Let him marry a Virgin, and let that woman that must be a Bishops wife, be altogether ignorant of another husbandsbed.*

Polydorus Virgilius in the fifth book of the inventors of things, chap. 4. (f) *Syricius began to sit in the year 363. He was the first that forbade Priests to marry. And a little after, Before Gregory the seventh in the year of the Lord 1074. marriage could not be taken away from the Occidental Priests. Then he addeth, that this constrained chastity was so far from overcoming the conjugal chastity, that rather the fornication of Priests was thereby so much increased, that it defamed religion more then any other evil. Wherefore he wiseth that marriage were restored unto them.*

Cassander a Canon of Colen in the chapter of the Celibat of Priests, (g) *It remaineth that hereafter this statute may be relaxed for those that shall be admitted into Orders; and that according to the custom of the ancient Church, and of the Eastern Churches untill now, honest married men be also admitted to the Ministry of the Church, and that they be permitted to use familiarity with their wives according to the Canon of the sixth general Council, whereby it is determined that the marriages of Priests and Deacons ought by no means to be dissolved; and that before their ordination they ought not to be constrained to profess chastity.*

ta vel Apostolica autoritate prohibetur, Ecclesiastica tamen lege penitus interdicatur. (c) Virginem uxorem accipiat, & alterius horum nesciat que futura est uxor Pontificis. (f) Syricius circiter annum salutis 363. sedere cepit, sacerdotibus conjugio primus interdixit, nec ante Gregorium 7. an. Domini 1074. conjugium Occidentalibus sacerdotibus adimi potuit. (g) Restat ut in posterum ordinandis hoc statum relaxetur, & more veteris Ecclesie, & huc usque Orientalium Ecclesiarum honesti quoque mariti ad Ecclesie ministerium admittantur.

(b) *Castimoniam non violati corporis perpetuo observare studeant; aut certe unius matrimonii vinculo faderentur. (c) Aliter se Orientalium traditio habet Ecclesiarum; Aliter hujus sancte Romane Ecclesie: Nam eorum sacerdotes Diaconi aut Subdiaconi matrimonio copulantur. Ipsi autem Ecclesie vel Occidentalium nullus sacerdotum licentiam habet conjugium sortendi. (d) Copula sacerdotalis nec Legali nec Evangelica*

CHAP. IX.

Of the disorders happened by the Celibat: Also of the Charthufians, and of St. Francis and his rule.

(a) Ch. 9. of the third Observation pag. 690.

Cardinal du Perron (a) seeing that he could not deny the great disorders and the unchaste life of most of them that live in celibat, saith that the celibat is no cause of those disorders: That in *Aufins* time the chastity of Clarks was exemplary, even of those that had been constrained to be Clarks, and that the cause of that disorder must be attributed to the lust and corruption of men. He propounds the *Carthusians* and *Capuchins* as examples of chastity, and saith that the most predigious examples of lust are found in married persons: Not only in such as *Nero* and *Heliogabalus*, but even in *David*, who had ten or twelve wives, and in *Solomon*, who had three hundred: Which hindred not *David* from defiling his bed with murther and adultery; nor *Solomon* from prostituting himself to (b) seven hundred concubines.

(b) The Cardinal hath not read Scripture well, for *Solomon* had 700. wives and 300. Concubines. (c) 1 Cor. 7. Ibid.

One syllable only of Gods word is better then all that artificial discourse, which is directly contrary to the Apostle, who saith (c) *To avoid fornication let every man have his wife and every woman her own husband*, plainly teaching that marriage serveth to avoid fornication, whereas M. du Perron saith that married men are most given to lust. St. Paul saith, *If they contain not, let them marry*: but M. du Perron opposeth him, saying that married persons are the most incontinent.

It is true, that as there are persons that keep their health in a contagious air, and some that are sick in a pure air; And some that are warm in Winter, though they come not near the fire, and some that are cold in Summer because of the ill disposition of their bodies: Likewise some live chastly in celibat, some live unchastly in matrimony, breaking all obstacles with their unbridled lust, and being sick in the midst of remedies. But thence it follows not, that it is more easie to live chastly unmarried, or that the Apostle was mistaken when he taught that marriage is the right remedy against fornication. Onely it may be thence inferred: that he that liveth unchastely in matrimony, would do worse in that kind if he were not married, and that vices are so strong in some men, that they cannot be overcome by any remedy.

In vain he alleadgeth the *Carthusians* for examples of chastity. For to keep a man prisoner all his life and then praise his chastity, it is as if one put out a mans eyes, and then commended him for never looking upon women. Then continence is to be commended, when one hath the means to please his incontinence. Yet whosoever hath read the books of *Cassian*, knoweth that Monks suffer great inflammations of lust, and are disquieted with strange desires in their solitariness. St. *Benedicts* life, the Author of the order of the *Benedictins*, of whom the *Carthusians* are a branch, saith that he would tumble his naked body upon a sharp thornbush to allay his unchast heat: It had been better done for him to marry, and to follow the Apostles counsel.

As for the *Capuchins* whom the Cardinal propoundeth as examples of chastity, the world speaks of them diversly, and they are not free from blame no more then others. Besides, it is no wonder if their habit frights women. And such women may be found, who being but too free otherwise would make conscience to pollute the habit of St. Francis, which many will put on when they dye, because it is held worth a second Baptism. M. du Perron saith that the *Capuchins* are restituted to their antient Discipline, that is, that they keep the whole rule of St. Francis. Of which rule it will not be amiss to produce some clauses to know whether there be much perfection in the observation of them. That rule

rule prescribes that (d) *None after the year of probation have leave to come out of that religion according to the command of the Lord Pope, because according to the holy Gospel none that puts his hand to the plough and looketh behind is fitted for the kingdom of God.* And a little after, (e) *They that are forced with necessity may wear shoes.* And let all the brethren be clothed with vile garments, which they may piece with sacks and other pieces, with the blessing of God. The same rule commands the Lay Monks of the Order of St. Francis (f) to say twenty four *Pater-nosters* at *Mattens*, besides the other *Paters* of the rest of the day, which amount to forty seven, so that they make leventy one *Paters* every day. To fast from *All-Saints* day to *Christmas*. To receive no money neither by themselves, nor by interposed persons. To have no proper goods, but to beg alms confidently, For (saith the rule) *their deep poverty makes them heirs of the kingdom of heaven.* (g) *That they be short in their Sermons, because the Lord hath shortened the word upon earth.* (h) *That the brethren that cannot read, take no care to learn to read, but that they desire above all things to have the Spirit of the Lord.*

Whether the *Capuchins* keep that whole rule, and whether these precepts to which Monks are bound by an oath without any mention of Holy Scripture or of the word of God (which in that rule is alleadged in derision) and whether such works ought to be reckoned among the works of superarrogation more perfect and more excellent then the Law of God, I leave it to the consideration of all that have some freedom of judgement, and some knowledge in the word of God. For the close of that rule, that goodly Saint speaks thus, (i) *Let it not be lawfull for any man to transgress this page, or to contradict it by an audacious rashness.* And if any presume to attempt it, let him know that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. It was not enough to incur Gods indignation, unless he had added that of Peter and Paul: and why not also that of John and James? And what certainty have we, that for breaking the rule of brother Francis, that is, for touching money with his hands, or for wearing shoes without necessity, or for saying fewer then twenty four *Paters* at *Mattens*, or for possessing some proper goods, a poor Monk must incur Gods indignation? and that by observing these things, not commanded by God, but invented by men, he shall obtain a degree of glory in heaven, above those that have done no more, but to fulfill the Law of God? Here indeed one may doubt, which must be most wondered at, either the blindness of men, or the audaciousness of these Authors of rules, or the patience of God? I refer this to the judgement of the *Capuchins*, who affirm that they wear a garment of three pieces in memory of the Trinity. In which garment they make holes purposely to set pieces to it, although the garment be new, whether they feel much vertue in that habit, and that (k) it serveth them instead of a second Baptism.

The life of St. Francis Patron of the *Capuchins* is such, that it seems that they that writ it intended to defame him, or to abuse him. I leave a thousand ridiculous passages, as that he would be wallowing naked in the snow to beat down his libidinous heat. That he preached unto Birds and Crickets, calling them Brothers and Sisters. That he took up the lice fallen from his garment, and set them upon his garment again. That to obey Pope *Honorius* he wallowed in the mire among hoggs. But there are three things in his life, which seem to me very worthy of observation. 1. (l) That he was cruelly beaten by Devils. 2. That being one day full of joy, and being asked what was the subject of his joy, he answered, (m) *Know ye that I rejoyce, because being Saint, I shall be adored over all the world.* 3. This is observable above the rest, that one time having a great longing to hear ill words, he commanded a Monk to rate him with in-

(d) Nullo modo licebit iis de ista religione exire, juxta mandatum Domini Papæ, quia secundum Evangelium sanctorum nemo mittens manum ad aratrum & respiciens retro aptus est regno Dei.

(e) Qui necessitate coguntur, possunt portare calcamenta, & fratres omnes vilibus vestimentis induantur, & possunt ea repetere de saccis & aliis peciis cum benedictione Dei.

(f) Laici dicant 24. Pater noster pro matutinis.

(g) Cum brevitate Sermones: quia verbum abbreviatum fecit Dominus super terram.

(h) Non curent nescientes literas, literas discere.

(i) Nulli hominum omnium liceat hanc paginam infringere, vel & ausu temerario contradicere. Si quis autem hoc attentare presumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei & beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum

se noverit incursurum. (k) Thomas 2a 2^a qu. ult. Art. 3. Idem in 4. Sentent. Dist. 4. Qu. 3. Art. 3. In vitis Patrum dicitur, quod quidam vidit eandem gratiam descendente super eum qui habitum religionis assumpsit, & super eum qui baptizatur. Bellarm. l. de Monac. cap. 6. Denique Emanuel Sa verbo Religio §. 10. & 17. Bern. lib. de præcepto & disp. (l) Legenda Jacobi de Voragine, Noctē quadam Demones ad eum venientes eum gravissime verberaverunt. (m) Ideo me exultare noveritis, quia adhuc sanctus per totum sæculum adorabor.

(n) *Præcipiebat alicui fratri ut verba vilificationis suis auribus concutendo proferret. Cum que frater ille licet invidius eum rusticum & mercenarium impium & inutilem diceret, exhilaratus dicebat, Benedicai tibi Dominus quia tu verissima loqueris.*
 (o) *Qui non habet uxorem, loco illius concubinam debet habere.*
 (p) *Quidam Græcorum sapientissimus hæc ita sciens esse communia, debere aut amicorum esse communia omnia; In omnibus autem sunt sine dubio & conjuges.*
 (q) *Si ergo Clericus amplectatur mulierem, interpretatur, quod benedicendi causa hoc faciat.*
 (r) *Decretal. lib. 2. Tit. 1. de Judiciis Cap. At si Clerici.*

jurious words. The Monk not daring to disobey him, told him, (n) *Thou art a clown, a mercenary man, an ungodly, and an idle fellow. To whom St. Francis answered, The Lord bleſs thee, for thou ſpeakeſt moſt true.* That was a ſincere confeſſion. But in my opinion all theſe paſſages are little reſembling the life of the Apoſtles.

To ſhut up this queſtion of the celibat, it is eaſie to diſcern by what ſpirit they that lay that yoke upon the Clergy are acted. For the Popes that made that Law, are the ſame that liſenſe Bawdy-houſes, even at Rome, and neer the See of his holineſs. Then the celibat of Clerks and Monks conduceth very much to the preſervation and augmentation of the patrimony of the Church. And the Decrees of the Roman Church, as alſo the głoſſes adjoined unto them, are interlarded with diſhoneſt and jeering clauſes, which ſhew that thoſe very men that preach ſingle life delight in bawdery, and laugh at their own rules. Such is the Canon *Is qui*, in the thirty fourth Diſtinction, which hath this inſcription, (o) *He that hath no wife, inſtead of her muſt have a concubine.* And the Canon *Dilectiſſimis* in Caufe 12. Qu. 1. which approveth Plato's opinion, and calleth him, (p) *The wiſeſt of the Grecians, who ſaid that all things ought to be common among friends.* Now (ſaith the Canon) in that word, all things, no doubt but Wives alſo are comprehended. Of the ſame ſtuff is the Gloſs of the Canon *Absir*, in Caufe 11. Qu. 3. which ſaith, that (q) *if a Clark embrace a woman, it muſt be interpreted, that he doth it to give her his bleſſing.* And the gloſs of the Canon *Vidua*, Diſtinction 34. giveth the definition of a whore, namely, that it is *qua admiſerit plures quam 23. mille homines, ſhe that proſtituted her ſelf to more then three and twenty thouſand men.*

Out of the ſame ſpring proceed the interrogations of the 19. book of the Decrees of Burchard, and of the book of Confeſſions of *Benedicti*, and the Canons of the Roman Penitential, publiſht by *Anſtin* Biſhop of Tarragona, and the horrible ſpeculations of the Jeſuite *Sanchez*, about matrimony, and all the foul ſtuff of the Caſuiſts, who under a colour of ſearching the conſciences, or impoſing penances according to the circumſtances of ſins, or deſcribing the nature of ſins to diſſwade men from it, teach in effect ſo much ribaldry, and ſo many abominations, that all the Pagan Authors now extant that have ſtretcht their wits upon laſciviuſneſs, are modeſt in compariſon of them. And I believe that the Devil himſelf might be their Diſciple. Any one may ſee that theſe men took great delight in ſuch meditations. Is not this a jolly Decretal of Pope *Alexander* the third, *As for adulteries and other leſſer crimes, the Biſhop can diſpenſe from them after the penance ended?* Where note, that he ſpeaks of the diſpenſation which may be given to Clerks. And this Decretal of *Clement* the third. (f) *We decree that to them that take publick whores out of the Bawdy-houſe, and marry them, that action ſhall be profitable for the remiſſion of their ſins?* Note that word *We decree*, for a decree of that nature can be made by none but God who is offended, and to whom it belongs to pardon. Truly that Decree ſhews a way to get the remiſſion of ſins at an eaſie rate.

De adulteriis vero & aliis criminibus que ſunt minora, poteſt Episcopos diſpenſare poſt peractam penitentiam.
 (f) *Decretal. l. 4. de ſponſalibus & matrimoniis, Cap. Inter. Statuimus ut omnibus qui publicas mulieres de lupanari extraxerint & duxerint in uxores, quod agunt, in remiſſionem proſiciat peccatorum.*

CHAP. II.

Of affected austerity. Reasons whereby the Cardinal maintaineth professed slovenliness. The Original of Monks.

HIS Majesty of Great Britain had commended modesty in clothes, and sobriety of dyet, in those especially that teach others, and shew them the way to live well. But he believed not that a man is holy, because he is slovenly, or that if lice get up into the Pulpit with the Preacher, his Preaching is the more effectual for that. He believed not that Scab and Vermine are meritorious before God, or that a man is the more acceptable unto God for going barefoot. He condemned those that whip themselves for themselves, and more yet, such as whip themselves for others. Only, he held that by whipping themselves they do justly, for being so senseless, as to think to satisfy God with outward gestures, not knowing that God requires not that we tear our bodies with cruel handling, but that we turn our hearts with repentance; and not considering that it is the part of a mad Judge, to release a Felon, because his neighbour hath whipt himself for him. Such Penitents are seen at Rome in great troops, the week before Easter, whipping themselves in publick, with their face hid, and their back bare; others bearing a Cross of great weight in the streets, crying, *Fate ben per voi*; that is, *Do good for your selves*. *Beatus Rhenanus*, in his Comment upon the Book of *Tertullian*, *Ad Martyres*, saith that (a) in Italy in the Letanies, some resemblance or trace was seen of the old custom of the Lacedemonians to whip themselves. Of this, (b) *Polydorus Virgilius* speaks in this manner. In publick they march in order, having most of them their face covered with linnen sacks, chafening themselves with a whip, having their back bare and torn, as it is convenient unto true penitents. Then he addeth, (c) This sheweth that this custom proceeded from the *Luperci* of the old Rome: For when they celebrated the *Lupercal* games, they went naked and masked through the town, and smote with whips such as they met in their way.

I am not ignorant that such an austere life, that horreur, those stripes, that slovenliness and sordid habit, bears some shew of humility, and study to mortifie the flesh. But the Apostle, *Col. 2. 23.* warneth us against that shew. For condemning the exterior abstinences and austerities, he saith, *Which things have indeed a shew of wisdom in will-worship, and humility, and neglecting of the body, not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh.* For pride will nettle even in dunghills, and many will bring themselves low, that they may exalt themselves. The world honours them, because they despise themselves, and by humility they get glory and reputation among men. Some out of an affected humility, weare a torn garment, but their pride is seen through the holes of their Cloak. Had they lived a life like other men, nobody had spoken of them, and they had not been discerned in the multitude. But a man that leaveth the croud, to take a way by himself, is sooner taken notice of.

Truly it is a great mistake of holiness, to place it in things which God hath not commanded, and the Apostles have not practised, and which may be done out of hypocrisie, and wherein the Pagans have alwayes out-done the Christians. For the most austere among the Christians, come not near the (d) Priests of *Baal* that lanced their flesh with knives, for the service of the Idol. The *Dervis* of the Mahumetans, and the *Bramenies* of the *East-Indies*, go far beyond the austerity of Fryars.

Sure they that will pay God in such light coyn, fancy to themselves a blind God, and offer an high wrong unto Christ, when they present other satisfactions for sins unto God, then the passion of his only Son.

To these things, of which the Cardinal was not ignorant, he giveth a very superficial answer. (e) He saith that *Elijah* and other holy men were clad with sheepskins. That *John the Baptist* was clad with Camels hair. That *Ambrose* and *Tertullian*

(a) *Istius veteris diabolos vestigium aliquod videas apud Italos in Litanis.*

(b) *Lib. 7. de Inventoribus rerum, cap. 6.*

(c) *Ceterum res ista fidem facit à Romanis Lupercis institutum esse acceptum, quod illi Lupercalia ludicra celebrantes nudiper urbem incedebant & larvati flagellis obvios cadebant.*

(d) *1 King. 18. 28.*

(e) *In the second Observation, chap. 10. & 12. pag. 663. & 664.*

(f) In Latine *Cimices*, a vermine well known in *Paris*, and in *hott Countries*, but unknown in *England*.

tullian speak of the dirt and nastiness of the penitent. That Saint *Simeon Stelites* suffered his legs to be eaten with (f) *punefes*, when he could take them away. That Saint *Hierom* clad himself with a sack, and that his skin was of the colour of a tawney-Moore. That he would smite his breast with a stone till the blood came. That he saith upon the 35. *Psalm*, that sackcloth and ashes are the weapons of penitence, and that *Epiphanius* saith the same. As for the madness of those that whip themselves for others, after he hath praised the Kings gallant wit, and what a grace he hath to make the Reader laugh, and having compared him, uncivilly enough, to a Stage-player, to whom it is more easie to make the beholders laugh, then to make them weep; he answereth, that he knoweth not those that thus cause themselves to be whipt, and that as they gave him no proxie to imitate them, neither did they give him any to defend them. He denyeth not that there are such men, but he saith that he knows them not, and that he would not follow their example.

Mat. 6. 17.

For answer, I say, that we condemn not vermine and dirt, as things contrary to Gods command. Many Martyres shut up in Dungeons, have been brought to that condition: Or if Penitence and the contempt of the world, make a man so far to neglect his body, as to forget cleanliness and decency, God forbid that we should therefore condemn him. Only we condemn those that do these things, that they may be seen, not remembring the Lords command, *When thou fastest, wash thy face, that it may not appear unto men that thou fastest, but to thy Father that seeth thee in secret*. We condemn also those, that put merit in these austerities, and presume thereby to satisfie God, either for theirs, or for their neighbours sins. Wherefore we can hardly be perswaded to praise Saint *Bathens*, (g) who was of such a mortified holiness, that he suffered worms to run between his teeth, as *Sozomenus* relateth. Or Saint *Francis*, who to obey Pope *Honorius*, wallowed in the mire. Or that *Simeon Stelites*, of whom the Cardinal saith, that he suffered vermine to eat his legs.

(g) *Sozom.*
lib. 6. sect 34.

Antiquity hath much admired two *Simeon Stelites*, so called from *stela*, a pillar, because they stood upon pillars. The first of them lived under the Emperour *Theodosius* the II. who died in the year of the Lord, 449. Of that *Simeon* the Historian, *Evagrius* saith, in his first Book, chap. 13. that for the space of thirty years, he stood on the top of a pillar forty cubits high, with an iron chain about his neck. The other *Simon*, who came soon after, went beyond the other, for he lived 68. years at roost upon a pillar, and counterfeited himself to be mad for the love of Christ, and shut up himself many hours with a whore, as the same *Evagrius* relates. (h) That is the Saint whom the Cardinal propounds for an example, who suffered his legs to be eaten by vermine, when he could hinder it. The Cardinals legs were little better, but that came not to him by austerities. (i)

(h) *Evagr.*
l. 4. c. 33.
Solus cum
sola diu
commoratus
est, & lib. 6.
cap. 22.

(i) But by voluptuousness, which got him a body tormented with Venerean diseases, if the world saith true.

The history of that age affords many the like examples. *Socrates* in the fourth Book, chap. 18. saith that Saint *Macarius* commanded a Monk in his sore thirst to content himself with the shadow of a tree, and that he would sleep standing, leaning against a wall. His Legend saith, that he did strict penance for six Moneths for killing a Gnat. *Sozomen* in the sixth Book, chap. 28. saith the Monck *Theonas* was thirty years without speaking. And in chap. 29. he saith, that the Monck *Pior* kept his eyes shut continually, and would see no body, and could not be perswaded to open them to see his sister, which he had not seen in fifty years. The austerity of the Apostles, never came near those examples.

The first Author of those abstinences and austerities, was *Anthony* the Hermite, who died in the year of Christ, 358. For *Paul* the Hermite, dead a little before him, made no Disciples. *Austin* in the first Book of the Christian Doctrine, saith of that *Anthony*, that he had learned the Holy Scriptures only by hearing, for he could not read. Yet at Saint *Anthony's* Church near *Paris*, his image stands with a Book in his hand, and a hogg by his side. We have his life among the works of *Athanasius*, which saith that he was cruelly whipt by a troop of Devils. That he made grave and mild admonitions unto Asses and other beasts, that ate the herbs

of

of his Garden : And that this holy man fore-told that the Hereſie of *Arrius* ſhould be the laſt, and that after it there would be no more in the world. In the ſame liſe there are many expreſs Declarations againſt Invocation of Saints, and Adoration of relicks.

That *Anthony* left Diſciples, who built with their own hands every one his own Cottage. In leſs then fifty years their number did ſo increaſe, that the Deſarts of *Syria* and *Egypt* were full of Cottages, where thoſe Hermites or Moncks lived, who got their living by their labour, came not to Towns but to ſell their work, begged not, were not bound by any neceſſity of vow, (k) asked no approbation of the Biſhop of *Rome* of their Order, and received no Indulgences from him.

Their garment was black and coarſe, their faſts were auſtere, yet (l) unequal, and according to every mans ſtrength. They held it a great crime to faſt upon a (m) *Saturday*, or upon the Lords day. They wore a hood like a childs beggin, becauſe (ſaith *Caffian*, in the firſt book, chap. 4.) it is written in the *Pſalm*, *I was as a child that is weaned of his Mother*; and becauſe Chriſt ſaid, *Unleſs you be like little children, you ſhall not enter into the Kingdom of heaven*. They carried (o) a ſtaff in imitation of *Eliſha*, to beat dogs away, that is, vices. They wore ſtockins, but no ſhoes, (p) for fear of touching dead things. Entering into the place of Prayer, they put off their ſtockins, becauſe it is written, *Put off thy ſhoes, for the place where thou ſandeſt is holy ground*. In ſome places they wore long hair, as in *Meſopotamia*, in other places they wore it ſhort, but not ſhaven round, becauſe of the prohibition, *Levit. 19. 27*. They celebrated Chriſts Nativity upon the day of *Epiphany*, which is the ſixth of *January*. (q) Which was alſo the cuſtom of the whole Patriarchat of *Alexandria*, a certain proof that they were not ſubject to the Biſhop of *Rome*. Breaking an earthen pot, was held a great crime among them, or touching any mans hand. *Caffian* in the fourth book, chap. 10. ſaith that they obſerved ſuch a rigour of diſcipline, that they durſt not ſo much as piſs without leave, not take up a fruit fallen from a tree, and that for letting fall three ſeeds of Lentills, they did publick penance. That the Monck *Mucius* being commanded by his *Abbot* to drown his ſon, carried him immediately to the River, and would have drowned him, had he not been hindred. (r) as *Caffian* relateth.

That *Caffian*, who writ about the year 440. and lived long among them, ſaith, that commonly they were (ſ) beaten by Devils moſt horribly; And that among them, the *Abbot Moſes* was eminent in holineſs, into whoſe mouth the Devil would thruſt humane excrements. Alſo, (t) that Satan by *contreſtation*, would cauſe unto them nocturnal pollutions, after which they did not forbear receiving the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, becauſe it was the Devils doing, not theirs.

The ſame Moncks were generally Anthropomorphites, as (u) *Sozomenus* and *Caffian* witneſs. See alſo about their errours, the firſt book of the hiſtory of *Theodoret*, chap. 9. *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* made uſe of them as of ſouldiers. He ſent for five hundred of them out of the Deſart of *Nittia*, into the City of *Alexandria*, to ſtand againſt the Emperours Lieutenant *Oreſtes*, whom they charged with ſtones, and wounded him in the face. Thus, ſcarce was that profeſſion come into the world, but preſently many errours and exceſſes crept into it.

About the year 380. at the inſtigation of Saint *Hierom*, a woman named *Marcella*, and at her imitation ſome noble women and virgins of *Rome* began to embrace the Monaſtical vow, not living in a Monaſtery, for there was none yet at *Rome*, but living at home, and wearing a coarſe black habit; Which new way diſpleaſed very much the Chriſtian people of *Rome*, as *Hierom* ſaith in the Epiſaph of *Marcella*, (x) *None of the Noble-women knew yet at Rome, what the Monaſtical profeſſion was, and durſt not take that name which was vile and opprobrious among the people, becauſe of the novelty of the thing, as they eſteemed it at that time*. And when it happened that *Bleſſilla* daughter to *Paula* dyed out of exceſs of

(k) Polydor. Virg. de Invent. lib. 7. cap. 1.

Nullum votorum vinculum, ita ut unicuique integrum foret manere aut proſciſci quod terrarum vellet.

(l) Caffian. lib. 5. c. 5. Super jeſu-niorum modo haud poteſt uniformis regula cuſtodiri, quia nec robur unum cunctis corporibus inſeſt.

(m) Caffian. l. 3. c. 9. & 10. Condemneth the Roman Church for faſting upon *Saturday*.

(o) Idem. lib. 1. c. 9. Bicus quo abigunt canes vitiorum.

(p) Idem. lib. 1. c. 10.

(q) Idem. Collat. 10. cap. 2.

(r) Caffian. lib. 4. c. 18. & 25.

(ſ) Idem. Collat. 7.

(t) Idem. Collat. 22. c. 2. & 3.

& 5. & 6.

(u) Sozom. lib. 8. c. 11. & Caffian.

Collat. 10. cap. 2. & 3. (x) Nulla eo tempore nobilium ſaminarum naverat *Rome* propoſitum Monaſtorium, nec andebat, propter rei novitatem, ignominioſum (ut tum putabatur) & vile in populi nomen aſſumere.

(y) Quousque genus detestabile manachorum non orbepellitur? non lapidibus obruitur? non precipitatur in fluctus? Matroam miserabile seduxerunt, &c. These expostulations regarded Hierom, the great promoter of Monastical profession at Rome, who drew as many as he could into it, rich women especially, to whom he writ most part of his Epistles. And yet himself in many Epistles detesteth the life of many Monks, and the corruption crept into that profession, though it was of very late birth. In the Epistle to Rusticus he speaks thus, (z) Some foolish Monks forge prodigies of devils fighting against them, to make themselves admired of the ignorant vulgar people, and thereby to get profit. And in the same place he saith that, (a) he hath seen many, who by the dampness of their cells, and by excessive fasting, and by a long solitariness, and by too much reading, were become melancholy and mad, and had more need of the help of Hippocrates, than of his [that is, Hierom's] admonitions. And in the Epistle to Eustochium, (b) There are some, who having made to themselves a hair cloth, and a frock [like a beggin] to return to infancy, are like owles. And that I may not seem to speak only of women, avoid these men also whom thou shalt see with chains, wearing long hair like women, against the commandment of the Apostle, a goats beard, and a black cloak, going with bare feet hardened against the cold. These are marks of the Devil.

Austin about the year 420. writ the book of the work of Monks, where he speaks to Monks as unto tradesmen labouring with their hands. And complaining of the imposture of the Monks of his time, he saith, (c) the crafty enemy hath spread abroad every where so many hypocrites under the habit of Monks. Among whom he saith that there were some that carried about relicks of Martyrs, which were suspect unto him; (d) Others (saith he) muster up some limbs of Martyrs, if yet they be truly of Martyrs.

By these examples it is made evident, that austerity and nastiness are not alwayes proofs of holiness. As for Hierom, who lay naked upon the hard ground, and beat his breast, as he saith in the Epistle to Eustochium, we will relate his own words, That man is held happy, who as soon as he begins to think on filthy things, killeth those thoughts, and bruiseth them against the stones. (e) Oh how many times, my self being in the desert, in that vast solitude, which being scorched with the Sunns heat, giveth an horrible habitation unto the Monks, did I imagine that I was among the dainties of Rome! I was sitting alone, because I was full of bitterness: My ugly limbs were covered with a buse sackcloth, and my dirty skin had got the mouldiness of a tawny-Moors flesh. Every day I wept. Every day I groaned. And if sometimes sleep overcame me against my Will, I knockt, with a hard fall, my bones, which hardly held together, against the bare ground. Then he addeth, I then who for fear of hell had condemned my self to such a prison, being company only for Scorpions and wild beasts, found my self many times among the dances of virgins. My face was pale with fasting, and yet in my cold body my spirit burnt with lust; and the flesh being dead already before the man, the only burnings of unchast desires boyled up in it. And a little after, I remember that I joynd the day with the night, crying, beating my breast without ceasing, till the Lord chiding me, tranquillity returned to me.

This place is often * alleadged by Cardinal du Perron, not very faithfully translated, to defend austerity, beating of ones self, dirt, and nastiness. And he adds something of his own: For Hierom saith not, that he beat his breast with a stone till the blood came. And as for Hierom, since he was writing to a woman, in my opinion he might have spared confessing to her, that among his

quousque dispersit. (d) Venditant membra Martyrum, si tamen Martyrum: (e) O quates ego ipse in eremo constitutus & in illa vasta solitudine que exusta Solis ardoribus horridum Monachis præbet habitaculum, putabam me Romanis interesse deliciis! Sedebam solus quia amaritudine repletus eram. Horrebant sacco membra deformia & squallida carnis situm. Athiopica carnis obduxerat. Quotidie lachryma, quotidie gemitus, & si quando repugnantem somnus imminebat oppressisset nuda humo vix ossa harentia collidebam, &c. Ille igitur ego qui ob geberna metum tali me carcere ipse deservieram, scorpionum tantum socius & ferarum, sæpe choris puellarum intereram Pallabant ora jejuniis, & mens desideris astutabat; in frigido corpore, & ante hominem suum jam carne præmorta, sola libidinum incendia bulliebant.

austerities, his heart was burning with lust, and that his imagination transported him among the dances of Virgins. But this is an evidence that one grain of the fear of God is better worth then a stone weight of monastical exercise, as St. Paul saith, 1 Tim. 4. 8. that *bodily exercise profiteth little, but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.*

Besides, we know not whether we must receive this relation of Hierom as a true story, or for a rhetorical licence amplifying the matter. For in the same Epistle we have a narrative of the same kind; Where he saith, that it had been his custom after his fasting, watching, and weeping, to take Tully or Plautus in his hand; for which he was once carried before the throne of Christ, and that being asked, Who he was? he answered, *I am a Christian*: But it was answered him, *Thou liest, thou art a Ciceronian*; and that for being a Ciceronian he was soundly whipt before the throne of Christ. And that one might not think that it was an illusion, he sweareth, and takes God to witness that his shoulders were black and blew after he was awake. *I take to witness (saith he) that judicial throne before which I lay down, I take to witness that sad judgement which I did fear (so may I never fall into the like examination again) that my shoulders were black with the stripes, and that I felt the blows after my sleep.*

After that, who will not believe that Hierom spake in earnest, and that such a passage truly happened to him? Yet himself towards the end of his first Apology against Rufinus, who objected to him, that after he had been so whipt, yet he continued to be a Ciceronian, answereth that (g) all that was but a dream, which must not be believed, no more then when it happened to him often to dream that he was dead, or that he was flying, or when a man dreaming that he is rich, awaketh, and finds himself a beggar. In a word, he speaks of that whipping, as of a meer illusion. O God, how holy and precious is thy word, in comparison of the word of men, and the writings of those who under the name of Fathers cover great infirmities!

But to return to the Cardinal, who hath nothing but Fathers in his mouth, and leaveth the word of God, he was not bold enough to deny that in the Roman Church they whip themselves the one for the other. But speaking in ambiguous terms, he saith, *Of men of that kind that whip themselves for others, none as yet is come to my knowledge, and as they gave me no proxie to imitate them, they gave me none to defend them.* Could he have denied that such a thing is done in his Church, he would have done it with all his heart. But the truth of that is too notorious. The Roman Church teacheth that a man can make superabounding and supererogatory satisfactions; Of that overplus the treasure of the Church is made up, of which the Pope carrieth the keyes, and turns it into a payment for others. To that end the brotherhoods of the Cordon, and of the Rosary, and the like, are erected; Into which all that enter have part in the merits, labours, fastings, and beatings of those that belong to the same brotherhood, although they have suffered nothing in their own persons. Here is then a treasure, part whereof consisteth in lashes of whips, and the Treasurer is he that calls himself God on earth.

St. Antonine Archbishop of Florence writ the life of St. Dominick, whom he compares in holiness and miracles with Christ, and finds very little difference between them. He writ also the life of St. Catherine of Siena whom he clotheth with a holiness almost beyond all example. So that even when she was in her swadling clothes, it was not possible to make her suck upon Friday. Of these two he saith that they whipt themselves upon their bare flesh with iron chains. To say that it was for their own sins, would be too great a derogation to their holiness. It was then to satisfie for others. But as for St. Francis who when he whipt himself naked, would say, *Ecce frater asine, Go to thou brother asse,* as his Legend saith, he did it to lay down the boyling of his lust. Of these superabounding satisfactions Bellarmin disputeth at large, (h) and maintains that

(f) Testis est tribunal illud ante quod jaci; testis judicium triste quod timui (ita mihi nunquam contingat in talem incidere questionem) viventes habuisse scapulas, plagas sensisse post somnum.
(g) Sed tamen qui somnium criminatur, audiat prophetarum voces somnia non esse credendum.

(h) Bellar. Indulgent. lib. 1. cap. 2. & 3. Sect. Prima Satisfactiones Christo & Sanctis supervacue, applicari possunt aliis qui rei sunt luende pœne temporalis.

she

(i) *Anime decessorum quoniam or modis solentur, aut oblationibus sacerdotum, aut precibus sanctorum, aut charorum elemosynis, aut jejuniis cognationum. Sicut jejunium alicujus liberat mortuum, multo potius alterius jejunium prodest vivo. Quod concedo si ille est vicine conjunctus illi. Vid. Dist. 7. 82. Can. Presbyter in Glossa.*

the satisfactions of Christ and the Saints, which are superfluous unto them, may be applied unto others that are lyable to temporal pains, among which is Purgatory. Also a private man may satisfie for another, by fasting and suffering corporal pains. As it is said in the Canon *Anima, Causa 13. Quest. 2. (i)* The souls of the dead are released four wayes, By the oblations of the Priests, or by the prayers of the Saints, or by alms of friends, or by fastings of kinsmen. He that speaks this is Pope Gregory the first, who hath forgotten the intercession of Christ making request for us, sitting at the right hand of God, *Rom. 8. 33.* It seems that the Roman Church may more easily be without that, then without other helps. The Gloss addeth (k) *If the fast of a [living] man delivereth a dead man, much more shall the fast of another profit to the living man. Which I grant, if he be his neighbour.*

Pope Nicolas in the sixth book of the Decretals in the twelfth Title, in the Chapter *Exiit*, teacheth that to live a perfect life, a man must have no proper goods. St. Francis hath observed that, and bound the Franciscans to it. Against that rule that Pope moveth an objection, which is Christs example, who had a purse, and some proper goods. To which he answereth, that Christ had his infirmities, *Egit etiam infirma, sicut interdum & in fuga patet & in loculis.* That is, Christ also had infirm actions, as it appears in that he fled away; and that he had a purse. In these things he attained not to the perfection of St. Francis. Yet I know not where that Pope found that Christ fled.



Fifth Controversie,
OF THE
SEVEN H BOOK.
OF
F A S T I N G.

CHAP. I.

That in the question of Fasting, and of Lent M. du Perron doth not touch the state of the question, but discourseth about things not controverted.



Cardinal du Perron in the eighteenth chapter of the first book speaks superficially of Fasting and of *Lent.*, but treats that question more at large in the second Observation in the eighth chapter.

Page. 655.

All his discourse is employed, not to answer us, but to set forth his thoughts and conceits and to disguise the ancient customs.

Then to comprehend the nature of that question, our difference is not, whether fasting be good, or whether it be a commendable custom to fast before *Easter*. Would to God that we were condemned to fast all the year, and never to eat flesh, upon condition that we were agreed about the rest. One cannot prepare himself to such a holy duty as receiving the Lords Supper with too much humility. Yea, I hold that *Arim* did evil to condemn fasting before *Easter*, in a time when fasting was not taken for a payment and satisfaction to God, and was not imposed by a single ill-grounded authority. That meddling fellow ought not to have troubled the Church about a question of meats, and opposed the custom universally received, which was then observed without pride, without tyranny, and without opinion of merit. For as the Apostle saith, (a) *The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.* And (b) *one believeth that*

(a) Rom. 14.

17.

(b) Rom. 14.

2. & 3.

he may eat all things, another who is weak eateth herbs; Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not, and let not him which eateth not, judge him that eateth. Where it is to be noted, that the Apostle calleth the abstinence of him that tyeth himself to eat nothing but herbs a *weakness*, because it is a scruple arising out of weakness of faith, and shortness of instruction. Whereas in our days using great abstinence from certain meats, is held to be strength, and a great perfection. And although distinction of meats was abolished by the Gospel, as we are taught, 1 Cor. 10. 25. *Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question, for conscience sake; For the earth is the Lords, and the fulness thereof: If any of them that believe not, bid you to a feast, and ye be disposed to go, whatsoever is set before you eat, asking no question for conscience sake.* Yet the same Apostle chargeth us to use that liberty to edification, which Christ hath purchased for us: And as he will not have us to enslave our liberty to the tyranny of those that would lay a yoke upon our consciences, so he will have us to bear with them that are weak, and ill instructed, and rather to comply with them, then to give them offence with our meat.

(c) Acts 10.

Acts 13. 3.

Luke 2. 37.

(d) Bellar.

l. 2. de bonis
operibus
cap. 13.

*Jejunium
valet ad satisfaciendum
pro peccatis,
& ad merendum
pro eternis.*

(e) Can.
Presbyter
Dist. 82.

*Secundum
feriam unum
Psalterium
canendo, aut
unum denarium
pauperibus
dando, si opus
esset, redimere
poterit Et
Glossa ibid.*

*Denarium
potest dare,
ut se redimat
a jejunio.*

*Ego multo
fortius per
alterius jeju-
nium poterit
liberari.*

(f) *Quod
Laicus non
teneatur jeju-
nare diebus
quibus
per Ecclesiam
obligatus
existit, &
quod possit,
&c. Casco.
Gros. 20.*

Also we are very far from condemning fasting which is so many times (c) recommended in Scripture, and payed with prayer, that as prayer sanctifieth the fast, so the fast may add heat unto prayer, and bring down the insolency of the flesh. Sobriety is the preserver of chastity, a bridle unto lust, a help to vigilance. This life being the eve of the great and eternal rest, it must be (as much as we can) a continual fast. So if any feeling that the use of wine, or flesh, or sauces, or sweet meats, stirs up his blood, and kindleth his concupiscence, abstains from these things without scruple, without either imposing it as a Law upon others, or thinking himself obliged to it by a Law, it were an unjust part to check him for it. Our quarrel with the Roman Church about fasting is not of that nature. But we complain, 1. That she hath changed fasting into a distinction of meats; 2. That (d) she puts fasting among merits and satisfactions, making of an exercise of humility an occasion of pride. For we are so far from pretending to merit eternal life by fasting, that on the contrary by fasting we declare our selves unworthy of this corporal life. 3. That the Pope hath taken this occasion to raise his Empire, to set a rule to the markets, to the kitchens, to the bellies; reserving to himself the authority to dispense, having to that effect multiplied fasting dayes to that number, that they are well nigh half the year, taking upon him to give Laws to the universal Church, whereas in old times Bishops gave orders every one in his Diocess without any dependance upon the Prelat of Rome. 4. That of sins against Gods Law, as fornication, stealing, and lying, the least Priests can give the absolution; But eating a bit of flesh in the Holy Week, is a sin for which a man is sent to the Bishop, or to the Penitentiary. 5. That in the Roman Church he that hath eaten his belly full of fish, is accounted to have fasted, but he that for want of other meat, hath eaten a little flesh, is thought to have violated the fast. 6. That in the Roman Church one man fasteth for another, as if a Judge ought to release a fellow, because his brother hath not dined. 7. (e) That the penances of fasting imposed upon a sinner are redeemed with money, and that corporal pains are changed into pecuniary. 8. That this opens a wide gate unto traffick. So far that the book called the Taxation of the Apostolical Chancery puts a certain price to the Letters of such dispensations in these words, (f) *That a Lay-man may not be obliged to fast upon the dayes to which he is bound by the Church, and may eat cheese, the letter costs twenty groats.*

These are the causes, that have obliged us to reject the fasts of the Roman Church, and to shut up that gate to Satan, having known by experience how many abuses have got into the Church by that way. Knowing also that Christ hath not prescribed certain fasting dayes, we fast according to necessity and occasion, and exhort Gods people unto sobriety. Of all these wherein consisteth the substance of the error, the Cardinal speaks not a word, and dareth not stir that sink.

CHAP. 2.

That as sobriety and fasting are recommended in the word of God, so distinction of meats is condemned by the same.

AMong the Antient Christians we find examples of very austere fasting, (a) so far as to be ten, yea twenty dayes without any eating. But whether they fasted little or much, they did it out of a voluntary exercise, being not tyed to it by any Law. So speaks *Anstin* Epist. 86. (b) *I find it not determined by any command of the Lord or his Apostles upon what dayes we must not fast, and upon what dayes we must.* And *Socrates* in the fifth book chap. 22. speaking of the diversity of customs in several Churches in matter of fasting, (c) *Because* (saith he) *no written precept about that is found, it appeareth that the Apostles left it free that every one may do that which is good, not out of fear, or out of necessity.* And *Tertullian* in the second book *contra Psychicos*, or against the spiritual (so he calls the Orthodox) saith that they affirmed that (d) *the Apostles had imposed no yoke of certain dayes of fasting, which ought to be observed of all in common.*

But as Scripture prescribes no certain fasting dayes, so it expressly forbids the distinction of meats. The Apostle *St. Paul* calls the prohibition of meats, a doctrine of Devils, 1 Tim. 4. 1. *The spirit speaks expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits and doctrines of Devils — Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving.*

And that one may not say, that there the Apostle speaks of those only that esteemed meats to be polluted and evil by their nature, he addeth that *bodily exercise profiteth little.* And *Rom.* 14. 2. he calleth that man weak that eats herbs out of abstinence. But he would rather have called him ungodly and injurious against God, if such a man had believed that meats created by God were evil by their nature. The same Apostle *Col.* 2. 20. condemneth those that prohibited meats, saying *Touch not, taste not, handle not, out of humility and exercise of mortification, for St. Paul addeth, which doctrines have indeed a shew of wisdom in will-worship and humility, and not sparing of the body, not in any honour to the fulfilling of the flesh.* Such was the excuse of the Montanists inventors of fasts, for so they speak by the mouth of *Tertullian* their Advocate. (e) *The Apostle condemneth those that commanded to abstain from meats. For the Holy Ghost by his foresight condemneth those hereticks before they were come, that should command a perpetual abstinence to destroy and despise the Creators works.* Again, (f) *We abstain from meats which we reject not, but we put off the use of them for a time.* And in the same place (g) *The Apostle would accuse some correctors and forbidders of meats who abstained from them out of contempt, not out of office or exercise.* It is plain that those hereticks spake as our Adversaries do. As also did *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia*, (h) who being condemned by the Council of *Gangra* for such observations, protested that he did not bring in these things out of pride, but out of a religious exercise, and according to God.

The same Apostle in the same chapter ver. 16 speaks thus, *Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath dayes.* And 1 Cor. 10. 27. *If any of them that believe not bid you to a feast, and ye be disposed to go, whatsoever is set before you eat, asking no question*

abstinentiam præcepturos ad destruenda & despicienda opera Creatoris. (f) Abstinentes ab eis quæ non rejicimus sed differimus. (g) Ita sciebat quosdam castigatores & interdictores victus incusare qui ex fastidio non qui ex officio abstinerent. (h) Conc. Gangr. Præfat. & Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 13. ἐν ἀνδραδείας ἐνέγκει ἀλλὰ τῆς

(a) *Lucianus in Philopatri* id expiobat Christianis.

(b) *August. ad Casul. Epist. 86.*

(c) *Quibus diebus non oportet jejunare & quibus oportet, præcepto Domini vel Apostolorum in jejunio non definitur.*

(d) *ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸ ἐντολὴν εἶναι τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἁγίων*

(e) *ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸ ἐντολὴν εἶναι τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἁγίων*

(f) *ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸ ἐντολὴν εἶναι τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἁγίων*

(g) *ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸ ἐντολὴν εἶναι τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἁγίων*

(h) *ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸ ἐντολὴν εἶναι τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἁγίων*

(i) *ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸ ἐντολὴν εἶναι τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἁγίων*

(j) *ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸ ἐντολὴν εἶναι τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἁγίων*

(k) *ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸ ἐντολὴν εἶναι τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἁγίων*

(l) *ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸ ἐντολὴν εἶναι τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἁγίων*

for conscience sake. Now it might easily happen that one of those that believed not, inviting a Christian a sevennight or a fortnight before *Easter* should set flesh before him. And 1 Cor. 8. 8. *Meat commends us not unto God, for neither if we eat are we the better, neither if eat not are we the worse.*

It is true that in the fifteenth of *Afts*, the Apostles being assembled at *Jerusalem*, for fear of offending the Jews newly converted, prohibited eating of blood, and strangled things. Which order we should be bound to observe to this day, but that the Apostle who writ the first Epistle to the *Corinthians* long after the Council of *Jerusalem*, teacheth us, that this prohibition was taken off, saying, *If any of them that believe not, bid you to a feast, whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for conscience sake.* Which the Roman Church acknowledging hath left that custom, and permits eating of blood and strangled things, according to *Austins* counsel in chap. 13. of book 32. against *Faustus* the Manichean, although the most part of Christian Churches (i) for the space of eight hundred years and above, kept that Law, and carefully abstained from blood and strangled things.

(i) Vid. Tertul. Apol. c. 9.
Conc. Gangr.
Can. 2.
Conc. Trull.
Can. 7.
Euseb. lib. 5.
hist. cap. 1.
Sixtum Sen-
nensem lib. 6.
Annot. 173.

In vain the example of the Rechabites is alleadged, who abstained from wine in obedience to the command of *Jonadab* their ancestor, *Jer.* 35. For in the Roman Church neither the people, nor the Clergy abstain from wine. If the example of the Rechabites must be followed, there must be neither building of houses, nor dwelling in houses. It was a propheticall warning whereby *Jonadab* dying, prepared his family for persecution, which soon after came upon the land. Yet God dispensed them from that abstinence, and took off that prohibition by his Prophet *Jeremy*.

CHAP. 3.

Of the custom of the Antient Church about distinction of meats.

(a) Euseb.
Hist. lib. 5.
cap. 18.

Mo r'v & o
vntelas vo-
mors dnoce.

(b) Tertul.
in Psych.
cap. 1.

Arguunt nos,
quod jejunia
propria custo-
diamus, quod
stationes ple-
numque in
vesperam
producamus,
quod etiam
Xerophagias
observemus,
sicantes ci-
bum ab omni
carne &
omni juvenen-
tia, & uvidi-
oribus quibus-
que pomis.

(c) Id. c. 2.
Xerophagias
quoque no-

uum affectati officii nomen & proximum Ethnica superstitioni quales castimonia Apim & Isidem & magnam matrem certorum eduliorum exceptione purificant. (d) Vino & carnibus ne prorsus abstineas, nec enim abominanda sunt.

THE first that brought in rigid fasting were the heretick Montanists, fol-
lowers of *Montanus*, who called himself the Holy Ghost, (a) *Euse-*
bium saith, that *Montanus* is he that made the Laws about fasting. For if that
which *Clemens Alexandrinus* saith is true, that *St. Matthew* did eat nothing but
seeds, and small fruits, and herbs, that Apostle did so without any Law imposed
upon him, and for causes particular to himself.

Of that Sect was *Tertullian*, who writ about the year 200. of Christ. He
made a book against the Orthodox Christians, whom he calls in scorn
Luxurians, that is *Spiritual*. In that book in the first chapter he saith that the
other Christians accused the Montanists of too much fasting, and blamed them
for fasting till the evening, and for abstaining in their fasts from all moist
things, as flesh, and the most humid fruits, (b) which fasts were called
Enegasyia by the Montanists, which the Orthodox Christians laughed at, saying
that it was a new and affected name, (c) relishing of Pagan superstition; That
the Egyptians that worshipped the Ox *Apis*, and the Goddess *Isis*, had the like
abstinences and distinctions of meats.

Ignatius more antient then *Tertullian* in his Epistle to *Hieron* the Deacon ad-
viseth him (d) not to abstain from wine and flesh, thereby shewing that some
already laboured to introduce these observations into the Church.

But about six or seven score years after *Tertullian*, began the profession of
Monks in *Syria* and *Egypt*, which was unknown before, and went beyond the
Montanists in austerity of fasting, so far that they would pass many dayes to-
gether without any eating at all. These were carefull observers of those

Xerophagies,

Xerophagies, that is, eating of dry meats, which the Antient Christians had de-
rived.

At the same time, and in imitation of those Monks, fasts began to be more frequent; and Christians to mortifie their flesh, began to abstain from wine and flesh and all dainties upon fasting dayes. Yet the customs were very different. *Chrysostome* in the fourth Homily to the people of *Antioch*, upon image-breaking. (e) There are some (saith he) that pass two whole dayes without eating any thing at all; Some cutting off from their table, not only wine and oyle, but also all kinds of meats, pass the whole Lent with bread and water only. And *Socrates* in the fifth book of his history chap. 22. (f) Christians have not the same customs of abstinence of meats, for some abstain altogether from things that had life, Others of all living creatures eat nothing but fishes; Some unto fishes add dry bread only, others use none at all. Some will fast nine hours, and after feed upon such meat as they can get, without distinction. The customs in that point are very different. And because we find nothing written about that by the *Apostles*, I think that the *Apostles* have left it to every mans discretion. That diversity of custom sheweth that in those dayes the Pope of Rome did not rule the Universal Church.

This sheweth also that fasts were free, and that every one fasted either according to his strength, or according to his will, not by any necessary rule imposed upon the Church.

Tertullian in the forealleadged place disputing against sound doctrine, saith, that the Adversaries (that is, true Christians) said, that (g) The Law and the Prophets were untill John, and that after that we must fast indifferently, not by the authority of any new discipline, but according to the times and occasions of every one. That the *Apostles* did so practise it, having not imposed the yoke of certain fast dayes, &c. (h) That as the *Apostle* detesteth those that hinder marriage, so he detesteth those that command abstinence from meats, &c. That the Lord said, that which entrencheth in at the mouth defileth not man, but that which goeth out, &c. That the *Apostle* said, Meat make us not acceptable unto God, that neither if we eat, are we the better, neither if we eat not, are we the worse. Thus as the true Christians of those dayes used against hereticks the same reasons that we use against the Roman Church, so the answer of those hereticks speaking by the mouth of *Tertullian*, is the same as that of our Adversaries. That the *Apostle* condemneth those hereticks that hold meats to be polluted and evil by their nature, not those that abstain out of exercise to mortifie and humble their flesh. By the same *Tertullian* in the third chapter of the same book it appears, (i) that the orthodox Church Bishops prescribed fasts, according to the occasions and extraordinary necessities of the Church.

About a hundred and ten years after *Tertullian*, the Council of *Ancyra* being informed that some Clarks out of voluntary devotion abstained from flesh, made this Canon which is the fourteenth. (k) It seemeth us good that the Clarks, Priests and Deacons that abstain from flesh should eat of it. After that if they will abstain from it, let them abstain. This sheweth that the Greek Churches had no Ecclesiastical laws as yet to abstain from flesh. But because it was doubted whether those that abstained from it, did it out of scruple or only out of exercise, the Council commands them to eat flesh once or twice, to shew that they held not the use of flesh to be evil of its nature.

The like rules are found in the *Asceticks of Basil*, which are rules given neither to the Clergy nor to the people, but to certain Hermites of the desarts of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia* whom *Basil* exercised with a hard abstinence. He tells

Sic Apostolos observasse, &c. (h) *Apostolo detestatore eorum qui sicut nobile prohibeant ita jubeant cibis abstinere.* (i) *Bene autem quod Episcopi universe plebi mandare jejunia assolent, &c. ex aliqua sollicitudinis Ecclesiastica causa.* (k) *τὸ δὲ κλίεμ ἀρισβυτίης ἢ διαδυς ὄντας καὶ ἀπὸ χαλεπῆς κρείων εὐδοξίαν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ θυμὸν ἐβέλαιοντο κελίῳ αὐτῶν.*

(A) Definitio-
num latio-
rum interro-
gat. 18.

απειδαι
εκατε χρι
κωρε πατι
συμπροσεντος
δσον ενδεκα
νυδαι τοις
δρσιν οπ
παντα γε το
εξ τοις κα
ταεις ε
δπ πανατισ
μα δευ
καδεν εδε
ωπβαντων.

(m) πο απο
ζηματι το
ελαχιστε
μαχος ε
λαχον
αποδανης
αποβριχων
αποβριχων
επ πασης
ευχαριστας.
(n) Theod.

απο δεων
δουματων
Cap. εφ
εγκρατας
ηδ εκκλησια
εδεν πει
το αν να
μοτιδαν
εδε γδ

απαγορευει
τω τωτον
μεταλην
τωτη χαριν
αδωας οι
ωδ το
ντομοιδων
ηδων απο
λαυσιν οι
δπ απιχοι.

κατακειν
εδεις ε
επ ευπρο
νεντων
εδοντα ε
η αποχη ε
η μεταλην
ωδ πω
εξουσιαν
τελεις τις
γνομαι.

(o) Alique
inter hac
nemo urgetur
in aspera que
ferre non
potest. Nulli

quod recusat imponitur, nec in eo condemnatur à cæteris, quod in eis imitandis se fatetur invalidum, &c. Memine-
runt omnia munda mundis.

(p) Super jejuniorum modo haud potest facile uniformis regula custodiri, Quia
nec robur unum cunctis corporibus inest, nec sicut virtutes cetera animi solius vigore parantur.

them. (1) All meats must be eaten as occasions happen, as much as it sufficeth to shew them that look upon us, that unto the pure all things are pure, and that every creature of God is good, and none of them is to be rejected. And in the nineteenth interrogation, It is impossible to tie all persons to the same rules, considering the diversity of natures, and the complexion of the bodies. And in his Asketical Constitutions chap. 25. he commands his Askets or Disciples (m) not to make conscience to eat bread dipt in flesh-broth, which the Benedictin Fryars in our dayes would hold to be a great sin. But in those dayes the rigid rules of abstinence were only for the Anachorets and Askets, that is, for Hermits and Exercisers of austerity. But as for the people, as it would have been unbecoming not to fast at all, so of the publick fasts every one observed as much as he pleased, and there was no Law that obliged the people necessarily, as it will be seen more evidently by the following proofs, especially when we come to speak of Lent.

Theodoret in the last chapter of divine maximes, where he treats of abstinence speaks thus: The Church embraceth abstinence of wine and flesh, and other abstinences, not as hereticks do, for they command abstinence of those things as of abominable things. But (n) the Church hath made no Laws about that, and forbiddeth not the use of these things. For this cause some enjoy lawfull pleasures without fear, others abstain from them. And none of the wise condemneth him that eateth, for both the abstinence and the use lye in the liberty of mens will. That place sheweth evidently that many Christians abstained from wine and flesh, out of a voluntary exercise, being not bound to it by any Law. The like things he saith upon Rom. 14.

Austin likewise in the thirty third chapter of the first book of the manners of the Catholick Church, speaking of the fasts of Monks, whose abstinences were far more strict and austere then those of the common people and Clergy, saith nevertheless, (o) None is urged to austerities which he cannot bear. None hath a burden laid upon him which he cannot carry, or is condemned by others, because he is weaker himself too weak to follow them; for they remember that to the clean all things are clean.

Cassian in book 5. chap. 5. speaking of the fasts of the Monks of the wilderness. (p) It is not easie (saith he) to keep an uniform rule about the measure of fasting; Because all have not the same strength of body, and one cannot attain to these fasts by the vigour of the mind only, as to other vertues. And in the twenty first Collation chap. 13. We read not that any were condemned only for meat, And in the fourteenth chapter he calls the use of meats an indifferent thing.

Hence infer, that if the Monks of the wilderness, whose fasts were a hundred times more austere, yet were not constrained, but had the liberty either to fast or not to fast, how much ought the peoples liberty to have been greater? And truly whosoever shall carefully read the antient penitential Canons shall not find any Canon or rule that prescribe any pennance to him that hath eaten flesh upon a fasting day. This will be more clearly seen in the chapter where we shall treat of Lent. Neither shall it be found in all Antiquity, that any ever came to the Bishop of Rome, or to any other Bishop, to get a permission or dispensation to eat flesh on fasting dayes.

Eusebius in the third chapter of the fifth book of his history relates, that one Alcibiades mortified himself with fasting, living with bread and water. But (saith Eusebius) it was revealed to Attalus [since] a Martyr, that Alcibiades did ill to abstain from Gods creatures, and thereby to scandalize others: (q) Alcibiades believed him, and since did eat indifferently of all [meats] and gave God thanks.

(p) Super jejuniorum modo haud potest facile uniformis regula custodiri, Quia nec robur unum cunctis corporibus inest, nec sicut virtutes cetera animi solius vigore parantur. (q) μιαινομενος παντων ενεδωκε μεταμελεσθαι εχαραξαι το δεσφ.

Sozomenus in the first book chap. 11. saith, that a stranger being come to *Spiridion* on a fasting day, he bad his daughter to serve before that stranger a piece of Pork, which he had in store; and that the stranger (bred doubtless in some superstitious Church) made a scruple to eat it, saying that he durst not eat it because he was a Christian. Then *Spiridion* told him, *But for that very reason thou must eat it, because God saith, To the pure all things are pure.* He said not to him, *Eat of it, for there is nothing else in the house,* but he alleadged to him the word of God, which is alwayes of the like vigour, whether there was other meat, or no other meat in the house. And himself, who had purposed before not to eat all that day, did eat flesh with that stranger, to take from him all scruple.

The same *Sozomenus* in the third book chap. 13. And *Nicephorus* in the ninth book chap. 14. speaks of one *Pachomius*, to whom an Angel brought a writing, prescribing among other Laws, to eat, drink, labour, fast, or not fast, as every one should like best, without binding himself to any necessity.

Prosper in the second book of contemplative life, chap. 22. (r) *We ought so to abstain or fast, that we subject not our selves to the necessity of fasting or abstaining; lest that we do not out of devotion, but out of constraint, a thing that ought to be voluntary. For if I intermit my fast to entertain all that come to me, I violate not my fast, but I do an office of charity.*

Hierom is the most severe in this point, according to his custom, to run alwayes to extreams, and to be hyperbolical both in counsels and words. That Father in the second book against *Jovinian* sets forth all his eloquence to make eating of flesh odious, and to dissuade Christians from it. He saith that (f) the beasts which are commonly eaten, were created not for the use of food, but for the use of Physick. That flesh may be fit meat for sea-men or wrestlers that knock one another down with their fists, or for mine-diggers; whereas Christian Religion doth not teach men to be diggers or wrestlers, but to follow wisdom and consecrate themselves unto God. And a little after, (t) *If thou wilt be perfect, it is good not to drink wine, and not to eat flesh.* And to them that eat flesh, he applyeth these words of prophane men related by St. *James*, *Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall dye.* And in the Epistle to *Salvina*, *We know that the Apostle said, that every creature of God is good, and nothing to be rejected, being taken with thanksgiving: (u) But the same Apostle saith also, It is good not to drink wine, and not to eat flesh.* And a little after, * *Let those women eat flesh, that serve the flesh, whose beat is froathing for the works of the flesh, &c.*

But St. *Paul* saith not absolutely, that it is good neither to drink wine, nor to eat flesh, as *Hierom* makes him say, but, *It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is made weak,* Rom. 14. 21. He will have us rather to abstain from flesh and from wine then to give scandal to a weak brother. He chuseth rather that we should abstain from lawfull things then to trouble a weak conscience for meat, which of its nature is indifferent. *Thomas* the Prince of the School expounds it so. *The Apostle means that it is good not to use these things with scandal of our neighbours, and so much appears by that which follows.*

Note also that *Hierom* holds, that to be perfect one must drink no wine, and eat no flesh, contradicting the Apostle who calls those men strong, that eat all indifferently, and those weak and infirm that out of abstinence stint their stomack to herbs only, and considering not that the same Apostle commands his Disciple *Timothy* to drink wine because of the weakness of his stomack. *Cassian* tells us that by such abstinences many were led into temptation. Among others he speaks (y) of Abbot *John*, who having fasted two dayes together, saw the

quarum fervor dissumat in coitum. (x) *Thomas* in cap. 14. ad Rom. ver. 21. Hoc intendit Apostolus dicere, quod bonum est his non uti cum scandalum proximum, quod apparet ex hoc quod subditur. (y) *Cassian*, Collat. 1. chap. 21:

(r) Sic
abstinere vel
jejunare
debemus, ut
nos non
jejunandi vel
abstinendi
necessitati
subdamus,
ne jam non
devoti sed
invidi rem
voluntariam
faciamus. Si
enim quolibet
dies
jejunio inter-
misso refici-
amur, non so-
lemus
jejunium
sed imple-
re carnis
officium.
(f) Possumus
edere bestias,
piscis, oves,
non ad esum
sed ad medi-
cinam creatas.
(t) Si vis
perfectus esse,
bonum est
vinum non
bibere, &
carnem non
manducare.
(u) Sed
id est loquitar
bonum est
vinum non
bibere &
carnem non
man'ucare.
* Come-
dit carnes
que carni
serviunt.

Devil presenting himself to him in the shape of a little black Moor-boy, who told him, *It was by my counsell that thou didst undertake this fast.*

Superstition hath no end. This sickness growing in the Church of Rome came to this, that about the year of the Lord 730. Pope Gregory the second and his successor Zachary declared some meats unclean, and of a polluted nature. That Gregory in an Epistle to Boniface Bishop in Germany (z) prohibits eating of hories, both wild and homebred. For (saith he) *that is unclean and execrable.* And Zachary (a) forbids eating Jays, Crows, Otters, Storks, Hares, and wild horses.

(z) *Agrestem caballum aliquantos adjuu isti comedere, plevosque & domesticum. Hoc nequaquam fieri, sanctissime frater, sinas, &c.*

Immundum enim est atque execrabile.

(a) Zach. Epist. ad Bonifac.

In primis de volatilibus & graculis, & corniculis, & giconis, quae omnino cavenda sunt ab usu Christianorum, & fribi atque lepores, & equi sylvatici multo amplius cavendi.

(b) *Comediti aves quas oppresserit accipiter, & non prius eas ferro aliquo occidisti? Si fecisti, quinque dies in pane & aqua paniteat.*

(c) *Comediti aves & animalia quae in retibus strangulantur? &c.*

(d) Durand. Mimat. Rationali divin. Offic. l. 6. cap. 7. cum pisces sint caro, quare hoc tempore comedantur? Resp. Deus non maledixit aquis, quoniam per aquam Baptismi futura erat remissio peccatorum.

(e) In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c. (f) Fulgent de Fide ad Petrum cap. 42. Dei servus quia carnibus & vino abstinent, &c. Basiliius Hom. 1. de jejunio: *ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς αἵας ὁ ὕψιστος ἰσχυρὸς ἐστιν.*

(f) *In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c.*

(g) *In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c.*

(h) *In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c.*

(i) *In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c.*

(j) *In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c.*

(k) *In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c.*

(l) *In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c.*

(m) *In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c.*

(n) *In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c.*

(o) *In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c.*

(p) *In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c.*

(q) *In Missali Romano Exorciso te creatura salis, &c.*

In the nineteenth book of the Decrees and Canons collected by Burchard these Canons are found. (b) *Hast thou eaten birds which the Hawk hath beaten down, and hast thou not killed them before with some iron tool? If thou hast done it, do penance with bread and water.* Again, (c) *Hast thou eaten birds and beasts that were strangled in the net, and so were found dead? Unless thou hast done it, being prest with hunger, if thou hast done it, thou must do penance sixteen dayes with bread and water.*

The Church of Rome of our dayes professeth to believe, that no meat is of its nature polluted and unclean. Yet many things shew that they believe the contrary. For the Schoolmen, as (d) Durandus, Alensis, and others, give this reason why in fasts they allow eating of fish not of flesh, because in the flood God cursed not fishes as he did the beasts of the earth, and that because by the waters of Baptism he was to give remission of sins.

Of the same opinion, that meats are polluted by their Nature, traces are seen in so many exorcisms and conjurations which are made in the Roman Church over meats and other creatures, as it were to get them out of the Devils possession. For example when salt is exorcised, the Bishop or the Exorcist saith, (e) *I exorcise thee thou creature of salt, &c. that all fancy and wickedness and craft of the Devil may fly from the place where thou shalt be spread, and that every unclean Spirit be adjured;* These words are said with many signs of the Cross; And in many places they bring cattell to the Church, to blest them before they be eaten.

In this (as in all other things) the Roman Church hath changed the antient customs. For now they keep forced fasts, whereas they were free in old time, and every one observed as much as he would of them. The abstinences were made without opinion of merit or satisfaction to Gods justice, either for ones self or for another: And the observations were diverse in the several Countries by the prescript of the several Bishops without expecting the decrees and ordinances of the Bishop of Rome. And we shall see hereafter, that other Churches not only were different from the Roman Church, but also condemned her as contrary to the Apostolical tradition. The chief abstinence of antient Christians (f) was from wine upon fasting dayes, knowing that wine is like oyle poured upon burning coals, and that it is the greatest kindler of lust. But the Roman Church permits the use of wine upon fasting dayes: And the Celestins and other Benedictin Fryars who never eat flesh, have in their meals of the most excellent wine, to each his portion, as much as would serve three sober men. They eat of the most exquisite fish in great plenty, and in markets they have that priviledge to take what fish they please, next after the King: Sweet meats, dried fruits, and other dainties are permitted to them; yet after all they say, that they keep a continual fast. They take wine largely to obey the Apostles command to Timothy, to use a little wine for his stomacks sake. And that serve h for satisfaction to God. And when they have too much satisfied for themselves, the Pope gathers in his treasure the overplus of that satisfaction, and distributes it by indulgences. But in hunger and want to eat a little bit of

flesh in *Lent* is a great sin, and a case reserved to the Bishop, or to the Penitentiary.

The Jesuites fast but little, and endeavour to moderate the rigor of those Laws. For that the Jesuite *Emanuel Sa* gives many exceptions. These are some of them. (g) *Things that are taken for Physick as Electuaries, and the essay of meats, such as Cooks and Cup-bearers make, and a break-fast taken at night according to custom, or in the morning for some cause, do not violate a fast.* Again, (h) *A man is excused from fasting, if he be under one and twenty years of age, or above threescore. For the most part a great debility, being with child, or giving suck, or if one hath not meat enough to dinner, the fear of some notable danger, or if one be employed about some better thing, as preaching, teaching, hearing, confessions, &c. Then a labour that will not bear fasting, as that of tradesmen, or of those that travell on foot, or if one must pay the duty to his wife, or the fear of displeasing her when that duty is hindered by fasting; Finally, the dispensation of the Bishop or the Parson in his absence; All these excuse from fasting.* Cardinal *Tolet* a Jesuite hath the like exceptions in the sixth book of the institution of Priests, chap. 1. & 4. To the excepted persons he adds the beggars. According to these rules, of twenty persons nineteen shall be excused from fasting.

(g) Emanuel Sa, Aphor. in verbo Jejunium. Jejunium non violant que sumuntur per modum medicine vulgo electuaria; Nec cibi prægustatio ut fit a coquo & pincerna, nec gentaculum ex more vespertinum vel ex causa sumptum mane.

(h) Excusat à jejunio ætas minor anno vigesimo primo vel major sexagesimo: ut plurimum debilitas magna gravidam esse vel lactare, non habere sufficientem cibum ad prandium, dummò aliquod notabile, occupatio melior ut concionando, &c. Vel aliqui labor non ferens jejunium, ut artificium aut iter pedibus agentium, causa reddendi conjugii debitum, vel non ei displicendi cum hæc jejunio impediuntur. Denique dispensatio Episcopi vel Parochi illo absente.

CHAP. 4.

Of ordinary fasts upon week dayes practised in the antient Church, and of Saturday fast.

THE Pharisees would fast two dayes in the week, as the Pharisee saith, Luke 18. 12. *I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess.* (a) Those two dayes were the second and the fifth of the week, which we call *Munday* and *Thursday*. Their reason was, because (said they) *Moses* ascended into the mount upon the second day of the week, and came down from it upon the fifth.

The antient Christians near the Apostles time, burning with zeal, and studying sobriety, would not be inferiour to the Jews in that exercise, and fasted also twice a week, upon *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*.

That custom was in *Tertullians* time, which was two hundred years after Christs birth: for he introduceth the Orthodox Christians speaking thus, *The station dayes* (so he calls the ordinary fasts) *which are constant, the fourth and the sixth of the week run indifferently, not by the law of any commandment.* And in the fourteenth chapter, *Stationibus quartam & sextam Sabbati dicamus. We dedicate to solemn fasts the fourth and sixth day of the week.* And *Epiphanius* in the heresie of *Aerius*, which is the seventy seventh; *Who is he that agreeth not [with the rest of the Church] that in all climats of the habitable world the fourth day of the week, and the day before Saturday is a fast constituted in the Church?* In the life of *Fulgentius* Bishop of *Ruspæ* in *Africa*, a disciple of *St. Austin*, Chap. 29. (d.) *He gave order that every week all the Clerks, and all the Widows, and*

(a) Theophylactus in hunc locum, ἐν ἡμέραις δὲ ὁρισταῖς δευτέρῃ καὶ πρὸς πρῶτον. Drusius questis per Ep. 35. Ca. laub. in Baro. pag. 63. (b) Tertul. contra Psychicos cap. 2. Proinde nec stationum que & ipse suos quidem dies habeant quarta serie & sexta,

passive tamen currant, neque sub lege præcepti, neque ultra supremam diei. (c) τὴν δὲ ἑβδομάδα ὅλην ἐν πάσι κλίσμασι τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅτι τετράς & ὡροσάββατον ἡμέρα. ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀκλήνοια ὁρίσθην. (d) Per singulas septimanas omnes Clericos ac viduas, & quicumque potuisset ex Laicis, quarta & sexta feria statuit jejunare.

all among the Lay-people that could do it, should fast the fourth, and the sixth day of the Week. That is, upon Wednesday and Friday. By these Widows he means the Deaconesses. *Clemens Alexandrinus* speaks thus, (e) *The understanding man* (whom he calls *Gnostick*) understands the Riddles of the Fast, even of the fasts of the fourth day, and of the day of the Preparation: For the one is called the day of Mercury, the other the day of Venus. See the Roman Decree in the third Distinction of the Consecration, *Can. de Esu*, and *Can. jejunia*. And *Austin* Epist. 86. It is evident by the Testimony of *Tertullian*, and by that of *Fulgentius*, that these fasts were ordinary, but that none of the people was bound to keep them, but that every one kept what he would or could of that custome, without the obligation of a Law. As in effect the sixty ninth Canon of the Apostles binds none but the Clerks to fast. Whence it followeth, That the Roman Church hath left the ancient customes, having made those two fasting-days of necessary observation; whereas in old time they were free, and none of the people was bound to keep them. And having left the fast of Wednesday, and brought the custom of fasting upon Saturday, and upon the Lords day, against the ancient constitutions which were universally received.

Such then was the custom of the ancient Church in *Tertullians* time. But before him it seems that this observation of fasting upon Wednesday and Friday was practised but some weeks before Easter. For *Ignatius* in the Epistle to the *Philadelphians* speaks thus. (f) *After Passion week neglect not to fast the fourth day of the week, and the Preparation, giving to the poor the remnant of your meat*; Unless *Ignatius* mean that after the fast of the week before Easter one must not leave fasting, though they be dayes of joy. Which I say, because some Fathers affirm, that there was no fast kept neither upon *Wednesdays* nor upon *Frydays* from Easter to *Whitsunday*. *Hierom* in the Epistle to *Marcella* intimates so much. Not but that it is lawfull to fast all the year, but only in the *Pentecost*. (g) Of which *Cassian* giveth the reason in the eleventh and eighteenth chapters, because (saith he) those were the dayes in which the Bridegroom was restored, and that it is written, *Can the sons of the Bridegroom fast while the Bridegroom is with them?* But several ages have very much diversified the customs. And in the same age the customs of several Countries were diverse.

CHAP. 5.

Of the Fasts of Saturday, and the Lords day.

ALL the ancient Church almost with one consent held the fasts of Saturday, and of the Lords day to be unlawfull, yea to be great crimes before God.

Among the Canons which are called Apostolical, the sixty fourth is this, (a) *If a Clark be found fasting upon the Lords day or upon Saturday, one only excepted, let him be deposed; But if he be a Lay-man, let him be excommunicated; That only Saturday is Easter Eve.*

Ignatius in the Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, (b) *If any fast upon the Lords day or upon Saturday, he is a murderer of Christ.*

In *Clements* Constitutions in the seventh book, chap. 24. after the order that all *Saturdays* and *Lords dayes* be Holy dayes or Feasts, it is added, (c) *There is one only Saturday in the whole year which ye must observe, as belonging to the Lords burial; in that you must fast, and not keep it a Feast.*

Cassian in the third book, chap. 10. disputeth against the Roman Church, which

(e) Clem.

Alex Strom.

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fasted

fasted upon *Saturday*, saying for excuse, that they did it after *St. Peters* example, who being at *Rome* fasted upon a *Saturday*, being the next day to fight with *Simon Magnus*. Which *Austin* in the eighty sixth Epistle to *Casulanus*, saith to be held a table by most of the Romans. But *Cassian* saith, (d) that *Peter* did that out of necessity, not to give it as a rule.

Ambrose in the book of *Elias* and fasting, (e) *There is a fast upon all the dayes of Lent, but only upon Saturday, and the Lords day.*

The Church of *Milan* in *Ambrose's* time, and many ages after did not fast upon *Saturday*, keeping conformity in that point with the Churches of *Asia, Greece,* and *Egypt*, as *Ambrose* said to *Austin*, and as *Austin* relates it in the one hundred and eighteenth Epistle to *Jannarius*. (f) *When I am at Rome, I fast upon Saturday; when I am here (that is at Milan) I do not fast. Thou also likewise, what Church soever thou come to, conform thy self to the custom of the same.* The only Church of *Rome* opposed the general custom of the Churches. Yet Pope *Innocent* in the Epistle to *Decentius* commands very expressly fasting upon *Saturday*, and saith (g) *It is a folly to do the contrary.*

For these causes the sixth Universal Council assembled again at the Palace of *Trull* at *Constantinople* made an expresse Canon against the Roman Church in these terms, (h) *Because we have learned that in the City of Rome they fast upon Saturdayes in Lent, contrary to the Order constituted by tradition in the Church. It is decreed by the holy Synod, that in the Roman Church also the rule shall immutably hold, which pronounceth, that if a Clerk be found fasting upon the Lords dayes or upon Saturdayes, one only excepted, he must be deposed, and if he be a Layman, he must be excommunicated.* All the Bishops of *Greece, Asia,* and all the East were assembled in that Council. And by speaking so, they shewed that they held not themselves subject to the Roman Church.

(d) Nec a mea ex hoc canonica fuisset jejundi regula promulganda, quod non generalis observatio stituerat, sed ut semel fieret, ratio necessitatis extorserat.

(e) Quadragesima totis præter Sabbatum & Dominicam jejunatur diebus.

(f) Cum Roma venio, jejuno Sabbato, cum hic sum non jejunio. Sic & tu ad quam forte Ecclesiam

veneris, ejus morem serva. (g) Dementis est bidui [jejunium] agere ad consuetudinem, Sabbato prætermisso. (h) Can. 55. ἐπειδὴ ματαθήκαμεν τὸ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ἐν τῇ ἀγία καὶ πτωχεύουσας ἡ πόλις ὡς νηστίας τοῖς ταυτῇ σαββάσι νηστεύειν ὅθεν πῶς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀκολουθίαν ἔδεξεν τῇ ἀγία συνόδῳ ὡς κερταίνῃ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀποδοξαμένου καὶ κατόντα διαγορεύοντα, εἰ τις καὶ νεκρὸς ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ κυριακῇ νηστεύων ἢ τὸ σαββάτον πλὴν τοῦ ἐνός μόνου, καθαιρεῖται· εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς ἀφορίζεται.

CHAP. 6.

Examination of the proofs whereby Cardinal du Perron goeth about to prove that Lent is of divine institution.

FOR all other fasts in general, the Cardinal brings no other proof but tradition, which yet we have shewed to have been altogether changed and figured by the Roman Church, and that she opposeth the customs, and constitutions and Canons of ancient Councils. *Lent* only he endeavours to ground upon holy Scripture. For having said that the time before the passion of Christ is the fittest for fasting, he adds, (a) *That God made the waters of the flood to rain forty dayes and forty nights. That the people of Israel was relegated forty years in the wilderness. That Moses, Elijah, the Ninivites, and Christ himself fasted forty dayes. That in the ancient Law the chastisement of those that were beaten with rods exceeded not the number of forty blows. Whence St. Paul saith 2 Cor. 11. I have received forty stripes save one. That new born babes laugh not before they be forty dayes old, as that number being designed by Nature it self for tears and complaints. Also that whereas we give unto God the tythe of all our other goods, we give him in Lent the tythe of our time, as Cassianus observeth. For taking from Lent the Lords dayes, upon which there is no fast, the remaining thirty six dayes are the tythe of the whole year.*

One should need a great deal of spare time to stay upon such absurdities. It

(a) In the second observation of book 2. ch. 8. pag. 658.

(b) ἔτω καὶ
 αὐτὸς ἐπαί-
 λινε· μαρ-
 τάρητε ὅδ'
 ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ
 ἐμῶ ἐπ' ἐκεί-
 νου καὶ τα-
 πειρὰ τῆ
 καρδίας· ἐκ
 ἧ πιν ὅπ'
 ἐνήνευσεν· καὶ
 τοῖς αἵματι
 εἰπὴν τὰς
 παλαιὰς· κόντα
 ἡμᾶς· ἀλλὰ
 ὡ λέγει ὁ θεός.

rained forty dayes (saith this Prelat) therefore we must fast forty dayes before *Easter*. *Israel* was forty dayes in the wilderness, then Christians must fast out the *Lent*. *Moses* and *Elijah* and *Christ* were forty dayes without eating at all, *Ergo* in the forty six dayes before *Easter* (for *Lent* lasteth so long) we must abstain from flesh, and eat fish, herbs, sweet meats, &c. Upon this let us hear *Chrysostome* in the forty seventh Homily upon *Matthew*. (b) *Christ* gave this institution, *Learn of me that I am meek and humble of heart*. He saith not, *I have fasted*, although he might have spoken to them of his forty dayes; But he spake not to them of that, but learn that *I am meek and humble of heart*; For *Christ* will not have us to imitate him in his miracles, but in his vertues. And they that think to imitate the miraculous fast of *Christ* by eating fish, ought to be condemned not to eat at all, and to imitate him in drinking vinegar.

That which followeth is of the like absurdity. *We must fast in Lent, for the Jews gave not above forty stripes*: He that disputes so, deserveth fifty; But for that which comes after, twice as many. *Children laugh not before the fortieth day, Ergo we must fast in Lent.* What he saith of children is false; But though it were true, what doth it for *Lent*? And if we owe no more unto God but the tythe of our time, for whom shall the rest be? And is it impossible to consecrate unto God a day upon which we eat a little flesh? But what is that tythe? *Thirty six dayes* (saith he) *are the tythe of the year.* Why then doth *Lent* last forty six dayes? *We take the Lords dayes from that number* saith he, as good as saying, that he will not have the Lords dayes of *Lent* to be consecrated unto God; But there also he misreckonieth himself, for there are but six Lords dayes in *Lent*, and in those Lords dayes no flesh is eaten. After the mustering of these scientificall demonstrations, who can be so dull as to make a doubt that *Lent* is well grounded upon the word of God?

СНАР. 7.

That Cardinal du Perron was ignorant of the original of Lent, and in what sense that word was taken in the Antient Church. Diversity of ancient customs in this matter.

These words of Christ Matth. 9. 15. *The dayes will come when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast,* gave occasion to the Christians that lived next to the time of the Apostles to fast on the dayes next before *Easter*, because in those dayes Christ was taken from his Disciples; For having been put on the Crofs upon *Friday* at noon, he remained in death the rest of that day, and all the following day, untill the first day of the week, about two hours before Sun-rising: All that time amounts to forty hours. * Wherefore the fast before *Easter*, was called *πεντηκωστή* or *Quadragesima*, which word in the first and most antient signification was taken for a fast of forty hours. Hence also it came, that the first Christians held it an unlawfull thing, yea a great sin to fast upon the Lords day, because it was the day upon which the Bridegroom was restored, that is the day upon which Christ arose from the dead. For the same reason the antient Christians did not fast in the forty dayes from *Easter* to *Ascension* day, because in those dayes the Bridegroom was restored, and the Disciples enjoyed the Lords presence. Which term they made ten dayes longer, even to *Pentecost* or *Whitsunday*; All which time it had been a crime and a scandal among Christians to fast, or to sit, or to bow the knee in the Church.

Some presently after the Apostles having begun to fast before *Easter* forty hours, which are two whole days, others increased the number of the days, some fasting three days, some four, some five, according to their devotion, and the

upon which Christ remained in the grave a whole day, which is *Saturday*; and that others fasted upon *Friday* also, because Christ dyed upon that day. But that such as used a more exact observation, precisely fasted a *Lent* or *Quadragesima* of hours, even the forty hours from the Lords being put on the Cross to his resurrection. The Reader may also observe, how in the time of *Irenaeus* *Lent* was short in comparison of that of our dayes.

That which *Irenaeus* addeth, is no less considerable, *Such a diversity* (saith he) *among the observers [of the Paschal Fast] did not begin in our time, but long before; in the time of those (as it is credible) who having governed without observing an exact rule, have turned afterwards into custom that which was done in simplicity, and by a particular observation. Nevertheless all of them had peace among themselves, and we are still in peace among us.* Which is the same thing, as we said, that in the beginning there was no Law about the fast before *Easter*, but that the voluntary abstinences of some private persons by the lapse of time have been turned into customs, and from customs into Laws, and those Laws different according to the diversity of places, yet so that there was no quarrel for that diversity: So far were they from holding a Fast of forty dayes to be of an absolute necessity, as the Cardinal doth imagine, putting forty dayes where there was but one or two, or forty hours; and an absolute necessity, where there was liberty.

Tertullian in the second chapter of the book which he made against the Orthodox, and truly faithfull, whom he calleth in scorn *luxuriosi spiritual.* (e) *They hold* (saith he) *that those dayes in the Gospel were determined for fasting, in which the Bridegroom was taken away; and that those only fasts are lawfull among the Christians.* Now those dayes are but two, *Friday* and *Saturday* before *Easter*. For before those dayes Christ was with his Disciples, and was not yet taken from them. They held then that Christians ought not to fast before *Friday*, because before that day the Bridegroom was not yet taken from them.

In the thirteenth chapter he reproacheth the Orthodox for saying that they were not to fast but upon those dayes in which the Bridegroom was removed from them, meaning *Friday* and *Saturday* before *Easter*, and that to that constitution nothing was to be added, all innovations being unlawfull, and yet that themselves added fasts besides those dayes, (f) *interposing fasts, upon which they fasted half the day, sometimes feeding upon bread and water, as every one liked best.* In a word (saith he) *you answer that those things ought to be done according to every mans will, not by command.* A very expreſs testimony, out of which we learn that they that fasted then above two dayes before *Easter*, did it not being obliged to it by any Law, some more, some less, according to their will.

It is also to be noted, that the Orthodox accused the Montanists to be excessive in their fasts, and to fast too many dayes in the year. Which *Tertullian* excuseth thus chap. 15. (g) *How small is the interdiction of meats among us! We consecrate unto God two weeks in the year, in which we stint our selves to dry meats, Neither do we consecrate them whole, for we except Saturdays and Lords dayes.* By that account they fasted ten dayes before *Easter*, and that was judged excessive by the Orthodox. This was far from fasting forty dayes.

Cassian in the twenty first Collation, chap. 18. saith that he had learned the same from the Monks of the desert, namely (h) *that the sons of the Bridegroom cannot weep while the Bridegroom is with them; But that the dayes come when he shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast.* Whence he inferreth, that the Disciples during the *Quinquagesima*, that is, for fifty dayes after *Easter*

(e) Certe in Evangelio illos dies jejunii determinatos putant, in quibus ablatuſ est Sponsus, & vos esse jam solos legitimos Christianorum jejuniorum.

(f) Ecce convenio vos & prater Pascha jejunantes citra illos dies quibus ablatuſ est Sponsus, &

stationum semi-jejunia interponentes, & vos interdum pane & aqua visitantes ut cuique visum est. Denique respondetis haec ex arbitrio agenda non imperio.

(g) Quantula apud nos est

interdictio ciborum! duas in anno hebdomadas Xerophagiarum, nec totas exceptis Sabbatis & Dominicis, offerimus Deo. (h) Numquid possunt filii sponsi lugere quamdiu cum illis est sponsus? Venient autem dies cum auferetur ab eis sponsus & tunc jejunabunt. Quae verba licet ante resurrectionem dixerit corporis sui, tamen proprie quinquagesime tempus ostendunt in quo post resurrectionem 40. dies Domino cum Discipulis epulante jejunare eos quotidiana ejus praesentia gaudium non finibat.

were

were not to fast, because they had Christ with them; grounding the fast before *Easter* upon this, that the Church must fast upon the days in which the Lord was taken from them, that is two days only. For although in *Cassian's* time, that is 420. years after Christ's Birth, Lent was of many weeks, Christians then fasting thirty six dayes, yet he sheweth thereby the original of *Lent*, and that in the beginning they fasted only upon those two dayes in which Christ was taken from his Disciples.

Dionysius Alexandrinus who flourished in the year 260. puts but six fast days before *Easter*, and those diversly observed. (i) *All* (saith he) do not equally distribute the six fasting dayes, nor in the same manner, but some pass them all without eating, others pass two, others three, others four, others never a one.

In *Cappadocia* in *St. Basil's* time the Lenten fast was but of five dayes. For so he speaks in the first Sermon of fasting, (k) *Let the belly grant us some truce. Let that continually craving petitioner compound with us for five dayes.* And in the second Sermon, (l) *This is a wicked thought, since a fast of five dayes is proclaimed unto us, let us soak our selves this day in drunkenness.*

In the sixteenth Homily of *Chrysostom* to the people of *Antioch* one may see that in his time at *Antioch* they fasted forty dayes before *Easter*; Yet that the people were not bound to fast the whole *Lent*, but that every one observed such part of it as he liked best. (m) *The custome of all* (saith he) *about Lent, is to ask one another, how many weeks every one hath fasted. And upon that you shall hear them say, the one that he hath fasted two weeks, the other three, the other all. But what profit do we get by it, if being without good works, we fast out the whole Lent? If another tells thee I have fasted the whole Lent, say thou to him, I had an enemy, but I am reconciled; My custome was to detract, but I have left it.* He makes little account of *Lent* in comparison of amendment of life.

In that time many Churches began to extend *Lent* to many weeks, so that nevertheless the people were not obliged to it, and the people fasted neither upon the Lords day, nor upon *Saturday*, excepting only the last *Saturday* of *Lent*. So that they that had a *Lent* of forty dayes, yet fasted neither *Sundays*, nor *Saturdayes*, but one and the last, as we have proved: By which means *Lent* had but thirty fasting dayes.

Sozomenus and *Socrates*, antient Ecclesiastical historians, will give us more light in this matter. These are the words of *Sozomenus*, book 7. chap. 19. *As for the Fast which goes before the Lords resurrection, and is called Lent; Some reckon it to be six weeks, as the Slavonians, and the Occidental men, all Lybia, Egypt, and Palestina; Others reckon seven, as Constantinople, and the Nations about as far as Phenicia. Others in those six or seven weeks fast some dayes here and there. Others fast three whole dayes together before Easter.* This Author writ about the year of Christ 445.

Socrates who lived but a few years before him, in the twenty second chap. of the fifth book relates a great variety of customs in diverse Churches concerning the observation of fasts before *Easter*. Then he adds, (n) *An admiration came into my mind, how these being different about the number of the days, yet call that Fast Quadragesima, labouring to give a reason of this word, some one way, some another.*

As for the Roman Church, in the Latine translation of the Chronicle of *Eusebius* made by *Hierom*, these words are found in the year of Christ, 136. (o) *Some write, that in that time the Fast of Lent was instituted and commanded by Telephorus Bishop of Rome.* But that clause is not found in the Greek Copies of *Eusebius*. It is like enough it was added by *Hierom*, who meant not that *Tele-*

(i) Balsamon in Canonib. Dionysii Alexand. pag. 881.

(k) ἡ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ἑξήκοντα ἡμετέρας ἰσως μὴ δὲ ὁμοίως πάντες δια- νέμονται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν διὰ πέντε ἡμέρας ἑξήκοντα ἡμέρας ἀείρουσι, οἱ δὲ ἑπτὰ οἱ δὲ ὀκτώ οἱ δὲ δέκα οἱ δὲ ἑκατόν.

(l) ὁ δὲ πρὸς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἡ γαστήρ σπειράδω ἡμῶν τρεῖς ἡμέρας σπονδὴς ἢ ἀνὰ ἀπαύσηται.

(m) πυνθὴς ἢ ἑξήκοντα ἡμέρας ἑπταὶ ἡμέραι ἡμετέρας ἑξήκοντα ἢ ἑκατόν ἀνὰ ἡμέραν.

(n) ἡ δὲ παρὶν ἐρωτᾷ καὶ τίς τῶν τεσσάρων πόντος ἕκαστος ἐβ- δόμας ἐξ- ἑξήκοντα καὶ ὅτιν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν.

(o) ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ βίβλῳ ὅτι ἡμετέρας ἑξήκοντα ἡμετέρας ἑξήκοντα.

ἐβδόμας.

(n) καὶ διαμαρτυροῦμαι ὅτι πᾶς ἔπειτα τοῦ ἡμετέρας διαβούλου τεσσάρων πόντος ἕκαστος ἐβδόμας ἐξ- ἑξήκοντα καὶ ὅτιν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν. (o) Quadragesimale jejunium à Telephoro per hoc idem tempus institutum ac præceptum quidam scribunt.

(p) Hic
constituit ut
septem heb-
domadas ante
Pascha jeju-
nium cele-
braretur.
(q) Septem
hebdomadas
plenas ante
sanctum
Pascha om-
nes Clerici
in sortem
Dei vocati
à carne je-
jument, quia
sicut discreti
esse debet
vita Clerico-
rum à Lai-
corum con-
versatione,
ita & in
jejuniis debet
fieri dis-
cretio.

phorus prescribed Lent to the Universal Church, but to the Church of *Rome* only. The Pontifical of *Damasus* in the life of *Telephorus* saith the same. (p) He constituted, that for seven weeks before Easter the Fast should be celebrated. That Decree of *Telephorus*, whether it be true or false, is found in the first Tome of the Councils, in these words, (q) That for seven whole weeks before Easter, all Clerks called unto the Lords inheritance, fast from flesh; for, as the life of Clerks must be distinct from the conversation of Lay-men, it must be distinct also in matter of fasting. That constitution declareth expressly, that this fast was not prescribed but unto the Clerks, not unto the people; and that the people at that time did not abstain from flesh before Easter. But in effect the Decretal of *Telephorus* which instituteth Lent, is false and forged. That is justified by the barbarousness of the style. In which these words are found, *In Missarum solemnibus*, also *Episcopi sunt obediendi non detrahendi & non insidiandi*. And *cavere se*, for *sibi*, and many the like elegancies unsuitable with the time of *Telephorus*; when the Latine tongue was pure still. The falshood appears also, in that *Telephorus* in that Decretal styleth himself *Archbishop*, a name which began about the end of the fourth age, about 245. years after the death of *Telephorus*. The first place where we meet with that word, is the 21. Oration of *Gregory Nazianzen*, who writ about the year of Christ, 375. And next in *Epiphanius*, in the 68. and 69. Heresies, where *Peter* and *Alexander* are styled Archbishops of *Alexandria*. Now *Epiphanius* writ about the year 400.

Whoever will know what the state of the Christian Church was in the time of *Telephorus*, and how Christians hid themselves in Caves for fear of persecutions, and the poor and persecuted Bishops of *Rome* were eminent only in Martyrdom, will easily acknowledge that *Telephorus* could not have written the contents of that Decretal Epistle, wherein he forbids Lay-men to bring any accusation against a Bishop: An unjust Law, for if a Bishop had ravished a Lay-mans wife, or killed his son, had it not been lawful for a Lay-man to call upon the Magistrate for justice? And how could *Telephorus* have hindred it?

That Epistle bears for date the Consulat of *Mark*, without adding any surname, against the custom of all Dates of Consuls.

Out of all that we said, it is made evident that in vain Cardinal *du Perron* labours, in the eighth Chapter of the second Observation, to heap up many testimonies of Fathers that speak of the Fast before Easter, and of Lent, to make the world believe, that every time that the fast before Easter or Lent are mentioned in the books of the ancient writers, a fast of forty dayes must be understood, seeing that we have shewed that the fasts before Easter in the first ages were of few dayes. That some Christians would fast one day, some two, some three; and that the word *Quadragesima*, came first from the forty hours, in which the Bridegroom was taken from the Disciples.

Observe also, that all the testimonies which he alleadgeth, wherein it is spoken of Lent, are out of the fourth and fifth ages, and by consequent discover not the original and first observation of Lent. Notelike, that in all the Authors of the three first ages, that word of Lent or *Quadragesima* is not found; neither in *Iustine*, nor in *Irenaeus*, nor in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, nor in *Tertullian*, nor in *Origen*, nor in *Cyprian*, nor in *Arnobius*, nor in *Lactantius*, nor in *Minutius*. Which makes us doubt of the truth of the Epistles of *Ignatius*, where yet the word *παρασκευαή*, signifieth not forty dayes, as we have shewed.

The 50. Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which *du Perron* alleadgeth, speaks indeed of *Quadragesima*, but saith not how many dayes it lasted. We must know also, that the Canon that follows, teacheth us that then in Lent they fasted neither on Saturday, nor on the Lords day.

Especially that which he maintains is most false, that the observation of fasting forty dayes before Easter was of absolute necessity. For we have shewed by a multitude of testimonies, that the people were not bound to it. And that great variety of customs of fasting, sheweth sufficiently, that Christians in those dayes were not ruled by the Laws and customs of the Church of *Rome*.

CHAP. 8.

How the discipline of Fasting in the Roman Church, is full of absurdity and abuse.

THE Roman Church hath made a multitude of Laws about the discipline of fasting; to the observation whereof (a) the people are so bound, that to violate them is held a mortal sin, that is, a sin that deserveth eternal damnation; although of all those distinctions of meat, in which fasting is made to consist, God hath commanded none, and they are even contrary to his Word, as we have proved; to say nothing of that rashness whereby sinners make themselves judges of the merit of crimes, a judgement that belongs to none but God.

In all fasts of the Roman Church flesh is forbidden. But in *Lent*, besides flesh, it is prohibited also to eat eggs, butter, and all kinds of milkiness. Yet on the first day of *Lent*, the people of *Paris* will go in procession to our Ladies Church, to get leave to eat butter in *Lent*.

In the *Indies* subject to the King of *Spain*, the Law of Fasts is not yet established, as Cardinal *Tolet* saith, (b) *because* (saith he) *faith is yet but new there*; that is, of about eightscore years standing. Yea in *Spain*, upon *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, one may eat the feet and ears of Calves and Sheep. These they call *Menudillos*, and take them for fish.

In the Roman Church they fast upon *Fridays* and *Saturdays* between *Easter* and *Whitsunide*; which in the antient Church would have been a great crime, and likewise fasting upon the Lords day in *Lent*, which not to do, is now become a mortal sin in the Roman Church.

There they make fasting to consist, not in sobriety, but in distinction of meats: So that he that upon a fasting day hath but tasted flesh, is held to have violated his fast. But he that on the same day hath been drinking wine, and eating fish and sweet-meats with great excess, is accounted to have fasted, as Cardinal *Tolet* saith in the sixth book of the Institution of Priests, chap. 2. *Quamvis aliquis multam excedat, non ob id solvit jejunium. Although one make great excess, he violates not his fast for that*: In the same place (c) he saith that he dares not condemn Banquets which they use to make at *Rome* in *Lent*, *Secundum consuetudinem tinelli. According to the custom of the Tinell*; which is a custom to give the one to the other the *Posse*, to make banqueting go from house to house. For (saith he) *the Pope knoweth that, and tolerates it, although this be an excess of men that have little fear*. In effect, the Pope and the Cardinals of *Rome*, are they that least observe *Lent*, for they that give dispensations to others, have reason to take as many dispensations for themselves as their heart desireth. They that make Laws, are not subject unto Laws.

Upon the discipline of fasting, the Doctors made such gallant rules and jolly distinctions, that one may see they had a mind to make themselves merry. They dispute whether those persons keep the Fast, that take meat another way then by the mouth, as they that take in *Lent* nutritive Clysters, made with flesh broth, not for Physick, but for food and sustenance.

And because some will drink largely upon fasting dayes, even early in the morning, the Doctors determine that (d) drinking doth not violate the Fast, whether one drink before or after dinner. By this means one may be drunk, and yet fasting. There is no danger of being drunk in drinking milk, yet milk is excepted, of which if one drink but a spoonful, he hath violated his fast. And that is the reason why Saint *Catharine* of *Siena*, being yet in swaddling clothes, would not suck upon a *Friday*.

Yet these Gentlemen, by a fatherly compassion, have made exceptions for the comfort of souls, whereby they make fasts void, and make the Laws of fasts ridiculous. We have shewed before, how they declare, that a man under one and twenty years of age is not obliged to fast, (e) nor he that by fasting is made less

(a) Tolet. de Instruct. Sacerd. l. 6. c. 3.

Præceptum jejunii secundum omnium Doctorum sententiam obligat sub mortali.

(b) Id. ibid. cap. 2. sect. 4.

(c) Armilla, verbo jejunium, sect. 12.

Probat collationes que fiunt Romæ secundum consuetudinem tinelli ob consuetudinem, &

quia Pontifex tolerat cum sciat; quamvis isti sint abusus hominum purum timoratorum.

(d) Tolet. de Instruct. Sacerd.

l. 6. c. 1. Potius quamvis sit vinum, non solvit jejunium,

five sumatur ante prandium five post. Sed lac solvit jejunium.

(e) Tolet. lib. 6. c. 4. sect. 7.

Excusatur à jejunio, qui non potest reddere uxori debitum jejunando.

Eman: Sa idem dicit Aphor. verbo jejunium.

able to lie with his wife; nor he whose wife is not satisfied; nor Tradesmen, Plowmen, Travellers, Pilgrims, Beggars, Preachers, Women with child, &c. So that it will be found that the Law of Fasting obligeth no body.

(f) Eman.
Sa ibid.
sect. 13.
*Qui semel
jejunium
violat non
peccat postea
saepe come-
dendo.*
Tolet. l. 6.
de Instruct.
Sacerd. c. 3.
sect. 5.

The Jesuite *Emanuel Sa*, and Cardinal *Tolet*, after other Doctors, determine (f) that *he that hath once violated the Fast, sins not afterwards by frequent eating of flesh*: That is, that by once sinning, he hath got liberty of sinning for the whole *Lent*. As if they said, that a man by lying or stealing in the beginning of *Lent*, may continue the same course till *Easter*. And that he is never the more guilty for that.

The extremity of the disease, is, that the Roman Church placeth fasting among the works that deserve eternal life, which is purchasing the Kingdom of heaven at an easie rate. The proud Pharisee (*Luke 18.*) boasted of his fasting twice a week, and notwithstanding was rejected of God; although his pride was not come to that height, to presume thereby to merit eternal life. Can any doubt but that this language would delight God very much, if a man loaden with merits would tell him in the day of Judgement, *Thou must give me eternal life, for I have abstained from flesh in the Eves, in the Rogation weeks, and in Lent? Only I have drunk wine somewhat largely, and filled my belly with fish and sweet-meats.* Is not this enough to satisfy God? For although he hath not commanded that distinction of meats, yea though he hath prohibited it in his Word, yet the Pope, who cannot err in the faith, hath otherwise disposed of it.

This is not all, for they will have the Fast to serve to expiate sins that are past, and to make a payment unto Gods justice; saying, This poor sinner hath indeed committed murders and adulteries, but in recompence he hath kept *Lent*, he hath eaten neither flesh, nor eggs, nor milk, upon certain dayes; that must be taken for payment, and accepted in Gods judgement for a full satisfaction. Yea it may happen that such satisfactions will be an overplus of payment, and that a man shall pay more then he oweth. In that case, the overplus shall serve for some other that hath not satisfied enough. The Pope shall lay up that overplus in his Treasure, and distribute it to others by his Indulgences, and the living fasting for the dead, shall fetch them out of Purgatory, by the grant and concession of his Holiness. Oh the height of superlative abuse and absurdity! It must needs be acknowledged that God is very angry with men, since he hath poured upon them such an horrible spirit of stumbling.

By these things it is evident, that the Popes have constituted Fasts, not for an exercise of abstinence, but for marks of their Empire. For by these Laws they rule the Tables and Kitchens, not only of the people, but also of Kings and Princes, and lay a yoke upon consciences, from which Christ hath delivered his Church. And the more the Pope multiplyeth his Prohibitions, the more suitors hath he for Dispensations.



Sixth Controversie,
OF THE
SEVEN H BOOK.

OF
Auricular Confession, and
Of the secrets of Confession.

CHAP. I.

Four sorts of Confession in our Churches. Answer to the Cardinal:



His Majesty of England had said, That Auricular Confession, as it is practised in the Roman Church, was not used in the antient Church.

To which the Cardinal answereth in these words, *It is enough for us to say that the antient Church held the vocall and distinct confession of sins to the Pastor, to be necessary to obtain remission of sins. And that whereas the Church out of Indulgence, and to yield to the bashfulness of men, would be contented with the secret and Auricular Confession instead of the publick, she doth thereby not aggravate the yoke of Confession, but ease it.* By this he acknowledgeth that in old time there was no Auricular Confession, but that it was introduced to spare sinners that were ashamed of confessing their sins publicly.

He addeth, that as for that vocall and distinct Confession, the Apostles themselves did institute it, and that by vertue of their authority to forgive, or retain sins, which they had received from Christ. That all the Fathers by that authority, understand the judiciary absolution of sins, not the bare Preaching of the Gospel. And that as one

relative presupposeth another, the absolution presupposeth a precedent revealing of sins, which cannot be done but by Confession.

Pag. 643.

He saith next, that both the Fathers and the Roman Church, hold not Confession necessary to salvation, with an absolute necessity, but only with a necessity of means, conditionate, and in case of possibility, and that contrition supplyeth the defect of confession.

(a) August. de Bapt. contra Doct. nat. l. 3. cap. 22.

He saith farther, We hold not Confession to be a Sacrament, but only a necessary and essential condition to a Sacrament, even to the penitential absolution. Which he proveth by (a) *Austin*, who puts imposition of hands among the Sacraments, and saith upon *Psalm 146.* that the cloth and salves about wounds are the temporall Sacraments. In which places he will have us to think that *Austin* means Sacramental absolution.

Leaving for the present, that which the Cardinal saith of penance and Sacramental absolution, of which it will be spoken afterwards, we will receive that which he grants, that Auricular Confession hath not been in use in the antient Church. Now it is not credible, that they that brought in Auricular Confession to cover the bashfulness of sinners, were more prudent then the Apostles, and the antient Church in her primitive purity.

(b) Alii dicunt quod in Novo Testamento à Jacobo dicente Confitemini alterutrum peccata; Sed melius dicitur eam institutam fuisse à quadam universalis Ecclesie traditione potius quam ex Novo vel Veteri Testamento auctore.

The Gloss of the first Canon of the fifth distinction of Penance, acknowledgeth the same thing, and freely saith, that the confession which is made unto the Priest, is not instituted in the Word of God. These are the words, (b) *Others say that the Confession was instituted in the New Testament by Saint James, saying, Confess your sins one to another. But it is better to say that it was instituted by some tradition of the Universal Church, rather then by the authority of the New or Old Testament.*

And a little after, (c) *Confession is necessary among us in mortal sins, but not among the Grecians, because such a tradition is not come to them. Beatus Rhenanus* in the argument of *Tertullians* book of Penitence, acknowledgeth that secret Confession is no where commanded, and that the antient Church did not practise it.

The Cardinal needed not to tell us that Confession of sins is necessary: We believe it, and teach it. He that covereth his transgressions shall not prosper, but he that confesseth and forsaketh them shall find mercy, *Prov. 28.* But of Confession of sins there are four kinds, which are not all of equal necessity. For sins are confest, either to God alone, or to the Church publicly, or to the Pastor privately, or to our neighbour whom we have offended.

Confession to God is absolutely necessary. Of that Saint *John* speaketh in the first Chapter of his first Epistle, *If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity.* Of that confession *David* felt the fruit; for he saith in *Psalm 32. 5.* *I said I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.* For God will sooner bear with sins followed with a penitent confession, then with pretended righteousness, with pride and opinion of merit.

(c) Necessaria est in mortalibus confessio apud nos, apud Græcos non, quia non emanavit ad illos talis traditio.
(d) Com. Trid. Sess. 14. in reformatione. Apostolus monet publice peccantes publice esse corripiendos.
(e) ὁ ἐξελθὼν.
(f) ἀνεστῶν.

Publick Confession, though it be not absolutely necessary for salvation, yet the practise of it is necessary in the Church of God, to touch the sinner with repentance, and fright others from vice by that example, and to make those that are none of the flock to take notice, that vices are not suffered in the Church, whereby they may be invited to embrace Christian Religion. The Council of *Trent* in the fourteenth Session, chap. 8. approveth publick penances, (d) as grounded upon the Apostles sentence, *1 Tim. 5. 20. Them that sin, rebuke before all, that others also may fear.* It was the practise of the antient Church, and there was in every Church a place set apart for the penitent, that they might be remarkable and discerned from the other Christians. They stood for a while in the Church-porch, and that first degree of penance was called (e) *Fore-weeping.* About a year or two after they entred into the Church, standing in the Portal or entry of the Temple: But they were not permitted to assist at the prayers of the Congregation, and were called the *Hearers*, and their penance *Hearing*: (f) Having past a year

those that are mentioned, *Acts* 19. 18. *Many that believed, came and confessed and shewed their deeds.*

The last sort of Confession is that which sinners do mutually among themselves after they have offended one another. Of that kind of Confession spake Saint James, chap. 5. 16. *Confess your faults one to another.* (m) There is in the Greek, *Confess your sins reciprocally or mutually*; that is, I to you, and you to me; which cannot be referred to Auricular Confession. Note also the coupling of these two things, *Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another.* For as James understands not that we must pray for the Priests only, so he understands not that we must confess our sins to the Priests only. So Austin understands it in the fifty fourth Epistle to *Macedonius*, (n) *It is written, Confess your sins one to another, and pray for you [mutually.] Every one attributes to himself that part of humanity to his neighbour when he can do it.* And Cardinal Cajetan in his Comment upon Saint James Epistle, (o) *It is not here spoken (saith he) of the Sacramental Confession, as it appears in that he saith, Confess one to another; for Sacramental confession is not made one to another, but to the Priests only. But that confession is meant whereby we confess one to another mutually that we are sinners, that we may be prayed for, and the confession of faults which is mutually made for a mutual pacification and reconciliation.* These four kinds of Confessions are good and holy, and practised in our Churches. But that which is made unto God is the principal, and must be done every day, and is absolutely necessary to salvation: The other sorts as time and occasions require, and according to possibility. Wherefore there was no need for the Cardinal to expatiate with his moral eloquence upon the necessity of Confession, which we acknowledge and teach. He grounds the necessity of Sacramental Confession, upon the power which the Lord hath given to his Apostles to forgive sins. Which Confession he saith to be understood by the Fathers of absolution of sins, not of the meer preaching of the Gospel. All which he saith to impose calumniously upon us, that by the power of forgiving or retaining sins, we understand no more but the Preaching of the Gospel. For we know that Pastors exercise that power not meerly by Preaching, but also by using Censures, Suspensions, Excommunications, Relaxations, and Reconciliations of sinners that have satisfied the Church. Of which we shall speak in the right place.

(m) *λογισθητε ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἁμαρτήματα.*

(n) *Scriptum est confitemini invicem peccata vestra, & orate pro vobis. Has sibi partes humanitatis, ubi potest, omnis homo apud hominem vindicat.*

(o) *Nec hic sermo est de confessione Sacramentali, ut patet ex eo quod dicit Confitemini invicem. Sacramentalis enim Confessio non fit invicem, sed sacerdotibus tantum. Sed de confessione qua mutuo fateamur nos peccatores ut oretur pro nobis, & de confessione hinc inde erratorum pro mutua placatione & reconciliatione.*

CHAP. 2.

That the testimonies of the Fathers which Cardinal du Perron objecteth to us, to establish Auricular Confession, are to no purpose. Some falsifications observed.

Page 644:

Cardinal du Perron makes three sorts of Confessions practised in the antient Church. 1. Publick confession for publick sins, upon which he acknowledgeth that his Church and ours are agreed. 2. Secret confession for secret sins. 3. And publick confession for secret sins; upon which two last sorts of confession he brings many testimonies of the Fathers, presupposing against truth, that they are not received in our Church; but we have shewed already, that we receive and teach those two sorts of confessions, as well as the first.

(a) 229. rule. He alleadgeth *Basil*, who in his short rules, (a) saith, that *Confession of sins must be made only before them that can heal them.* And in the fifth Chapter of the same Observation, which is the second, the Cardinal alleadgeth the same *Basil*, *Qu.* 288. saying, that *sins ought to be discovered to those only to whom the dispensation of mysteries is committed.* These two places are falsified by the addition of the word

word *only*, which he puts in of his own, to exclude any other confession but that which is made to the Priest. In the first place, there is according to the Greek, (b) *Confession of sins must be made before those that can heal them, as it is written, You that are stronger, bear the infirmities of the weak*; which is a text of Saint Paul, where by the strong he understands not the Pastors of the Church, but the godly that are more proficient in the faith: So that M. du Perron, besides the addition of the word *only*, corrupts the sense of that place, attributing unto the Priests alone, that which is said of all the godly people. The second testimony is this, (c) *It is necessary to confess sins unto those to whom the administration of the holy mysteries is committed*. The word *only* is not in the Greek.

In the same place he alleadgeth (d) *Leo*, in the 80. Epistle, saying, it will suffice that the sins of consciences be shewed unto the Priest by a secret confession. This also is false, for *Leo* saith not *sacerdoti*, but *sacerdotibus*; that is, to the company of Priests. The Cardinal hath thus corrupted that place, because confession made to a company, did not seem to him secret enough, or having any thing common with Auricular Confession.

But when all is said, To what purpose doth he go about to prove to us private Confession made to the Pastor of the Church, since we approve it? In that point he mistaketh the Fathers, thinking that when they speak of Confession made privately, they mean that Auricular or secret Confession, whereby all adult Christians are obliged once a year to make an enumeration unto the Priest, of all the sins they can remember which they have committed since their last confession, that they may receive the absolution of them. Only they speak of sinners, who being grieved in their conscience with the sense of their sins, make their private address unto their Pastor, and confess unto him their sins, that the Pastor may bring the comforts, and apply the remedies which the word of God affordeth, announcing them the remission of their sins through Jesus Christ. These private confessions were voluntarily done by sinners, without any obligation by Ecclesiastical Laws. The sinner represented to his Pastor some sin that stung him most, but made not an exact enumeration of all the evil desires, words and actions of the whole year, with the circumstances of time, place and persons, as every man is required to do in the Roman Church. And if the sin was such, that it deserved or needed publick repentance, as publick scandals, then the Pastor disposed the sinner to publick penance, which is called by the Fathers, a second plank after Shipwrack, and a second cure after Baptism. That penance, according to the judgement of (*) *Tertullian* and (c) *Ambrose*, might not be done above once in a mans life; making thereby man more merciful then God, who will have us to pardon our brethren, not seven times only, but seventy times seven, that is, infinite times:

The same I say of the testimonies of Fathers, which the Cardinal brings after, to shew that even for secret sins they required a publick acknowledgement. What is that against us who do not contradict that? Knowing that there are some hidden sins so horrible, that no penance can be too severe or too publick to humble the sinner.

Truly in that point we differ not from the antient Church, but that the degrees of publick penance, prescribed by the antient Canons, are not practised among us, no more then in the Church of *Rome*, where they are altogether abolished. But instead of them, the Pope hath laid a heavier yolk upon the consciences, and established a politick tyrannie upon them, of which we shall hereafter speak.

(b) Ἐξαρξουσας τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ὁσὶν καὶ τῶν ἀσθενῶν

(c) ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς πιστεύουσιν

ἀποκρῖναι τὰς ἐν τῇ συνείδησει αἰμαρτίας

(d) Leo ad universos Episc. per Camp. Epist. 80.

(*) Tertul. lib. de Pœnit. c. 4, 5, & 9. (c) Ambros. lib. de Pœnit. c. 10.

CHAP. 3.

Of the Penitentiary Priest abolished by Nectarius. How Cardinal du Perron altereth and corrupteth that history. How he disguiseth and concealeth the Doctrine of Chrysostom about Confession.

Vnder *Theodosius* the great, about the year 388. of Christ, a memorable thing to this purpose happened at *Constantinople*. The Emperour *Decius* in the year 250. had raised a hard persecution against the Christians, which persecution made many to bow, and to deny the Christian profession, to save their lives. The persecution being over, they desired to be received to repentance, and sought to make their peace with the Church, which was not denied them. But an *African* Bishop called *Novatus*, and a Roman Priest called *Novatianus*, made a schism upon this, saying, that such persons ought not to be received to repentance, and they would not communicate with them; but separating themselves from the Church, carried away great numbers with them, who made a Sect apart. For which cause, the Orthodox Bishops, being loath to fright the people, and scandalize the Church by a multitude of penitents, brought to publick penance, established in every Church a Penitentiary Priest to hear secretly the Confessions of those Christians fallen to idolatry, and seeking their reconciliation. That order being established at the first, only for those that were fallen to idolatry, was soon after used for all sorts of penitent sinners. For before that time, the custom had been to receive, no otherwise, sinners to the communion, but after a publick confession of their sin. But when the Penitentiary Priests were once established, many being ashamed to be made publick examples, began to address themselves to that Penitentiary Priest, who having heard their confession, dispensed them from the publick confession, if he judged the sin to be of that nature that the sinner might be dispensed from it, without doing harm to himself, or giving scandal unto the Church. But in the time of the Emperour *Theodosius*, *Nectarius* being Patriarch of *Constantinople*, such an accident happened at *Constantinople*, as caused the abolishing of that office. It is related by *Socrates*, in the nineteenth Chapter of the fifth Book of his History, in these words. *A noble woman came to the Penitentiary Priest, and confessed unto him part of the sins she had committed since her Baptism: Upon which the Priest enjoyned her to fast and pray with assiduity, that with the Confession she might shew works worthy of repentance. But the woman going further, accused her self of another sin, and confessed that the Deacon of the Church had lyen with her. Which being declared, was the cause that the Deacon was deposed from the Office which he had in the Church; and the multitude was stirred, being angry not only for that deed, but also for the scandal and disgrace which that action had cast upon the Church. And Ecclesiastical persons being upon that occasion reproached and reviled, a Priest called Eudemon born in Alexandria, gave counsel to Nectarius to abolish the Penitentiary Priest, and to permit every one to be partaker of the holy mysteries, according to the dictate of his own conscience: Because that was the only way to exempt the Church from scandal. I did the more boldly write this relation, because I have it from Eudemon himself.*

Sozomenus relates the same history in chap. 16. of the seventh book, where he saith, that Bishops judging the custom of confessing sins publicly, as upon a stage, to be too severe, appointed in every Church a Priest of good life, (f) discreet, and no babler, to hear sinners, and to enjoyn them what satisfaction they were to make in private; and he saith, that the same custom was still in the Roman Church in his time: Of which he describes the publick penances, the tears, the fasts, and the form of reconciling the penitent. But of all that discipline, no trace now remains in the Church of *Rome*. *Sozomenus* saith further, that *Nectarius* abolished that Office of Penitentiary Priest in the *East*, and that he left to every persons conscience to participate the Sacred mysteries, as he should find himself disposed;

(f) ἐξέμυ-
νον καὶ
ἡμερῶν.

disposed; whereupon the Author complains that the rigour of the discipline which already was relenting, grew thereby more loose and slack. Which we must not understand, as if at *Constantinople* and in the East publick confessions had been abolisht by *Nectarius*, but only that they became less frequent when it was left to the liberty of sinners whose faults were not known, to receive the holy Communion without making any other confession, penance, or satisfaction, but such as they judged themselves in their own conscience to be bound to do.

This history being clear and easie to be understood, Cardinal *du Perron* doth so strangely confound and disguise it, that one would say that he understood it not. He saith that the Penitentiary Priest charged that woman to confess her faults in the publick audience of the Church, and that she confessing her faults publicly, went beyond that which the Penitentiary Priest had enjoined her, declaring in the face of the Church, the sin she had committed with the Deacon. A thing of which neither *Socrates* nor *Sozomenus* make any mention, and say not that the Penitentiary had enjoined her any confession in publick, or forbidden her to declare in her publick confession the heaviest sin of all. Wherefore it is with good reason that the Jesuite *Petavius* in his Notes upon *Epiphanius*, disputes against the Cardinals opinion, and maintains that it was apart and in secret that this woman confessed the crime to the Penitentiary Priest, not in publick.

In the third chapter of the second Observation, pag. 647.

Also the Cardinal being not able to concoct the words of *Socrates* and *Sozomenus*, that it was put to every mans conscience to present himself to the Communion according to the dictate of every mans conscience, by this word every man, understands the publick penitents, whereas it signifieth every person that feels his conscience prest with some sin. Again, he understands these words, as if *Socrates* and *Sozomenus* had said that *Nectarius* permitted every one to present himself to the Communion as his own conscience should indite him, after every one had undertaken the penance, not before they had undertaken it: And that the words mean, that after men had embarked themselves in the course of the solemn penance, it was left to their conscience to judge when they had sufficiently performed it. That indeed is altogether false & impossible. For not only before *Nectarius*, but since also, several Councils have regulated publick penances, and prescribed unto every sin deserving publick penance, the prefixed time how long one should stay upon every degree of penance. How ridiculous would have been the Canons of Councils made since *Nectarius* which prescribe that the murdurer or the adulterer be so many years performing his penance, if it had been lawfull to him after he had one day begun his penance, to let it fall and end the next day? and to communicate when he would, with the Communion of the holy Sacrament? Certainly the Cardinal hath here taken his measures amiss, and quite mistaken the history.

To this *Nectarius* succeeded in the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*, *John* a Priest of *Antioch* surnamed *Chrysostomus* or golden mouth, because of his eloquence. He did not content himself to continue the suppression of the office of the Penitentiary Priest, who kept the depositum of all the secret confessions, but besides he dissuaded his hearers in his Sermons to confess themselves to any man, saying, that it was enough for them to confess themselves to God alone.

In the fifth Homily of the nature of the incomprehensible God, he speaks thus, (g) For this cause I exhort, and beseech, and require you, that you confess your sins unto God continually. For I do not bring thee forth into a stage of thy fellow-servants, I constrain thee not to discover thy sins unto men. Uncover thy conscience before God, and shew him thy wounds, and ask him remedies. Shew thy sins to him that upbraideth not, since although thou shouldst hold thy peace, he knoweth all things.

And in the one and thirtieth Homily upon the Epistle to the Hebrews,

συνηλόν τῷ Θεῷ· ἐν δὲ ἐκκαλύψει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀνακαθάρσει τὰ ἁμαρτήματα· τὸ συνηλόν ἀνέπτυξεν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς· καὶ ὑπὸ δεικνύει τὰ τρεῖς μέρη, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ φάρμακα αἰτησὶν· δεικνύον τὸ μὴ θρηνησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διεξιέναι.

Yyy

(h) He

(h) τὸν
καταρτί-
τα ἵδῃ-
ποτε γὰρ
ἐξομολο-
γῶν ἁμαρτί-
αν· ἀλλὰ
ἢ ὡς θεὸν
ἐξομολο-
γῶν μὴ μνησθῆναι
αὐτῆς, &c.
ἢ λέγων σοὶ
ἐκπομπήσαν
σαῖς ἡδὲ
ἐξομολο-
γῶν τοῖς
ἄλλοις κατη-
γύρουν·
ἀλλὰ πῶς
δοῦναι τῷ
ἐκτενῶν
λέγοντι
ἀποχαιρῶν
πρὸς κύριον
τὴν ἰδίαν
σὺ· ἐπὶ σὺ
θεὸν ταῦτα
ἐκμολογῶν
ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ
ἐκμολογῶν
ἁμαρτήματα
ἐν χερσὶ
ἐπὶ τῷ
ῥαββί
ἀλλὰ τῇ
μνήμῃ.
(i) ἀλλὰ
ἐξομολο-
γῶν διότι
ἡμαρτίαν
λέγει αὐτῷ
καὶ ἡμέραν
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλῆ-
σίᾳ· καὶ πῶς
μὴ γὰρ λέγει
εἰπε τῷ
συνοδῶν
ἐν ἐκκλῆσίᾳ
σὺ· εἰπε τῷ
θεῷ τῷ
θεοπατρί
αὐτῷ.
Edit. Fron-
tonis pag.
1004.

(h) He that repents must not discover his sin [unto men] but let him pray to God that he may not remember it. And a little after, I say not to thee, that thou set forth thy sins publicly, nor that thou accuse thy self. But obey the Prophet that saith, Lay open thy way unto the Lord. Confess them unto God. Confess thy sins to thy Judge, praying, if not with thy tongue, yet with thy thought, and so obtain mercy.

The same upon Psal. 50. (i) Art thou ashamed to say that thou hast sinned? say that to him every day in thy prayer. What? Do I say thee, that thou shouldst say it to thy fellow servant that upbraideth thee? Say it to God that brings remedy to it. For though thou do not say it, yet God takes notice of it.

The same Father in the fourth Homily upon the parable of Lazarus (for he calls it alwayes a parable) speaks thus, (k) Tell me why thou art ashamed, or why dost thou blush to declare thy sins? For dost thou confess them to a man that he may upbraid thee with them? or to thy fellow servant, that he may set them forth? To thy Master, to the tender, to the gracious, to the Physician, thou discoverest them. For doth he not know them though thou say nothing of them to him, he that knew them even before thou didst them?

And a little after, he personates God speaking thus to the sinner, I constrain thee not to come to the midst of a stage, nor to have many witnesses about thee. Say thy sin unto me alone privately, that I may heal thy wound.

And in the twenty eighth homily to the people of Antioch, (l) God doth not constrain us to declare our sins publicly, but commands us to make our apologies to him alone, and our confessions to him alone.

And in an other place, (m) Let that judgement be made without witnesses. Let none but God see thy confession. Upon which the Jesuite Petavius in his notes upon Epiphanius pag. 244. chideth Chrysostom with an unbecoming bitterness.

The Cardinal (n) speaking superficially of Chrysostom, takes no notice of these places, by which it is evident that not only Chrysostom did not require a publick confession from sinners, but that he did not to much as oblige his people to any particular confession, and that therefore his advice was contrary to that of the Fathers of the Council of Trent, (o) who in the fourteenth Session anathematize them that say, that to have remission of sins, it is not necessary by divine right to confess in the Sacrament of penitence, all ones mortal sins that can be remembered, and all the circumstances that alter the nature of the sin, and that the confession of the Church, which is called auricular, is not instituted by God, and is not necessary to salvation, by divine right. For that holy Doctor, who was versed in Scripture as much as the Fathers of Trent, or more, did not find in it that Law which obligeth every one, before he do his Easter-devotions, to confess all his mortal sins unto a Priest, and all the circumstances of sin, upon pain of damnation.

All that the Cardinal answereth to these testimonies of Chrysostom is this, that Chrysostom taught, that it was enough for a man to confess unto God, that is, in respect of the satisfactory, not of the judiciary confession.

(k) τὴν
γὰρ ἐπειὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἐβουλεύσας, εἰπέ μοι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα εἰπεῖν; καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν λέγεις ἵνα ἀνέστης σὺ; μὴ τῷ συνοδῶν ἐκμολογῆς, ἵνα ἐκπομπήσῃ; τῷ δεσπότῃ τῷ κυνημῶν τῷ εὐκλειστῶν ἱατρῷ, τῷ τράυμα ἐπιθεραπεύει; καὶ γὰρ καὶ σὺ μὴ εἰπὶ· ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἰδὲν ὅς γε καὶ πρὸ σὺ περὶ χεῖρας ἡγίστατο, &c. καὶ ἀναγνώσας ἐποίησεν εἰς μέσον ἐξομολογῆσαι πολλὰς, ἵνα τοῖς ἁμαρτήματι εἰπεῖν οἷον κατ' ἰδίαν. (l) ἵνα ἀναγνώσας παραδόντας εἰς μέσον ἐξομολογῆσαι τὰ πεπληρωμένα. ἀλλὰ αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἀπολογισάσθαι καλεῖται καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκμολογῆσαι. Edit. Savil. p. 608. (m) Chrysost. Hom. de Pœnitentia & Confessione, Tomo 5. Edit. Latine Colum. 901. Edit. Basil. an. 1518. (n) Chap. 3. of the second Observation pag. 648. (o) Concil. Trid. Sess. 14. Can. 6. Si quis negaverit confessionem Sacramentalem vel institutam vel ad salutem necessariam jure divino, &c. Anathema sit. Et Can. 7. Si quis dixerit in Sacramento penitentiae ad remissionem peccatorum necessarium non esse jure divino confiteri omnia & singula peccata mortalia quorum memoria cum debita & diligenti premeditatione habeatur, etiam occulta & que sunt contra duo ultima precepta Decalogi, & circumstantias qua peccati speciem mutant, &c. anathema sit.

By the judiciary confession he understands that which is made unto the Priest: By the satisfactory, that which is done in publick. Whence the absurdity of that Distinction is made evident: For neither the private, nor the publick confession can be called judiciary; seeing that it is not the action of a Judge, but that of a sinner appearing as guilty. Wherefore the Council of Trent acknowledgeth no other judiciary action in the Sacrament of Penitence, but the absolution, calling it (p) a judiciary act whereby the sentence is pronounced (p) Conc. by the Priest, as by a Judge. Besides Chrysostom in the forealledged places Trid. Sess. doth expressly disswade confession in that respect of confessing to a man as to a Judge, and will have it made unto God alone, because unto him it belongeth to be Judge. As in the one and thirtieth Homily upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, Confess thy sins unto God, Confess them to thy Judge. And the words of that Father take away all distinction, when he personates God speaking thus, Tell thy sin unto me privately. And Let none see thy confession but God. *14. cap. 6. Sed ad instar actus judicialis quo ab ipso velut à iudice sententia pronuntiatur.*

Wherefore the Cardinal hath cut off these last words, and clipt Chrysostoms tongue. But he alleadgeth other words of his out of the thirtieth Sermon to the people of Antiochia, It is enough for thee to confess to God alone, not to thy fellow servant that upbraideth thee with it. Again, I do not constrain thee to come up upon a stage before a great multitude of witnesses. But he suppresseth the following words, (q) It is against me that sin is committed; Say it unto me alone in private.

Chrysostom was not alone of that opinion. Austin in the tenth book of Confessions, chap. 3. speaks thus, (r) What have I to do that men hear my confessions, as if they ought to heal all my diseases. *(q) ἵπὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐνός μόνον καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν. (r) Quid mihi ergo est cum hominibus ut audiant confessiones meas quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos?*

And Hilary upon Psalm 51. (f) David gives a reason of his confession, saying, because thou hast done it, acknowledging that it was God, the Author of this Universe, teaching that we must confess to none else.

Cassian in the twentieth Collation, chapter 8. (t) If being kept back by bashfulness thou art ashamed to reveal thy sins unto men, cease not to confess them by continual prayers unto him to whom they cannot be hidden.

The Canon Petrus, (u) in the first distinction of penitence, alleadgeth these words of Ambrose, I read that Peter wept, but I read not that he made satisfaction. And the following Canon saith * Tears wash away the sin which a man is ashamed to confess. The Gloss of those Canons saith (x) Perhaps in those dayes the custom of confession as it is now, was not yet instituted. (y) The Gloss addeth, These tears are inward, that is, he is so ashamed that he weeps in secret, not before the Priest.

Yet the Cardinal to prove that Chrysostom approved auricular confession, saith that it hath persevered and persevereth still in the Church of Constantinople. If it were so, he would have brought us a cloud of witnesses. But he brings none but the last Canon of the sixth Council of Constantinople, which saith, that they that have received of God the power of binding and loosing must consider the quality of the sin. But he is mistaken, if he think that in that Canon auricular confessions are meant. The Canon speaks of the absolutions of those that did publick penance, for the publick penances, and the diverse degrees of penance were still observed at Constantinople at that time, as it may be seen in the eighty eighth Canon of the same Council whereby the antient Canon is confirmed, made against those that forsake their lawfull wives. That (z) such men be Weepers a year, Hearers two years, Prostrate three years, and the seventh year be Fellow-standers with the faithful, and then be admitted to the oblation. For Nestarius had not abolished the penitents and publick confessions, but in such faults as were not publick, he had taken away the necessity of submitting ones self to that publick confession, and had left it to every mans conscience. The same I say of the Nomocanon of the Grecians which the Cardinal alleadgeth, but produceth not, *(f) Confessiois causam addidit dicens, Quia fecisti autorem universitatis huius Dominum esse confessus, nulli alii docens confitendum quam qui fecit olivam; &c. (t) Quod si verecundia retrahente ea revelare ea hominibus erubescit, illi quem latere non possunt confiteri ea jure supplicatione non definat. (u) Dicit r. Can. Petrus, Lachrymas*

Petri lego, satisfactionem non lego. * Lachryme lavant delictum quod pudor est confiteri. (x) Ibid. Glossa. Fortè tunc non erat facta constitutio confessionis quomodo est. (y) Ibid. Glossa, Lachryme interiores, id est, in quo habet tantam erubescitiam ut ad lachrymas veniat occulte etiam non coram sacerdote. (z) τὸν τοῦτον καιρὸν πένοντα καὶ δεινὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τριετίας ὑπομένει καὶ τὸ ἑβδόμη συνίσταται τοῖς πιστοῖς.

Yyy 2

where

where auricular confession is neither mentioned nor understood. Likewise that testimony is false, which he brings from the Patriarch *Jeremy* in his answer to the German Doctors, chap. 11. The Cardinal saith, that the German Protestants had said, *That auricular confession is not necessary for penitence, and that Penitence is not a Sacrament; but that the Patriarch Jeremy doth censure them for these two assertions.* But rather these are two untruths of the Cardinal. For I find not that in any of the three Treatises of these Germans, they do so much as speak of auricular confession, or that they deny that Penitence is a Sacrament, whence it followeth, that the Cardinal falsly affirmeth that the Patriarch *Jeremy* doth censure them about these two points. I find only that these Germans say, that (a) *private Confession ought to be retained in Churches, although it be not necessary in the Confession to make an enumeration of all our sins.* That is no otherwise contradicted by the Patriarch *Jeremy*, but that he maintaineth that (b) *sinners ought to confess all their sins as far as they are able.* Upon that only he insisteth, and I wonder how the (c) Cardinal dares thus forge things that are not. (d) He useth the like false dealing with *Cyprian*, whom he makes to say, *That penitence is done by a set time, and the confession whereby the life of him that doth penance is discovered. And [Penitents] cannot come to the communion unless hands be laid on them by the Priest or the Clergy.* He hath taken away the word *Bishop*, and put or instead of *and*, because these words shew that *Cyprian* speaks of publick penitence and confession, in which the Bishop, not the Priest did reconcile the penitents, and which only was used in the first ages of the Church. As *Beatus Rhennanus* acknowledgeth in the argument of *Tertullians* book of penitence, (e) *Let none wonder that Tertullian said nothing of the secret confession of sins, &c. For we read not that in old time it was commanded in any place.*

The Council of *Cabillonum* (now *Chalons upon Saone*) held in the year eight hundred and thirteen in the thirty third chapter, speaks of that secret confession, as of a point not yet agreed upon, (f) *Some say that sins ought to be confessed unto God alone, others say that we must confess them unto the Priests also.* The judgement of the Council is, that both are done with fruit.

Yet in *Lombards* time, who writ about the year 1160. of Christ, auricular confession was not yet held necessary, many holding that it was enough to confess sins unto God alone, without any confession to the Priest. For these are his words; (g) *Some are of opinion, that it is enough to confess unto God alone without the Priests judgement, and the confession of the Church; because David said, I said I will confess unto the Lord, &c. He saith not unto the Priest, & yet he saith that his sin was forgiven him, &c.* He had laid before. (h) *Upon that the Learned are found to be different in opinion, because upon these things the Doctors seem to have taught diverse, and welnigh contrary things.*

In the same time *Gratian* writ, who in the first Distinction of Penitence, after he hath represented the diversity of opinions about the necessity of the confession made unto the Priest, concludeth thus, (i) *We have briefly declared upon what authorities, and upon what reasons both the one and the other opinion is grounded. But which of these two opinions one should rather adhere unto, it is left to the Readers judgement, for both are maintained by wise and religious persons.* Upon which the Jesuite *Gregory de Valentia*, in the third chapter of the necessity of Confession, severely rebuketh *Gratian*, as having erred as well in that point, as in many others. Yet, next to the Councils approved by the Pope and the Decretals of the Roman Church, there is nothing more authentical then the Decree of *Gratian*.

But shortly after came the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* the third, held in the year 1225. which hath decided that difference, and hath laid an ab-

(a) Pag. 12.

(b) Pag. 87.

(c) He cites in the 651. page the fourteenth Epistle of the fourth book in the second new Edition.

(d) In the fifth chapter of his second Observation.

(e) *Ne quis admiretur Tertullianum de clancularia ista admissionum confessione nihil locutum, &c.*

Nec enim usquam preceptum olim legimus.

(f) Concil. Cabillonens.

Quidam solum modo Deo confiteri debere dicunt peccata, quidam, vero Sacerdotibus confitenda esse percensent.

(g) Lombard.

sentent. l. 4.

Dist. 17.

litera C.

Quibusdam

visum est

sufficere, si

soli Deo

confessio fiat

sine judicio

sacerdotali

& confessione

Ecclesie;

quia dixit

David, Dixi

confitebor

Domino, &c.

Nou ait sacerdoti & tamen remissum sibi peccatum dicit, &c.

(h) Litera A. In his enim docti diversa sentire inveniuntur.

(i) Dist. 1. de Penit. c. 89. Quamvis: Quibus autoritatibus vel quibus rationum firmamentis utraque sententia iustatur, in medium breviter exposuimus. Cui autem harum potius adherendum sit, lectoris judicio reservatur.

solute necessity, by exprefs command upon all to make a secret Confession unto the Priest, upon pain of excommunication all their life time, and of being deprived of burial among Christians after their death. (k) *Let every faithful person, (saith that Council) both of the one and the other sex, when he is come to years of discretion, confess all his sins alone faithfully to his own Priest, at least once in the year; and let him endeavour to fulfill with all his power, the penance that shall be laid upon him, at least when he shall reverently receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist, &c. Otherwise let him be forbidden the entry of the Church all his life, and when he dyeth, let him be denied Christian burial.* These four things we owe to that venerable Council. 1. That it was the first that established the Word of Transubstantiation by an Article of Council. 2. That it gave power to the Pope to give and take away Kingdoms. 3. That it put an absolute necessity upon Auricular Confession. 4. And that in it the Pope promised to the Pilgrims of Syria a degree of glory in Paradise above the common sort.

(k) Concil. Later. c. 21. Omnis utriusq; sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno, proprio

sacerdoti, &c. Alioqui vivens ab ingressu Ecclesie arceatur, & moriens Christiana careat sepultura.

CHAP. 4.

Why Cardinal du Perron contradicteth the Councils of Trent and Florence, making Confession not to be part of the Sacrament of Penitence. That Penitence cannot be called a Sacrament.

Our Adversaries hold that the Universal Councils approved by the Pope cannot err. This goeth for a prime principle and a fundamental maxime of the Church of Rome. If any thing hath been concluded in the Universal Councils which the Pope approveth not, it is not received. Now the Popes approbation comes only after the Council is done. Whence it follows, that the Council could err while it sate, because the Pope had not yet approved it: But when it sits no more it cannot err, and becomes infallible when it is dissolved. Which is speaking against common sense.

Nevertheless, although opposing that maxime be justling against the foundation of Papacy, yet Cardinal du Perron made bold to contradict the Council of Trent, which is approved by so many Popes. That Council in the fourteenth Session, makes an enumeration of the parts of the Sacrament of penance. The title of the Chapter is, *De partibus & fructu hujus Sacramenti: Of the parts and use of this Sacrament.* These parts according to the definition of the Council are two, the form and the matter: The form consisting in the absolution, the matter consisting in contrition, confession, and satisfaction. The Catechism of the Council speaks yet more clearly in the chapter of the Sacrament of Penitence. For after they had said, (a) *Contrition is in the heart of the penitent, confession in the mouth, humility or fruitful satisfaction in the work.* They add; *Now these parts are of that kind of parts which are necessary to compound a whole.* And a little after, *Let us come now to confession, which is the second part of penitence.* In the end of the Council of Florence, there is a Decree directed to the Armenians, where the Pope determineth that (b) *Penitence is a Sacrament whose matter hath three parts, Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction.*

But Cardinal du Perron, in the third Chapter of the second Observation, made no difficulty to oppose these Councils and Popes, teaching that *Confession is only a condition both necessary and essential unto the Sacrament, namely to the Penitential Absolution*, which he saith to be a true Sacrament. He makes the Sacrament to consist in the Absolution alone, and as for the Confession, he will have it only a necessary and essential condition, which may also be said of faith, and of the knowledge of God, and of his love, which are necessary and essential conditions, because without these things there can be no true contrition, nor true penitence.

Truly,

(a) In corde ejus contritio, in ore confessio, in opere tota humilitas vel fructifera satisfactio. Hæ autem partes ex earum partium genere esse dicuntur, quæ ad aliquod totum constituendum necessariae sunt. (b) Quartum Sacramentum est Penitentia, cujus quæ materia sunt actus Penitentis, qui in tres distinguuntur partes; Quarum prima est cordis contritio, &c.

Truly, whosoever faith, that Confession is only a condition of the Sacrament, denyeth it to be a part of the same. That man should be very ignorant that would call the body or the soul *conditions* of man, or the foundation and the walls the *conditions* of a house.

Which I say, not to correct the Cardinal, but to commend his prudence, for acknowledging that neither contrition, nor confession, nor satisfaction can be Sacraments, or parts of a Sacrament. For Sacraments, both for the matter and the form, are administered by the Pastors, not by the people: Now these three things are done by the Penitent, not by the Priest. And yet the Priest must guess or presuppose the sinners contrition, and presume that his confession is true, not hypocritical, for if it be false it shall be no part of this Sacrament, it being very unlikely that lyes can be part of a Sacrament. Thus that Sacrament is a presumptive Sacrament; and the Priest knoweth not whether it be a Sacrament, but by conjecture only. Besides, contrition being either a vertue, or an affection of the spirit, or a sorrow, there is nothing more remote from right reason, then to make a *vertue* or *sorrow* part of a Sacrament. As if one made repentance or faith part of the holy Communion. And our Adversaries say, that a Sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace. Now contrition is not a visible sign, seeing that it is hid in every mans heart.

By the same reason Confession cannot be part of a Sacrament, for it serveth not to signifie grace, but to ask for it: It is not a signification of Grace, but of sin. And some Absolutions are given without satisfaction, so that *satisfaction* is neither part of the Sacrament, nor a necessary condition to it. There are also some satisfactions of many years imposed upon sinners, and satisfactions with many pauses and intervalls, whereby the celebration and administration of a Sacrament shall last many years. All that being a *Chaos* of absurdities, it is not without reason that M. du Perron opposeth in that point both Popes and Councils.

Perhaps also, he considered that in holy Scripture no Sacrament is found made up of such pieces, nor any text where satisfaction is enjoined after confession and Sacramental absolution: Unless they think to find it in *David*, contrite and confessing his sin, and making satisfaction by his humiliation, to whom *Nathan* announceth the remission of his sin. But our Adversaries will not have that penitence of *David* to be a Sacrament; neither did *Nathan* lay any satisfactory pain upon him.

Yet the Cardinal did not see, that by avoiding an inconvenience, he cast himself into another far worse. For by giving the title of Sacrament to the Absolution only, he strips that pretended Sacrament naked, and leaveth nothing to it but the name: For Absolution cannot be called a Sacrament, no more then the other three parts of Penitence: Seeing that the word *Penitence* is fit to represent the nature of contrition and confession, but cannot be proper at all to absolution. How can the name of *Penitence* fit *Absolution*, seeing that in *Absolution* there is no *Penitence*? *Absolution* is no penitence, but an ease of the Penitent, and a plaister to his sore. These men give to the remedy the name of the sickness; as if one would call *Rhubarb* a Fever, and a *Diuretick* potion the *Gravell*. They speak as if the Grace given by the King unto a Felon sorry for his offence, were called *sorrow*. If they say that *Absolution* is called *Penitence*, because it comes after penitence; by the same reason *night* may be called *day*, because it comes after day. And yet *Absolution* goeth before the penances which the Priest imposeth, and which are not fulfilled but after the *Absolution*.

Besides (according to the rule of our Adversaries, borrowed from *Anstis*) in every Sacrament (c) the word must be joined unto the Sacrament, that it may be made a Sacrament. Now in this absolution there is no element: For words are no element, otherwise preaching also shall be an element. Unless we will believe *Bellarmino*, who to avoid that objection saith, that (d) the word is a corporal sign.

If these words, *Absolvete*, &c. are an element, in Baptism also these words, *Baptizo te*, are an element. The

(c) August. Tract. 30. in Joh. Accedit verbum ad elementum & fit Sacramentum.

(d) Bell. lib. 1. de penit. c. 10. §. nam cum. Verbum autem signum corporale ac sensibile est.

The Council of *Trent* puts the form of the Sacrament in the Absolution; now in the Sacraments, the element is not the form of the Sacrament, but the matter.

The laying on of hands in the Absolution can no more be an element, since it is an action; otherwise we should say also, that the action of baptizing is an element. And *Thomas* proveth fully, that the imposition of hands is not necessary in this Sacrament: But the principal reason against it, is, that elements and outward signs in Sacraments ought to be instituted by Christ; but Christ did not institute that imposition of hands, nor the words of the Absolution neither. So here is a Sacrament, where no outward sign can be produced, nor any element instituted by Christ.

Thom. 2.
Opusc. c. 4.

It is very considerable, that the Council of *Trent* in the fourteenth Session, and (*) Cardinal *du Perron*, find the institution of this Sacrament of penance in these words of Christ to his Apostles after his resurrection, *John* 20. 22. *Receive ye the holy Ghost, Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained*; where it is not spoken of contrition, nor of confession, nor of satisfaction. If they say that these things are requisite to obtain absolution, the same I will say of the knowledge of God, and of his love, and of faith in Christ, for without these things God granteth no pardon.

(*) Pag. 642.

But that which is most to be noted, is, that these words in which the institution of the Sacrament of penance is made to consist, were said by Christ after his resurrection. Whence it follows, that this Sacrament was instituted since Christ rose from the dead. This being once granted, it will follow, that not only under the Old Testament Penitence was no Sacrament, but also that Penitence preached by *John the Baptist*, and by Christ, and by his Apostles before Christ's resurrection, was no Sacrament. As for our part, we cannot be blamed if we be contented with the Penitence which *John the Baptist* and Christ and his Apostles preached before Christ's resurrection: For it is not likely that they preached another penitence after Christ's resurrection then before.

(e) *Praire institutionem Penitentiae iussit.*

(f) *Aug. de Baptismo contra Donat. l. 5 c. 20.*

Observe also, that in this text Christ giveth power to his Apostles, as to preach the Gospel, so to remit sins to persons not baptized, and to Pagans converted unto the Faith, who according to the doctrine of the Roman Church, were not capable to receive the Sacrament of Penitence.

Si ad hoc valet quod dictum est in Evangelio,

ut per peccatorem Sacramenta non celebrentur,

quomodo exaudit homicidam deprecantem

vel super aquam Baptismi vel super oleum

vel super Eucharistiam vel super caput eorum

quibus manus imponitur?

(g) *Aug. in Psal. 146.*

Qui sanat contritos corde & alligat contritiones illorum.

Quae sunt ista alligamenta? Corporalia Sacramenta.

This also is observable, that of other Sacraments we have in holy Scripture, not only the institution, but also the practise. But here they forge unto us an institution of a Sacrament without practise, a Sacrament, the practise whereof is not found in the Word of God.

It is true that Saint *Peter*, *Act.* 2. said to the Jews, *Repent*, and according to the vulgar version, *Agite Penitentiam*; and that the Spirit of God, *Rev.* 2. 5. exhorteth the *Ephesians* to repent, or to do penitence. But that penitence cannot be the Sacrament of the Roman Church, because that Sacrament is administered to every man privately, but these texts are exhortations unto a multitude, and give no absolution: Then that Penitence which they make a Sacrament, is administered to Baptized persons only, as *Tertullian* faith in the Book of Penitence, chap. 2. (e) *The Lord commanded that Baptism should go before Penitence.* But these Jews to whom Saint *Peter* speaketh, were not baptized.

Here is then a Sacrament compounded with four parts, whereof three are rejected by Cardinal *du Perron*, and the fourth hath nothing agreeing with the nature of a Sacrament. In a word, it is a Sacrament, of which neither the institution nor the practise is found in the Word of God.

Yet to defend that imaginary Sacrament, the Cardinal brings two testimonies of *Austin*. The one faith, (f) *If out of this, that God heareth not sinners, it follows that the Sacraments cannot be celebrated by a sinner, how doth God hear a murderer praying over the water of Baptism, or over the Eucharist, or over the laying on of hands?* And the same Father (g) expounding this text of *Psal.* 146. 3. *He healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds*, faith, *What are these swathes?*

swathes ? The temporal Sacraments. I answer, that *Austin* by the imposition of hands, understands that which is done in the Ordination of Ecclesiastical persons, which imposition is done with prayers; and God hears those prayers, although he that conferreth the Ordination be a murtherer. And as for those temporal or corporal Sacraments, who told the Cardinal that by them *Austin* understands rather the Sacrament of Penitence, then that of Baptism and the Lords Supper ? For God by them swatheth wounds, and blotteth out sins, and healeth consciences wounded with the sense of their sin. And *Austin* justifieth that exposition, adding, (h) *All that is done temporally in the Church, is swathing of bruises.* But though I should grant that *Austin* calls Penitence a Sacrament, who knows not that it is ordinary with the Fathers to call every myserie and every sacred thing a Sacrament ? They call the Ark of the Flood a Sacrament, and Christs Incarnation, and Trinity, and Redemption, Sacraments. And so the vulgar Bible calls the Doctrine of Piety a Sacrament, 1 *Tim.* 3. 16. And the will of God revealed in his Word, and the benefit of Christ, and the mystical union of Christ with the Church are called Sacraments, *Ephes.* 1. 9. & 3. 3. & 5. 32. And the myserie of the seven Stars, *Rev.* 1. 20. and of the great harlot, *Rev.* 17. 7. are in the same version called Sacraments.

But when it is questioned of speaking of the sacred signs of Gods Covenant which Christ hath instituted to be administred in his Church, *Austin* makes them but two, as in the third Book of Christian doctrine, chap. 9. (i) *In this time, after that a most evident sign of our liberty hath appeared by the resurrection of the Lord, we are not charged with the painful exercise of signs, not so much as of those which we understand. But the Lord, and the discipline of the Apostles, have given us a few signs instead of many, and those most easie to do, and whose intelligence is most venerable, and the observation most chaste, such as is the Sacrament of Baptism, and the celebration of the body and blood of the Lord.*

Tertullian made a book of Penitence, where he treateth of the publick satisfactions which the Penitents made in the Church, and of their publick Reconciliation and Absolution; but he never calls Penitence nor Absolution a Sacrament. Yea in the last Chapter he brings for an example of Penitence King *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose time according to our Adversaries doctrine, that Sacrament was not yet instituted.

I find indeed in the Word of God, that Baptism is called (k) the Baptism of Penitence or Repentance. No other Sacrament of Penitence do I find in Scripture. I find also that repentance or penitence is often recommended in the Word of God. But that penitence is not a Sacrament, but a vertue: As for the power of remitting or retaining sins, wherein they make the form of this Sacrament to consist, we shall speak of it hereafter. Only I cannot forgive (l) a childish ignorance in Philosophie unto the Cardinal, when he saith that *as one relative presupposeth another, so the judiciary absolution presupposeth the revelation of sins, which cannot be made but with confession.* He makes absolution and confession relative, which yet have no relation: For there may be a confession without absolution, and absolution without confession. It is false also that a relative presupposeth another, for relatives are together by nature. One relative affirmeth another, but doth not presuppose it. That which is presupposed goeth before both in order and nature.

(h) *Quicquid in Ecclesia geritur temporaliter, alligamenta sunt contritionum.*
(i) *Hoc tempore postquam resurrectione Domini nostri manifestissimum indicium nostre libertatis illuxit, ne eorum quidem signorum que jam intelligimus operatione gravi onerati sumus; sed quadam paucis pro multis eademque factu facilima, & intellectu angustissima, & observatione castissima ipse Dominus & Apostolica tradidit disciplina, sicut est Baptismi Sacramentum, & celebratio corporis & sanguinis Domini.*
(k) *Mark* 1. 4. *John* preached the Baptism of repentance.
(l) p. 642.

CHAP. 5.

What we find amiss in the Auricular Confession of the Roman Church.

IT is ordinary with our Adversaries, when we find something amiss in a doctrine or practice received in the Roman Church, to say that we take it quite away. But there is great difference between correcting and abolishing, between killing a man and dressing his wound. If we find fault with them for teaching that works are meritorious, thence they take occasion to say, that we abolish good works, and hold them to be superfluous. If we blame distinction of meats, and fasting with opinion of satisfaction, they infer thence that we reject fasting altogether. Likewise because we note many abuses in Confession, as it is practised in the Roman Church, they cry out that we reject Confession utterly, and expatiate upon the praises of Confession and proofs to maintain it.

By that I said before, it is evident enough that we praise and approve the confession of sins, and hold it altogether necessary, and therefore that the Cardinal did in vain labour to prove unto us the necessity of the same. It was expected from him, that he should clear the aspersions laid upon Auricular Confession, whereby it is made odious, not to us only, but to great part of the Roman Church: But he durst not enter upon that matter, as being ashamed of his Religion. We will make bold to enter upon it, and to give the reasons why that Auricular or Sacramental Confession is not practised in our Churches.

I. First, Whereas we find our selves obliged by the Word of God, to confess our sins unto him, and to our neighbours, and to the Pastors that feed the flock; we find not every Christian obliged by the Word of God to present himself (when he is come to years of discretion) at least once a year unto his Parson, and to confess unto him all his mortal sins, with all the circumstances that carry the nature of the sin, as much as he can remember; or that a sinner without that cannot obtain the remission of his sins. God in his Word did not lay that yoke upon the consciences, neither is there any example of it found in Scripture. He never promised to pardon the sinner upon that condition. If any discover all his sins to his Pastor, without retaining or concealing any thing, we blame him not for it, for it is a testimony that he is touched with a serious repentance: But God saith not, that without such a punctual declaration unto the Priest, a sinner cannot obtain pardon. Yea there be many things, the particulars whereof cannot be honestly related, and which are better exprest in general. A vertuous and chaste Pastor will chuse rather not to know them, then to foul his ears with them.

The Apostle exhorting the *Corinthians* to prepare themselves worthily for the holy Communion, will have every one to prove his own self, and examine his conscience, but sends him not to be examined by his Pastor, and obligeth him not to a punctual confession of his sins in the Priests ear.

In vain do they reply that the Priest must know all the particulars and circumstances of sins that aggravate or diversifie them, that being well informed of the quality of the fact, he may impose upon the sinner a satisfaction proportionate unto the nature of the sin. For these satisfactions are humane inventions. God gave not to the Ministers of his Word the power of imposing corporal or pecuniary punishments upon the sinner, or to oblige him to the labour of a Pilgrimage, leaving his family or trade, or to bind him unto private fasts. It is a tyrannie brought in to establish a temporal domination over the people, and more yet upon Kings and Princes, from whom the Pope by that means hath drawn great emoluments, and subjected their Crowns unto his See; so far as to cause them to be beaten and whipt, as we shall see hereafter.

II. The second cause why we reject that absolute necessity of particular Confession of all the mortal sins that the sinner can remember, to obtain absolution from

from them, is because sinners thereby are brought to great scruples and agonies, and engaged in a greater sin. It being certain, that many would rather suffer all extremities, then confess all that sin, of which they are conscious to themselves, and discover to any man the dishonour of their house, or the crimes which being known would bring them to the gallows. And so they return from their Confessor with a belief that their sins are not forgiven, because they have not confessed all.

(a) Carech.
Trid. cap.
de penit.
Sacram.
Neque peccatorum veniam à Domino impetramus, nisi ea penitentia Sacramentum per penitentiam deleat.

(b) Tolet.
de Instruct.
Sacerd. l. 3.
c. 15. Unde fit ut qui in villis & pagis consistunt non teneantur tam exacte scire omnia sicut in civitatibus. Rursus non tenentur Confessarii simplicium civium, sicut mercatorum negotiatorum, judicum. Debet igitur scientia major esse pro penitentium qualitate.

(c) Emanuel Sa in verbo Absolutio ab excommunicatione. Ab excommunicatione minori quam quis incurrit ob peccatum veniale.

(d) Synod.
Trid. Sess. VII. Can. 2. Si quis dixerit in Ministris dum Sacramenta conficiunt & conferunt non requiri intentionem saltem conficiendi quod facit Ecclesia, Anathema sit. (e) Et Sess. XI V. c. 6. Non debet penitens adeo sibi de sua ipsius fide blandiri ut etiam si multa ipsi adsit contritio, aut sacerdoti animus serio agendi & veri absolvendi desit, putet tamen se propter suam solum fidem vere & coram Deo esse absolutum. Nec enim fides sine penitentia remissionem ullam præstat.

III. And if it be so, that (a) none can obtain of God the remission of his mortal sins without that Sacramental Confession, what will become of the confessing sinner, if he forget some of them? If gaming, or multitude of businesses hath put part of his actions out of his memory, Must those sins remain for ever without remission? Is it not in derision that *Tolet* a Jesuite and a Cardinal (b) will have the inhabitants of Cities to confess their sins more exactly and particularly then Peasants: And the Confessors that hear the simple people to be content with a lighter and less exact Confession, then when they hear the Confessions of Judges and Merchants. For (saith he) the knowledge of sins must be according to the quality of the persons.

IV. I add in the fourth place, that the Council of *Trent* obliging not the sinner with absolute necessity to confess venial sins, but mortal only, consciences find themselves very much perplexed upon that distinction: For, how can a simple man of the lowest sort discern venial sins from mortal? He hath in his Hours the enumeration of the seven mortal sins, among which idolatry is not comprehended, nor heresie, nor treason, nor atheism, nor scorning, nor the life of a juggler or tumbler. Neither is reviling put in that list, although *Saint Paul* saith, *1 Cor. 6. 10. that revilers shall not inherit the Kingdom of God.* Nor the ordinary ill words that railing neighbours bestow one upon another, as calling their brother a fool, of which *Christ, Matth. 5. 22. saith that whosoever shall say to his brother thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.* In that judgement of discerning mortal sins from venial, if it be put to the conscience of confessing sinners, it may easily happen, that he that committed a mortal sin, will flatter himself, and imagine that his sin is venial. Truly, if it belong to any to define how many mortal sins there be, it belongs not to men who are all guilty, but unto God who is the judge of sins. It belongs not to Felons to prescribe unto Judges what sins they ought to punish with death. Seeing then that the Word of God defineth not what sins are mortal and what sins are venial, it belongs not to the Roman Church to define the number of them, and to give Laws unto God.

One thing makes that distinction harder between mortal and venial sins, that by repentance mortal sins become venial, that is pardonable, and by impenitence venial sins become mortal, because the sinner persevereth in them till death, and dying impenitent, is punished with eternal death. And still any sin, whatsoever it be, makes the sinner to fall from the perfection of this rule, *Cursed be he that continueth not in all the words written in this Law to do them.* Yea, I find by the rules of the Roman Church, that (c) a man can be excommunicated for a venial sin, that one may not think that a venial sin is such a light thing. So the poor simple people are put to an impossibility, when their Doctors bind them to discern venial sins from mortal, since by the Laws of the Roman Church, the people are bound only to confess mortal sins.

V. And since (d) by the Laws of the Council of *Trent*, the Sacraments are void and are not conferred, unless he that administred them hath intention to confer them, and that especially concerning the Sacrament of Penitence, the same Council (e) declareth that the sinner, what faith or contrition soever he may have, ought not to perswade himself that God hath pardoned him, unless the

Priest who hath given him the absolution, had intention so to do, seeing that (saith the Council) by Faith without Penitence (meaning the Sacrament of Penitence) one cannot have the remission of sins: how can a Penitent be certain of the Priests intention, without which the absolution is void? Is not that doctrine injurious against God, seeing that it subjecteth God to a wicked mans intention? teaching that a prophane Priest whose mind is wandring abroad, can hinder the grace of God towards a sinner that hath a serious repentance. True it is, that by faith without repentance one cannot get the remission of sins. But that God will not pardon without the Sacrament of Penitence, as the Council of Trent will have it, that is, without Auricular Confession, and without the Priests absolution, it is more then Scripture saith. It is a tyrannie and impiety which tyeth the Grace of God to the ministry of man; as if God could not pardon, unless the Priest put his hand to the work. For these causes and others (f) *Pelagius Alvarez*, a famous Doctor among our Adversaries, saith; that many in the Roman Church content themselves with a general Confession, without a particular specification of sins, and will not say their greater sins; and confesse themselves alwayes much in the same manner, as if they had led alwayes the same kind of life, and sinned alike every day.

VI. One of the main abuses of Auricular Confession, is that we see by the books of Confessions and of cases of Conscience, the multitude whereof is infinite, what that Law tends to, which obligeth sinners to confesse to the Priest all the circumstances of mortal sins which diversifie the nature of sin. For by this means, Confessors will search into the secrets of the marriage bed, and enquire of things which ought not to be named: And under colour of examining the consciences, they play with libidinous interrogations, and teach all kinds of vices, even the most horrible and extravagant. You shall find there a thousand sorts of charms, philters, vices against nature, and meretricious tricks, under colour of awaking benumbed consciences, and bringing them to confession. Who so will learn some of that impure science, let him read the book of *Benedict's* Confessions, Cardinal *Tolet* of the Institution of Priests, *Navarrus*, *Sanchez*, the Roman Penitential, and the Decree of (g) *Burchard* Bishop of Worms. I will not bring that sink of odious ordure into the text of this Book, and will not translate any part of it into our natural tongue. Only that I may not be thought to slander them, I have put some passages of their books in the margin, as scantlings of the whole pieces. *Benedicti* who made a great volume of the doctrine of Confessions, was not ashamed to publish them in French, that women might learn that doctrine. The Jesuite *Sanchez* hath made a great Book of Questions upon matrimony, with a wicked subtilty and an abominable curiosity. He disputeth whether for lying with a woman over the roof of the Church, the Church be

(f) *Pelagius Alvarez* de planctu Ecclesie, l. 2. Art. 78.

Vix aut rarissime aliquo

talem confitetur, nisi per verba generalia & vix unquam aliquid grave specificant.

Quod dicunt una die, dicunt & altera, ac si in omni die equaliter offendant.

(g) *Burchard* lib. 39. sic interrog. mulierem. Fecisti quod quedam mulieres facere solent? Toluunt piscem vivum & eum mittunt in puerperium suum, & tandem

ibi detinent donec mortuus fuerit, & decocto pisce vel assato maritis suis ad comedendum t. aduunt. Ideo faciunt ut plus in amorem earum exardeant: si fecisti, duos annos per legitimas ferias peniteas. Idem Ibid. Fecisti quod quedam mulieres facere solent? Prosterneunt se in faciem, & discooperitis natibus jubent ut super nudas nates conficiatur panis, & eo decocto tradunt maritis suis ad comedendum. Hoc faciunt ut plus in amorem earum exardeant. Si fecisti, duos annos per legitimas ferias peniteas. Idem Ibid. Concubuiisti cum uxore tua vel cum alia aliqua retro cadino more? Si fecisti, decem dies in pane & aqua peniteas. Idem Ibid. Concubuiisti cum uxore tua die Dominica? Quatuor dies in pane & aqua penitere debes. Idem Ibid. Fecisti fornicationem cum matre tua? &c. Idem Ibid. Si cum masculo inter co- &c. Ibid. Fecisti fornicationem ut quidam facere solent? ita dico, ut tu in manum tuam veretrum alterius acciperes, & alter tuum in suam, &c. Ibid. Fecisti fornicationem in lignum perforatum? &c. Comedisti scabiam corporalem & pediculos? &c. Idem Ibid. Fecisti quod quedam mulieres facere solent, ut faceres quoddam molimen aut machinamentum in modum virilis membri ad mensuram tue voluntatis? &c. Idem Ibid. Fecisti quod quedam mulieres facere solent; quando libidinem se vexantem extinguere volunt, que conjungunt invicem puerperia sua? &c. Si fecisti, tres quadragenas per legitimas ferias debes penitere. Idem, Fecisti quod quedam mulieres facere solent, ut succumberes jumento? &c. Idem, Gustasti de semine viri tui? &c. Idem, Fecisti quod quedam mulieres facere solent ut cum filio tuo parvulo fornicationem faceres, ita dico ut filium tuum supra turpitudinem tuam poneret? &c. Tolet de Instru. Sacerd. lib. 5. c. 13. Peccatum est inordinatus concubitus, cum nempe femina in copula est desuper aut cum mas retro accedit vase non mutato. Hoc autem peccatum ex se non est mortale. Navarrus Confiliorum, lib. 5. Confil. 6. de Penit. & remiss. peccatorum. Maritus qui antequam naturali in sexu uxoris seminet prius membrum in vase non naturali ad delectationem citra animum sodomiam complendi immittit, peccat peccatum tactus illiciti.

polluted, and whether it ought to be newly consecrated, and many things far worse, and not to be spoken. All that discipline could not be forged but upon Satans anvil. And I cannot conceal that some ~~vertuous~~ women of the Roman Church are come to me, declaring that they could live no longer in the Roman Church, being offended with the licentious and filthy interrogations made to them in Confession.

To these Laws and Rules of interrogations the Doctors have added others for the Confessors themselves, because of the accidents and pollutions that happen to them, while they are confessing women; which Laws are to be seen (h) in book 5. of Cardinal *Tolet's* instruction of Priests.

(h) Tolet.
Instr. Sac. l. 5.
cap. 13.
Confessarius si
forte dum
audit confessi-
ones, tales
incidit polluti-
ones, non ob id
tenetur non
audire alios,
nisi sit pericu-
lum compla-
centie in pol-
lutione, &c.

VII. By the same Confessions Priests make themselves formidable unto Kings, and Princes, and Princesses, whose secrets they discover by that means, and know their weaknesses, and learn their intentions, of which they will be sure to inform the Pope. *Scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri.* Did not that Spanish Confessor understand himself, who hearing the King confessing his sins on his knees, said that such a man is not to be despised who hath God in his hands, and a King at his feet?

VIII. The tumults of the League which brought *France* into a wofull condition in the time of two Kings, *Henry* the third, and *Henry* the fourth, have made the world to know what powerfull means Confessions are to make a Nation rise against their King. For Parish Priests by Confessions would pour blood and rebellion into the spirits of the people, and the heads of that rising made those Priests their confiding friends, and by them knew how many, and what men they had on their side in the Kingdom. No wonder that Confessions were employed for that, since the keyes of his Holiness were employed for the same end. For over all the Kingdom Indulgences were seen set against the Church-doors, granting nine years pardon to every one that would side with the League against the King.

IX. By the same Confessions the Popes have usurped a power over the temporals of Kings, and over their persons, imposing satisfactory penances upon them after confession, and not granting them absolution but upon conditions burdensom to their Crowns, and ignominious to their persons. Of which we will give instances hereafter.

X. I pass by the sordid traffick of taking ten or twelve pence for a confession. It seems they hold it unreasonable that a man should forgive sins for nothing; or foul his ears with all the ordure of a Town, and get nothing by it.

XI. One of the great abuses in this point, is, that our Adversaries put Confession among meritorious works, as if a murderer deserved recompences for freely confessing his crime. By that reckoning it will prove an usefull and a salutary course to commit a multitude of sins, to get multitudes of merits by confessing them.

XII. I leave out a thousand rules given by the Doctors and Casuists who have written of Confession. Cardinal *Tolet* hath made a Collection of them in his third book of the instruction of Priests. (i) He saith that contrition for venial sins is not necessary, and that a man may have the remission of sins without that. And that it is not necessary for a man to have new contrition for sins, which he thinks he hath already been contrite for. (k) That a man is not obliged to be contrite for his sins presently after he hath sinned, although he remember that he hath often committed that sin, and that it is enough at that time to take no delight in it; but that he is not obliged to repent at that time, but may divert his mind about something else. And (l) that contrition, though slack, can blot out any sin, though never so grievous. That a man needs not to have more contrition for one sin then for another, if only he may have contrition.

(i) Tolet.
lib. 3. de
Instruct.
Sacerd. c. 5.
Contritionem
non esse
necessariam
venialium, hac
enim absque
contritione
remitti posse,
&c. Quotum
homo putat se

habuisse contritionem & confessionem, non est necessaria contritio nova. (e) Id. Ibid. Probabilius dico cum aliis, quod non tenetur statim conteri, etiamsi recordetur saepius commissi peccati. Solum eorum tenetur tunc in ipso non complacere, tamen non tenetur tunc paenitere, sed potest mentem alio divertere. (1) Contritio vera licet remissa potest delere quodcumque peccatum quamvis gravissimum, nec homo tenetur magis conteri de uno peccato quam de alio, dummodo conteratur.

(m) That

(m) That he that confesseth, must say how many times he hath sinned, but yet for a person which is in the state of sin, it is enough to express the time. As if it be an harlot, it is enough for her to say that since two or three years she was exposed unto all comers. But the Jesuite Emanuel Sa (n) speaks against that, saying, *Ego vero non essem tam generali confessione contentus. As for me, I would not be content with such a general confession.* This is of the same vein, and of the same Cardinal, in the seventh chapter: *Isti qui peccatum molitiei patiuntur propriis se polluentes manibus, tenentur exprimere personam quam mente concipiebant si aliquam tenebant mente mulieris speciem, & tenentur etiam exprimere in uno actu successive si plures intendebant, & Confessarius debet ista exigere.* And in the eighth chapter, (o) If any hath killed his Confessors brother, &c. he is not bound to confess such a fact, but must conceal it. And in the same place he saith (p) that if a woman hath sinned carnally, she must conceal that in her confession, when it is likely that the Confessor will sollicite her. And in the ninth chapter (q) Lying in the Confession is a great sin, yet it is not alwayes a mortal sin. In the same place he rejects Cardinal Cajetans (r) opinion who saith that the Penitent that confesseth himself may refuse to accept the penance imposed upon him by the Priest, saying I chuse rather to satisfy in Purgatory. The same tenth chapter (s) will have the Confession to be reiterated when the Confessor is an ignorant, as I have heard (saith he) of one but lately who when he gave the absolution, said Pater Noster.

The Jesuite Emanuel Sa in his Aphorisms in the words Confessio and Confessor giveth us some no less gallant rules, (t) Lying in the Confession about venial sins, or about mortal sins already confessed, is but a venial sin. Again, (u) A dumb man is obliged to confess himself by signs, according to the common opinion of Divines. That rule seems to be made to make the Readers merry: For there are some sins which must not be represented by gestures, for such gestures might be more contrary to good manners, then words. Again, A Woman though she be a Virgin, must confess a mental fornication. And a little after, (x) A Confessor who in case of necessity hears many together, may absolve them together, saying, *Ego vos absolvo, &c.* (y) The same Jesuite tells us in the same place, Harlots are not comprehended within the statutes of Synods whereby these that confess not themselves, and receive not the Sacrament at Easter, are excommunicated; wherefore they are never denounced. He saith that, because in places where the inquisition reigneth, and where Brothel-houses are set up by the Popes or the Princes authority, as at Rome, Venice, Sevil, &c. every man that goeth neither to the Confession, nor to the communion at Easter, makes himself suspect of heresie, and is presently denounced to the Inquisition. Publick harlots only have that privilege, that they are not obnoxious to the Inquisition, nor to excommunication, though they neither confess nor receive at Easter; because they exercise that trade, by the permission of his Holiness. I have searcht and inquired whether when those harlots go to Confession, their Confessors forbid them to continue that sin, and I could not find that they forbid it. For should they be so bold as to forbid that which the Pope permits, who (as Bellarmine (z) saith) can make sin to be no sin, and no sin to be sin?

It is also a rule of these Doctors, (a) that a sinner may confess part of his sins to one Confessor, and part to another, and so have from each of them a demi-absolution.

These considerations made Cassander a Divine of Colmen to speak these words

de quodam audivimus qui absolvendo dicebat Pater Noster.

aut de alias confessis mortalibus veniale tantum peccatum est.

utibus putat Navarrus & Angles, ex communi Theologorum sententia, Thomas, Soro.

plures simul audit, potest simul absolvere dicendo, Ego vos absolvo, &c.

(y) Meretrices non comprehenduntur Statutis Synodalibus excommunicantibus non confitentes aut non communicantes in Pascha, itaque tales nunquam denuntiantur.

(z) Bell. in Barckl. cap. 31. In bono sensu Christus dedit potestatem Petro faciendi de peccato non peccatum, & de non peccato peccatum.

(a) Eman. Sa verbo Absolutio. Potest per partes absolvi, &c. & partem unam partem alteri explicare & partem omittere. Corona p. 4. & p. 156.

(t) Mentiri in confessione de peccatis venialibus

(u) Mutum teneri ad perficiendam confessionem

(x) Cum quis in necessitate

(y) Meretrices non comprehenduntur Statutis Synodalibus excommunicantibus non confitentes aut non communicantes in Pascha, itaque tales nunquam denuntiantur.

(z) Bell. in Barckl. cap. 31. In bono sensu Christus dedit potestatem Petro faciendi de peccato non peccatum, & de non peccato peccatum.

(a) Eman. Sa verbo Absolutio. Potest per partes absolvi, &c. & partem unam partem alteri explicare & partem omittere. Corona p. 4. & p. 156.

(m) Si etiam est in statu peccandi, sufficit exprimere tempus, videlicet si meretrix est, se per duos aut tres annos fuisse expositam cuicunque accedenti.

(n) Em. Sa voce Confessio

(o) Si quis occidit fratrem Confessarii & timet, &c. non tenetur tale confiteri, sed dissimulare.

(p) Si est summa que conficitur

(quia nimirum Confessarius illam sollicitabit) debet dissimulare tale peccatum.

(q) Mentiri in confessione grave peccatum est,

quoniam non semper sit mortale.

(r) Cajetanus tenet, quod potest penitens non accepta e penitentiam a Confessario & dicere se velle eam in Purgatorio a Deo accipere.

(s) Iteranda est confessio, si fuit tam ignarus Confessarius ut debetam absolutionis formam ignoravit, quod superioribus diebus

(b) Equidem credo de hoc re controversiam nullam fuisse futuram, si non salutaria hec confitendi medicina ab importunis & imperitis medicis multis inutilibus traditiunculis infecta & contaminata fuisset, quibus conscientias quas extricare & levare debebant laqueum iniecerunt, & tanquam tormentis quibusdam excarnificaverunt. (c) Thomas & Scotus homines nimium arguti confessionem talem reddiderunt, ut Johannes ille Gilerius gravis ac sanctus Theologus testatus sit juxta illorum deuterotes impossibile esse confiteri, &c. Erat Carthusianus quidam qui propter confessionem quæ ei semper ob inexplicabilem circumstantiarum vim imperfecta videbatur, sed ipse perfectissimam esse frustra contendebat, huc miseriarum venerat ut omnem salutem desponderet, & apocataresim cogitaret.

in the eleventh Article of his Consultation. (b) I believe that there would be no controversy about this matter, if this wholesome medicine of Confession had not been infected and polluted by many troublesome and ignorant Physicians with many petty useless traditions: whereby they have insnared the consciences, and wracked them with cruel torments, whereas they should rather have untangled and eased them.

Beatus Rhennus in his Preface before Tertullians book of Penitence, saith that (c) Thomas and Scotus by their subtilties have made Confession to become an impossible thing in our dayes. Then he describes the wracks whereby they torture consciences in Confession. He saith that both the Monks and the the Nuns complain of it, and speaks of a certain Carthusian, who by Confessions was fallen into despair, and into a purpose of eating no more.

This matter might be extended to an endless discourse, for the abuses are numberless. But that I may not tyre the Reader I will stay only upon that which Cardinal du Perron brings unto, namely to the secret or secrecy of Confession, whereby the life of Kings hath been exposed to destruction, as France hath found it by experience not long since, and England was thereby brought to the brink of an horrible ruine, when the King, and all the Royal house, and the Parliament should have been blown up with Gunpowder. Which plot had been revealed in Confession to some Confessors that were Jesuits. This is justified by the process of the conspirators, and by their own Confession.

CHAP. 6.

Examination of the sixth and the seventh Chapters of the second Observation, wherein Cardinal du Perron treats of the secret of Confession, and of the danger thereby created unto the life of Kings.

HIS Majesty of Great Britain having had an experience in his own person, what danger is created unto the life of Kings by the secret of auricular confessions, puts this among the fruits of secret Confession, as it is practised in the Roman Church in our dayes, that this doctrine is gone so far, that in our age killing Kings, and suffering them to be killed, seems to be nothing in comparison of revealing the seal of Confession. In the same place, the famous Casaubon, who sent his pen unto the King, witnesseth that the Jesuit Binet affirmed to him at Paris, that it was better that all Kings should be killed, then to reveal one Confession, because the institution of Kings was but of humane right, but Confession was of divine right. The same Casaubon in the Epistle to the Jesuit Fronte, saith that the said Jesuite Binet maintained that doctrine to him in the Kings Library. The Jesuite Eudemonio Johannes saith the same in chap. 13. of his Apology for Garnet. (a) No evil can be so great, that to avoid it, it should be lawfull to reveal a Confession, that is, although the danger were no less then to suffer our own Father, or our King to be slain. The Jesuite Emanuel Sain his Aphorisms (b) saith, that the holy seal of Confession cannot be broken by discovering the sinner, no not to prove a marriage (as some unlearned have said) or to avoid the most grievous ruine that can happen unto a State. And he addeth, that this is according to the common opinion of Divines. And be-

(a) Nullum tantum malum esse potest, cujus vitandi causa confessionem prodere liceat.
(b) Voce Confessor. Neque ad probationem matrimonii (ut indocti quidam dixerunt) neque ad vitandam gravissimam Reip. perniciem frangi potest sacrum sigillum peccatore prodito.

cause

cauſe upon ſuſpicion a Confeſſor may be apprehended, and urged to reveal the Confeſſion, to avert the danger of the Kings life, the ſame Jeſuite in the ſame place ſets down this rule; (c) *The Confeſſor may ſwear that he knows nothing of it; yea that he heard no ſuch thing in Confeſſion, ſecretly meaning ſo that he be bound to tell. The Penitent likewiſe may ſwear that he ſaid nothing, or no ſuch thing, in Confeſſion.* And he defends that doctrine with the authority of *Navarrus*, and of the Jeſuite *Gregorius de Valentia*. By that reaſon it ſhall be lawfull to deny Chriſtian Religion in judgement, ſaying, *I am no Chriſtian*, but meaning reſervedly, *to tell it you*. According to that goodly doctrine and diſcipline of parricide, Cardinal *Bellarmin* in his Confutation of the Kings book of the Oath of Allegiance, commendeth the Jeſuite *Garnet*, becauſe having known the conſpiracy againſt the Kings life, and againſt the States of the Kingdom, he would not reveal it. For this cauſe was *Garnet* put in the liſt of Martyrs. Which opinion Cardinal *du Perron* alſo defendeth, returning that recompence for the great benefits which he had received from the King his Maſter.

His Maſteſty of Great Britain addeth, that another Jeſuite in France, but lately had the confidence to ſay, that if our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was yet living upon earth, paſſible and ſubject unto death, and one had revealed to the ſame Jeſuite in confeſſion that he intended to kill Jeſus Chriſt, rather then he would reveal the Confeſſion, he would ſuffer Jeſus Chriſt to be ſlain.

Here our Cardinal is miſerably put to his ſhifts, yet ſo, that under pretence of providing for the ſafety of Kings, he leads them ſtraight to the ſlaughter. He would perſwade us that it is for the ſafety of Kings that the Confeſſion of a parricide be not revealed, becauſe no man ſhall ever confeſs ſuch an enterpriſe to his Confeſſor, when he knows that it is lawfull to reveal his confeſſion. That Kings get this benefit thereby, that Priests diſſwade their ſecret enemies from undertaking any thing againſt the Sovereign, and give to the King a general warning that he look to himſelf, yet without naming the perſon or revealing the Confeſſion. That if *Ravaillac* had not believed that his confeſſion ſhould have been revealed, he would have confeſt himſelf about his deſign, and had been diſſwaded from it by his Confeſſors, and the King had had a warning to ſtand upon his guards. That *Barriere* having undertaken to kill King *Henry* the IV. of glorious memory revealed it to a Jeſuite, who laboured to diſſwade him from it. He would not add, for fear of offending the Jeſuits, that the Jeſuite that heard that confeſſion, gave no warning about it; But he ſaith, that *Barriere* having addreſſed himſelf ſince to a Dominican to confer with him about it by way of conſultation, (d) the ſaid Dominican preſently gave advice of the ſame to an Italian Gentleman named *Brancaleon*. But ſtill this Prelat ſtands ſtiſt upon that aſſertion, that for nothing in the world, whether it be to procure ſome good, or to avoid ſome evil (by that evil, underſtanding the Kings death, for that is the thing in queſtion) a confeſſion ought to be revealed. He ſaith that it is a mortal ſin to reveal it, and a crime againſt the Law of Nations, and againſt the right of nature, and that evil muſt not be done that good may come. He approveth that Jeſuits ſaying, who maintained that rather he would ſuffer Chriſt to be killed, then to reveal a confeſſion, and ſaith that Chriſt would not have any of his Diſciples to commit that ſin to preſerve him from death. He addeth (to what purpoſe I know not) that *Chryſoſtom* affirmeth that ſuch as make ſchiſms, and divide the myſtical body of Chriſt, which is the Church, are more guilty, I ſay not then they that ſuffered Chriſt to be ſlain, but then thoſe very men that ſlew him. Yet he ſaith that ſuch rumours ought not to be lightly believed, and that *Casaubon* having told him how the *Sorbon* held, that in caſe of High Treafon thoſe that confeſs themſelves may be revealed, he had ſince learned the contrary from the chief Doctors of that Faculty.

I could have wiſht that the Cardinal, having ſpoken of Kings, and of Chriſt himſelf, and declared his opinion that a Confeſſion muſt not be revealed, though the Kings life, or Chriſts life ſhould hang upon it, would alſo have told us his opinion

(c) Poſſeſt Confeſſor jurare ſe nihil ſcire, imò nihil ſe audiviſſe tale in confeſſione, ſubintelligendo, ſic ut dicere teneatur. Eodemque modo poſſeſt penitens jurare ſe nihil aut nihil tale dixiſſe in Confeſſione.

Gabriel Biel in 4. Diſt. 2. ſaith that the Priſt may confidently ſwear that he knows nothing of it, becauſe he knows it as God, not as man.

(d) Note that the Cardinal calls that conference a conſultation not a Confeſſion, becauſe it ſhall not be ſaid that any of the Roman Clergy hath revealed or might reveal a confeſſion.

opinion about the Popes life : For the Doctors avoid that question, whether it be because they will exempt the Pope from the common rule, or because they are afraid of offending and disparaging his Holiness, by putting his life in the same rank as that of Kings, or that of the Son of God. *Matthew Paris* in the life of *Henry* the third of *England* pag. 702. speaks of a Confessor who having learned in confession a conspiracy against the Popes life, did presently reveal it.

In all this discourse the Cardinal doth as he did in the full Assembly of States at *Paris* the fifteenth of *January* 1615. The third State [that is, the House of Commons] did remember the parricide committed on the person of *Henry* the third by *James Clement* a *Dominican*, and how *John Castel* a Disciple of the *Jesuits* had stabbed *Henry* the IV. and how the same King was tragically murdered by the hands of a monster. By whose interrogatories it was made evident that he was instructed in the cases of conscience, and in the Discipline of the *Jesuits*, and that he had confest himself to Father d' *Aubigni* a *Jesuite*.

(e) Emanuel Sa Aphorism. in verbo Tyrannus. Tyrannice gubernans iuste acquisitionem dominium non potest spoliari sine publico iudicio. Lata vero sententia potest quisque fieri executor. Potest autem deponi à populo. Bellarm in Barklauium cap. 21. Pontifex potest dispensare in votis & iuramentis, quæ Deus, ipse iussit reddi, & quorum solutio de jure divino est.

(e) They remembred also so many books publisht by the *Jesuite Mariana*, *Francis Verona*, *Bellarmin*, *Ribadenera*, *Becanus*, *Gretser*, *Emanuel Sa*, *Eudemonio* *johannes* all *Jesuits*, and by many others; In which books the execrable parricide of *Henry* the third committed by the *Dominican James Clement* is exalted and praised as an heroick action, and maxims fatal unto the life of Kings are taught; That the Pope hath power of deposing Kings, and causing them to be killed (as *sehojadah* the High Priest caused *Queen Athaliah* to be put to death) and to transfer their crowns unto others. That the Pope hath power either direct or indirect over the whole temporal of Kings. That the rebellion of a Clark against the King is no Treason, because he is not the Kings subject. That killing a King deposed by the Pope, is not properly killing a King, but a private man. That the sentences, writs, and judgements of a secular Judge communicated by the Ecclesiastical Judge, are void, and without authority. That it is better to suffer a King to be killed, then to reveal a confession. That a man being taken when he is about such an attempt, may use equivocations in justice, to save himself. That he is no murderher, that kills an excommunicate person, being moved with zeal towards the Catholick Church. That the Pope can absolve subjects from the Oath of Allegiance made to their King, and give Commission to some one to kill the King, and give his Kingdome to another or to put an interdict upon it, and expose it as a prey to the next Conquerour. Which books were indeed condemned by the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, and publickly burnt by the hand of the hang-man, yet without doing any harm to the Authors of the books, or to the approvers of the Maximes.

Idem cap. 7. Papa consueverunt subditos eorum à juramento fidelitatis absolvere, & autoritate regia si opus est privare. executio ad alios pertinet. Suarez lib. 6. lib. in Reg. Jacob. cap. 4. Si Papa Regem deponat, ab illis tantum poterit expelli vel interfici quibus ipse id commiserit. Papa Urbanus Causa 23. qu. 5. Can. Excommunicatorum. Non enim eos homicidas arbitramur, quos adversus excommunicatos zelo matris Ecclesie ardentes aliquos eorum trucidasse contigerit. Toletus lib. 1. de Institut. Sacerdotis cap. 13. Excommunicatus non potest exercere actum jurisdictionis absque peccato. Inò si publica excommunicatio est facta, sententiæ nullæ sunt. Idem. lib. 3. cap. 16. Obligatio fidei est tanta, ut nulla provis causa, neque etiam propter salvandam vitam propriam nec propter salutem totius Reip. possit Confessarius peccatum penitentis revelare, &c. Quod si aliquando contigerit Confessarium ab iniquo iudice compelli ut revelet, & sub juramento, potest Confessarius dicere se nescire tale peccatum, quamvis enim sciat, non tamen scit ut revelet. Mariana lib. 1. de Rege & Regis institutione cap. 6. agens de Jacobo Clemente. Supra vesicam altum vulnus infixit, insignem animi confidentiam, facinus memorabile. &c. Cæso Rege ingens sibi nomen fecit: eade cædes expiata, ac manibus Guisii Ducis perfide perempti regio sanguine est parentatum. Ibid. Tyrannicide si evaserint, instar magnorum heroum in omni vita suspiciuntur. Si secus accidat, grata Superis, grata hominibus hostia cadunt, nobili conatu ad omnem posteritatis memoriam illustrati. Eman. Sa in verbo Clericus in Edit. Antwerp. Clerici rebellio in Regem non est crimen læsæ Majestatis, quia non est subditus Regi. Becanus lib. de Controv. Anglicana p. 123. Jojada Pontifex prius privavit Athaliah regno, deinde vita. Itaque privavit eam regno, ut Reginam & publicam personam: Privavit autem vita ut privatam personam. Et pag. 125. Quicquid potestatis & jurisdictionis permixtum fuit Pontifici in Veteri Testamento, hoc etiam in Novo permixtum est. Bellarm. lib. de Clericis cap. 28. Summus Pontifex Civicos exemit à subiectione Principum; Non sunt amplius Reges Clericorum superiores. Antonius Santarelli Jesuita Tractatu de hæresi, schismate, &c. Papa sine consilio deponit Imperatorem, quia Papa & Christi unus est tribunus. Idem. Papa potest Reges movere & mortis pena punire, &c.

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The same third State knew that Pope *Gregory* the VII. had made bold to degrade the Emperour *Henry* the IV. That in the year 1212. *Innocent* the III. had degraded *John* King of *England*, and given his kingdom to *Philip August* King of *France* for the remission of his sins, upon condition that he should conquer it with his own danger and cost. And after the said *Philip* had raised a mighty army with great cost, the same Pope gave absolution to King *John*, upon condition that he should become the Popes vassall, and his crown tributary; And that *England* and *Ireland* from that time forward should be fees of the Roman Church, paying for his homage a thousand marks of silver for an acknowledgement of subjection. Which was punctually executed. But of that more hereafter.

The same third State knew that in the year 1225. the same Pope assembled a Council at *Lateran*, in which (f) power was given to the Pope to absolve subjects from the Oath of Allegiance sworn to their Lord, and to give their lands to other Catholick Lords. And that his Successor *Innocent* the IV. in the year 1245. in full Council at *Lyons*, declared the Emperour *Frederick* the second deprived of the Empire. And that in the year 1302. Pope *Boniface* the VIII. (because *Philip* the Fair of *France* retained the right of investitures and collations of benefices as his predecessors had done) excommunicated the said King, and gave *France* to the Emperour *Albert*, if he could get it. And that in the year 1511. Pope *Julius* the second deposed *John a' Albert* King of *Navarra*, and gave his Kingdom to *Ferdinand* King of *Castilia*, and that at the same time the good King *Lewis* the XII. was excommunicated by *Julius* the second, and his kindgom exposed to conquest, because he would defend himself against the invasions of *Julius*, who from a Pope was become a Captain. And that of late *Henry* the third of *France* had been deposed by *Sixtus* the fifth and excommunicated, whence followed afterwards the murder of that King, and the desolation of that Kingdom. And that in the year 1592. Monitorial Bulls of Pope *Gregory* the fourteenth came from *Rome*, whereby *Henry* the fourth was declared incapable of the Crown of *France*. Which Bulls by the authority of the Court of Parliament then residing at *Tours* were publickly torn and burnt, the fifth of *August*, by the hand of the hang-man.

(f) Significatur hoc summo Pontifici ut vassallos ab eius fidelitate deuncies absolutos & terram exponat occupandam.

For these causes, the said third State the representative of all the people of *France* being frightened still with the late parricide of their good King *Henry* the fourth of glorious memory, and acknowledging that all these funest disasters proceeded from these maxims fatal unto Kings, and tending unto the subversion of Kingdoms; and from the secret of confession, and from that doctrine of perjury, required that in the States then sitting, a course should be taken for the securing of the Kings life, and setting his Crown free. And that it might be declared by an express Act that in temporal things the King is subject to none but God alone; That his life and Crown are independent from any man, and that it is not in any mans power, whosoever he be, to dispose of it, for any cause whatsoever. That proposition of the third State tended to no other end, but that the King might be acknowledged to be truly King, and Sovereign in his kingdom. To that proposition, as directly regarding the Pope, the Clergy of *France* made a vigorous opposition, speaking by Cardinal *du Perrons* mouth, who since publisht his speech, the summ whereof is this.

That it belongs not to the third State, to make Laws against the murderers of Kings, because they are Laws of conscience. That the Council of *Constance* hath sufficiently provided for that, having made a Decree against murderers of Kings; but that it must not be laid for an undoubted maxime, that a King violating the oath made unto God, may not be deposed; thereby acknowledging a power above the King. That the doctrine which makes the King not subject to be deposed, is a doctrine that causeth schism, and opens the gate unto all heresies; And that thence it would follow, that since many ages there hath been no Church in the world, and that the Pope is the Antichrist. He exhorteth the hearers to hold at least that doctrine as problematick, not necessary; and in the

mean while to submit themselves to the Popes judgement. He offers to suffer martyrdom rather then to subscribe that doctrine, which makes Kings not obnoxious to be deposed by the Pope, which doctrine yet he saith that the Pope suffereth the French to hold as problematick. He denounceth *anathema* and curse to the murtherers of Kings; But in the same speech he saith that he speaks of Kings while they are Kings, and before their deposition.

Whence it followeth, that *James Clement* by killing *Henry* the third, did not kill a King, because the Pope had deposed him. He likes not indeed that any should kill a King, but he would have him stript of his Royal dignity, that he may not defend himself when his enemies will have a mind to kill him. He approves not the stabbing of a King, least that his soul be lost with his body, but he approveth that he be killed in battell, when he will maintain himself in the kingdom after his deposition. He saith that a deposed King retains still an habit to the Royal dignity, and a politick character, which (when he comes to amendment) brings him again to the lawfull use of his Royal power. For he presupposeth that he to whom the Pope shall transfer the kingdom will suffer the deposed King to live; and that if he seeth repentance in him, he will leave him the room, and quietly restore him the Royal Throne. He acknowledgeth no other cause of the deposition of a King but heresie, apostasie, and infidelity. Yet to prove that, he brings examples of Emperours and Kings excommunicated or deposed, not for heresie, but for incapacity, or for matrimonial causes.

With the like untruth he alleadgeth Scripture, saying that *Samuel* deposed *Saul*. That the Prophet *Ahija* deposed *Rehoboam* from his royal right over the ten tribes. That *Azariah* the Priest expelled King *Uzziah* from the conversation of the people, whereby the administration of the kingdom was taken from him. All which allegations in great number out of Scripture and Histories were convinced of falshood by the late King *James*, in his answer to the said speech. The quality of a great King, and the importance of the matter deserved that the Cardinal should reply. But the case was so clear, and the Cardinals foul dealing so evident, and his ungratefulness to the King his Master, so odious, that he chose rather not to answer, and to swallow that affront without noise, although he lived five years after the publishing of the Kings book.

Other considerations then the strength of the Cardinals reasons made his opinion to prevail. So that the third State got no other provision for the safety of the life of Kings then the order of the Council of *Constance*, a Council which the Popes approve not. And after all, when one looks into that Council, it is clear that he speaks not of Kings, and of securing their life: But only that the Council rejecteth the propositions of *John Petit*, who maintained that it was lawfull for a private man, either by wiles or by strength, to kill a subject that riseth against his King, which subject he calls a Tyrant. For the said *John Petit* by his propositions went about to justify the murther committed by *John Duke of Burgundy* on the person of *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, who in those propositions is unjustly called a Tyrant. The Council rejected those propositions, holding it unjust that a private man should stab one of the Kings subjects without any form of Law, under colour that some call him a Tyrant, or because he goeth about to trouble the State, and is disobedient to the King. So that the Council instead of providing for the safety of Kings, diminisheth their safety, forbidding private men to kill a subject that would attempt against his Kings life, or trouble his State. So did the Cardinal secure the Kings life, openly abusing the Assembly of States, when he turned them over to a Council which the Pope approveth not; and to a Decree of that Council, where nothing is found of that he saith, yea, to a Decree that puts the life of Kings in greater danger.

That heroical act having been successfull to the Cardinal, it is no wonder that he goeth on in the same strain in his book, maintaining that it is better to suffer the King to be killed, then to reveal a Confession. In an age in which the crowns of Kings should not be in bondage, as they are now, and where some breathings

breathings of liberty should remain, any Priest made Secretary of such a confession that would not reveal it, and all men speaking as the Cardinal doth, should be proceeded against as guilty of high treason, and conscious, and partakers of the parricide. But in our dayes the Majesty of Kings being become contemptible to Clergy-men, who deny themselves to be subject unto Kings, and Popes ascribing to themselves the power of disposing of their crowns and their lives, these propositions are impunedly maintained, although the death of so many Kings lately slain by Clergy-men, oblige Kings to think on their own preservation.

How plainly doth our Cardinal abuse Kings? saying that a Confessor to whom some enterprise against the Kings life was discovered, must give warning to the King that there is an enterprise against his life, but must not name the person, nor reveal his confession. Certainly by speaking thus, he forgeth to himself a King wanting common sense, or weary of his life: For in that case should not a King prove himself to be out of his wits, or angry against his own safety, if he did not cause that Confessor to be apprehended, and put to such a tryal as would make him confess the name of the conspirator against his life, and in case of obstinacy in silence use him as a conspirator? *It is enough* (saith the Cardinal) *to advertise the King to stand upon his guard.* But what must be done, if he that will kill the King is one of his guards, and liveth near his person? Who knows not, that he that despiseth his life, is Master of any mans life? and that a King may be stabbed in the midst of an Army?

But (saith the Cardinal) it is a mortal sin, and a crime against the right of Nations, and against nature, to violate the publick faith which the Church giveth unto all penitents that come to Confession. I answer, that the Church never made that promise to penitents to keep any confession secret, and that though the Church had made such a promise, it ought not to be kept, when it cannot be kept without violating the faith due unto God, and disobeying his word. No promise ought to be kept, which derogates to a promise made before, which is just, and holy, and conformable unto the word of God. Obeying our parents and the Princes to whom God hath subjected us, are obligations which lye on us from our birth grounded upon the word of God, and not to be broken by any promise made since. Now for a man to suffer his Father, or his King to be slain when he may save his life, is not only disobedience, but parricide, prodigious treason, and unnatural disloyalty. All promises that oblige us to violate Gods commandment are void. It is a disloyal and cruel fidelity, which for fear of breaking promise to a penitent, breaks the faith due to God, and violates the natural obligation, more antient, not only then that pretended promise made unto penitents, but also then the Roman Church. That man cannot but be very wicked, into whose bosome counsels of treason, and enterprises of parricide are safely poured and depofed: Who that he may be faithfull to a villain and a traitor, himself becomes a traitor to his Father or his King. That man is very cruel, who by a pertinacious silence suffers ruine to fall upon a countrey, and the destruction of whole Provinces, and his own Father to be killed, rather then reveal a confession. Why doth not the Confessor in that occasion use at least the Jesuitish slight, saying, *I have revealed that confession, because I took it not for a confession, but for a consultation?* Which was the language of the Jesuite *Garner* conscious and partaker of the Gun-powder-treason to blow up King, Prince, Counsel, Parliament, and an innumerable quantity of men, women and children.

One thing clearly discovereth the wickedness. For these Gentlemen that keep to the rule so strictly when the question is of the Kings life, or of the life of the Confessors Father, and will not have the confession revealed in those cases; yet will abate of that strictness in far lesser things. For this is one of the Aphorisms of the Jesuite *Emanuel Sa.* (g) *If thou canst not confess thy crime without discovering the crime which thou hast heard in confession, some doubt is made whether it must be discovered. It is more probable that it must.* See in

(g) *Si nequeas tuum crimen confiteri sine revelatione auditu criminis in confessione, dubium est an id explicandum. Probabilius quod sit.* Navar. Soto.

(h) Navar.
in cap. pen.
Sacerdos de
pœnit. Dist.
6. pag. 577.
Quæro an sit
aliquis casus
in quo liceat
Confessario
audire
confessionem
revelare, &
videtur
multi esse,
primus quando
crimen here-
ticos detegitur
&c.

Navarrus many cases (h) in which the Doctors hold that confession ought to be revealed, the case of heresie especially, of which he affirmeth that the com-
mon saying is, *Heresis est crimen quod nec confessio celat.*

The last refuge of these Doctors of parricide, is to say that Confession is instituted by God, and of divine institution, but the Royal power is but an humane institution, and is but of humane right; and therefore it is better that a King should be killed, then to reveal a Confession. I answer, that although Confession were of divine institution, yet it would not follow, that the secret of Confession is also of divine institution. But the clean contrary of that they say is true. For auricular Confession, and the secret of that Confession are humane institutions, of which the word of God saith nothing: Whereas the power of Kings and Princes is instituted by God, and recommended in his word. *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* Rom. 13. 1. And a little after He (meaning the Prince) beareth not the sword in vain, for he is the Minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil; Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake, that is, not only for fear of drawing upon you the wrath of the Prince, but for fear of offending God. And 1 Pet. 2. 17. *Fear God, Honour the King,* joyning the honour due to the King with the fear of God. *Moses and Joshua* were the two first Princes of Gods people, both established by name by the ordinance of God. And the three first Kings in Israel, *Saul, David, and Solomon* were promoted to the kingdom by an oracle, and by express declaration of Gods will. The Prophet *Daniel* chap. 2. speaks thus to *Nebuchadnezzar*, though a persecutor of the Church, *Thou King art the King of Kings, for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory.* Christ himself appearing before *Pilates* judicial fear, acknowledged that *Pilate* had received that power from God, saying to him John 19. 11. *Thou couldst have no power at all against me except it were given thee from above.*

This is not contradicted by St. Peter when he saith 1 Pet. 2. 13. *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as supreme, or to the Governours, &c.* For he calls the power of Kings and Magistrates an ordinance of man, because that order is received among all Nations by a natural instinct, and is not an ordinance proper unto the Church of God, such as the ordinance of the Ministry of the Gospel. Also because many Kings attain to the Kingdom by humane means, as by conquest or by election, and because they establish Laws about things civil and humane, which concern not the service of God, as the prohibition of hunting in a certain season of the year, or to go in the streets in the night without a light, or to walk near the walls of a Citadell. But all this proveth not but that the people is obliged by Gods commandment to obey the King. Yea, if God command us to obey some ordinance of man, the obedience to that humane right is of divine institution. Wherefore Peter will have us to submit our selves to that ordinance of man for the Lords sake, that is, because God will have it so.

In vain it is answered, that there is no commandment of God that injoyns us to obey *Lewis* or *Henry*. For they that hold that the Popes power is of divine right, cannot find a commandment in Gods word that obliges us to obey *Urban* or *Boniface*, whom (though promoted to the Papal dignity by factions, and wayes worse then humane) they hold to be established by divine right. By the same reason it would follow that neither *William* nor *Anthony*, nor any private man, is obliged to believe in Jesus Christ, for there is no text in Scripture that obliges them to it by name. But it is enough that they are comprehended under the general rule, which obligeth every private person without naming. Thus then Gods command to obey the King, binds us to obey *Lewis* and *Henry*, because they are Kings. Neither is the question here of the means whereby a Prince attains to the Crown, but whether God will have him obeyed, when he hath got it,

it, and when he is ſettled in the throne. We obey not *Lewis* becauſe he is *Lewis*, but becauſe he is King.

All that the Cardinal addeth, deſerveth no answer. He tells us ſtories, which if the world will believe, it will never trouble us, although we know the contrary to be true. It is nothing to us whether the Dominican that accuſed *Barriere*, had heard the ſaid *Barriere* in conſultation or in confeſſion. Nor whether the Jeſuite that heard him, laboured to diſſwade him. Nor whether the Sorboniſts agree among themſelves about the ſecret of confeſſion. Who ſo will examine them ſeverally, ſhall find them of different tenents in that point. But when they all ſpeak in a body, it is no wonder that the power of the Jeſuites and the ſervitude which other Clergy-men are brought to, makes them ſpeak againſt their own ſenſe.

Againſt that fraudulent ſhift whereby a Jeſuite queſtioned by the Magiſtrate whether he hath learned any thing in confeſſion about a plot againſt the Kings death, answereth ſwearing, that he knows nothing of it, and that he heard nothing of it, with this reſerved meaning, *to ſay it to you*; we have the Law of God ſaying, *Thou ſhalt not bear falſe teſtimony*: For the thought is no part of the teſtimony. There being nothing then that bears teſtimony but the mouth, it follows that ſuch a teſtimony is falſe. Yea, the forgers of ſuch a perjury confeſs that by that proceeding the Judge that examineth them is deceived, and that it is done purpoſely to deceive.

Seventh



Seventh Controversie,
OF THE
SEVENTH BOOK.

OF
The Authority and Power
of the Pastors of the Church to par-
don Sins. And of Sacramen-
tall Absolution.

CHAP. I.

How negligently M. du Perron treats of Sacramental Absolution. A summary answer to that he saith of that subject. Many falsifications are observed.



F all the Articles of Christian faith, that of remission of our sins by Jesus Christ is the most necessary, and the most comfortable. In the chain of Gods Graces that Article is the first ring, from which depends Justification, Sanctification and Eternal Life. That happiness which conscience seeks before all things, is to have peace with God. No wonder then that Satan hath used all his strength and policy to corrupt by the depravation of that one Article, the whole Christian Religion.

Wherefore it is much to be wondered at, why the Cardinal, who in his book makes so many long digressions, so far as to employ (in chap. 48. of his first book) forty one pages to dispute against *Baronius* about a thing of no use, passeth so slightly over the most important point of Christian Religion, as being afraid to meddle with it, contenting himself to bestow upon it little above half a page.

They that have conversed with this Prelate or perused his books, may have observed

observed that he did carefully abstain from some Controversies, and avoided them as dangerous shelves. He was willing enough to dispute of prayer for the dead, by the Fathers, but he fled from the dispute of Purgatory and Indulgences. He would be large upon the real presence of Christs body, but meddled as little as he could with the transubstantiation of the bread, and with the denying of the cup in the Communion unto the people, and with Masses without communicants. He would discourse of the images of Saints, but never of the images of God and the Trinity. He spake of the representation of Saints by images, but forbore speaking of the adoration of those images. He would heap up many testimonies of Fathers of the first age, about the intercession of Saints, but past lightly over the invocation of Saints. He extended himself much upon the Popes primacy over the Bishops of the Roman Empire, but meddled not with the divine institution, whereby the Pope pretends to be *Peters* successor in the quality of Apostle or Head of the Universal Church. Neither did he ever take the pains to bring any example or any action whereby it appeared that the Pope governed the Churches without the Roman Empire. In the same rank I put the Sacramental Absolution whereby Priests give the absolution of sins, which the penitents have confessed. Of which he would have said never a word, had not the words of his Majesty of Great Britain extorted from him some few words about it by the way.

The King had said, that *to the confession followed with the absolution, the Roman Church attributed a vertue well nigh equal unto that of Christs blood, and that men were subjected to it upon unavoidable necessity.*

To that the Cardinal gives an answer, which may be reduced to very few words. He saith, that as to the iron of the cautere, the same effect is attributed as to the fire; and to the water where the drug was infused, the same vertue as to the drug; and that as Scripture ascribeth the same vertue to Baptism, as to the blood of Christ, saying that Christ hath (a) *cleansed his Church by the washing of water by the word*, and that Baptism (b) *is the washing of regeneration*; by the same reason one may attribute the remission of sins to penitential absolution: Of which the same that washeth our sins in his blood said, *Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins soever you remit, they are remitted.* And that (c) *Ambrose and Hierom* disputing against the Novatians (who believed not that men could remit sins) say that both in Baptism and in Penitence Priests forgive sins. He denyeth also that the Roman Church holds the Sacrament of penitence to be of absolute necessity, that being proper to the Baptism of children.

I pass by his comparisons, for *similes* prove nothing. The texts which he alleadgeth out of St. Pauls Epistles are false in some part, and are even contrary to him. For there St. Paul saith not that the washing of water cleanseth the Church, but that Christ purgeth his Church by the washing of water, by the word. Would to God that the Doctors of the Roman Church would tye themselves to speak so, and would say only that Christ forgiveth sins by the Pastors of the Church, that is, by their Ministry. Besides, he takes it for granted that by the washing of water, St. Paul understands Baptism, not knowing that Scripture calls so remission of sins and regeneration, even before Baptism was instituted. As Psalm 51. 4. *David saith, Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.* And Isa. 1. 16. *Wash ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes.* And Zechariah chap. 13. 1. prophesieth of a fountain that should be opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness, meaning the saving grace by Christ. Yea, in the new Testament, as 1 Cor. 6. 11. after a long enumeration of vices, the Apostle addeth, *But you are washed, but you are sanctified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of your God.* And Rev. 1. 5. *Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood.* In which places it is not at all spoken of the Sacrament of Baptism. Whereas when the text meaneth that grace of God figured and conferred by Baptism, the Apostle Peter in chap. 3. of the second Epistle, ver. 21. saith expressly, that these graces are not

(a) Ephes. 5.

26.

(b) Tit. 3. 5.

(c) Ambros.

l. 1. de penit.

cap. 7.

not conferred upon us by the bodily Baptism, for having spoken of Noah's flood, he saith, *The like figure whereunto even Baptism doth also now save us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.*

(d) Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost.

Hereby the fraud committed by the Cardinal is discovered in the allegation of his second text. He makes St. Paul to say, *Tit. 5. 5. (d)* that Baptism is the washing of regeneration; But in that text there is never a word of Baptism. The whole contexture of the place speaks of other things, and that word *washing* signifieth only *cleansing*, according to the style of Scripture, as we have justified it by many texts. It is certain that the Apostle speaks there of a washing necessary to salvation; Now our Adversaries confess that without the Baptism of water many are saved.

(e) Ambros. de pœnit. l. 1. cap. 2. Dominus parjus & solvendi esse voluit & ligandi, qui utrumque pari conditione permittit. Ergo qui solvendi jus non habet, nec ligandi habet, &c. Quomodo potest alterum licere alterum non licere?

Neither is the text of *John 20. 23.* any more, to his purpose to prove the sacramental absolution. Christ after his resurrection said to his Apostles, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost, Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.* That text gives indeed to his Apostles, and to his successors, all faithfull Pastors of the Church, power to pardon sins, we have no controverſie about that. Retaining sins is exempting sinners from punishment. Whence it followeth, that as much as the Pastors can punish, so much can they pardon. For, as (e) *Ambrose* saith, the power of binding, and the power of loosing are of equal extent. The Pastors then can remit those punishments of sins which they can lay upon the sinner. Now they can punish the sinner with Ecclesiastical pains, censures, suspensions and excommunications, of which pains they may release the repenting sinner, restoring him to the communion of the Church. It may be said also, that they forgive sins, even as for the eternal pain, in the same manner that Scripture saith, that they save souls, as *James 5. 20.* *He which converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.* And *1 Cor. 9. 22.* *I am made all things to all men, that by all means I might save some.* And *1 Tim. 4. 16.* *In doing this thou shalt both save thy self, and them that hear thee.* Not that to speak properly, the Pastors be able to save souls, or ought to be called Saviours, but because God conferreth remission of sins unto penitent sinners by their ministry. It is a metonymie, a tropical expression, whereby that which is proper unto the efficient cause is attributed unto the instrument: As if a rich man having sent a sum of money by another to redeem a prisoner, we said that the bearer of that money hath delivered the prisoner. Thus although to speak properly, it be meat that hath the feeding vertue, yet we say that our hands feed our body. Our Adversaries do not understand it so, but their sense is, that Priests pardon a sinner, not only by remitting unto him the Ecclesiastical censures, but also by absolving him by authority of Judges in Gods judicial seat; pardoning (as they speak) not only at the outward bar, but at the bar of conscience, so far as to say, that for sins committed after Baptism none can be reconciled unto God, but by the judgement and absolution of Priests, as *Bellarmin* saith, (f) *Christ hath constituted the Priests to be Judges upon earth, with that power, that none that hath sinned after Baptism can be reconciled without their sentence. And that none to whom heaven is shut for his sin can enter into heaven, unless it be opened unto him by the Ministry of Priests.* Wherefore also *M. du Perron* calleth Sacramentall Absolution, a judicial act; as the Council of *Trent* saith *Seſſ. 14. cap. 6.* *That the absolution by the Priest is as a judicial act whereby sentence is pronounced by the Priest as by a Judge.* And (g) *Cardinal Bellarmin* makes no difficulty to say, that there being a suit depending, or a difference between God and man who hath sinned, the Priest is Judge in the cause of God. Whence it follows, that the Priest in that regard is above God, because the Priest is Judge, and God is a party. The issue of the suit is, that God is

(f) Bellarm. de pœnit. l. 3. cap. 7. §. Propositio. Christus constituit sacerdotes iudices super terram cum ea potestate ut sine ipsorum sententia post Baptismum lapsus reconciliari non possit. Et Sect. Quare. Nemo cui celum ob culpam sit clausum, in illud ingredi poterit, nisi Sacerdotum Ministerio aperiatur. (g) Bellar. l. 3. de pœnit. c. 2. Sect. Sed hæc peccata omnia causa sunt quia cum Deo ipso habemus, & ideo cum Deus iudicium de peccatis Sacerdotibus permiserit in Ecclesia sua, non possunt qui in Ecclesia sunt, si ejusmodi causas habeant, sine Sacerdotum iudicio cum Deo reconciliari.

condemned

condemned to forgive man. But it is pity that the Priest who pronounceth that judgement is himself a sinner and guilty, and he must plead his own cause before some other Priest, who many times is more guilty then he : And all must in the end appear together before God to be judged about all their words, actions, and thoughts ; yea, for that very Absolution especially they must give account ; whereby (as our Adversaries acknowledge) they judge many times against Right and Justice, and bind themselves while they are binding others.

Truly, on what side soever you turn that Text of *John* 20. 23. you shall find no trace in it of the institution of that pretended Sacrament ; and no mention of Auricular Confession, or of Satisfaction, or of remission of sins which exempteth a man from Gods judgement ; but only of that remission of sins which may be administred by a man, of which we spake before. Who so will consider the text and context of *Matth.* 18. 18. where Christ giveth the binding and loosing power unto his Apostles, will easily acknowledge that he speaks of Ecclesiastical censures, and of the power of binding the refractories to the Church, and loosing those that return to their duty. And why shall we not take the power of forgiving and retaining sins given to the Apostles, *John* 20. 23. in the same sense?

If we understand it, as *Cyrillus* upon *John* 20. that Christ gives there a power to his Disciples, which they were to use both towards those of the household of faith, and towards the infidels and not baptized, whensoever they should be converted to God, this Sacrament of Penitence vanisheth away. For our Adversaries hold that this Sacrament of Penitence cannot be administred, but unto baptized persons, not to those that turn Christians, being out of the Church before.

The testimonies of *Ambrose* and *Hierom* are such, that the Cardinal could not have pickt any more expresse to condemn himself. *Hierom* saith (h) *That which is written, that the blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin, must be understood both in the Confession of Baptism, and in the clemency of Penitence.* And *Ambrose*, (i) *Why do you baptize, if men have not the power to forgive sins ? For in Baptism the remission of sins is.* Is it any whit material, Whether Priests challenge that power given to them, either by Baptism or by Penitence ? For in both it is the same Ministry. These Fathers put the remission of sins both in Baptism and in Penitence, and make the power given to Pastors of forgiving sins, to consist in that they baptize and reconcile sinners after Penitence. As then in Baptism, Pastors forgive not as Judges, and do no judiciary act whereby sins be blotted out before God, but that Grace is conferred by God through Baptism ; likewise when after Penitence is done, Pastors receive sinners to the Communion and forgive sins, they absolve not the sinner in Gods judicial seat, but God makes use of their Ministry to assure the sinners conscience that his sins are forgiven him. Wherefore *Ambrose* saith, that in both (that is, in Baptism and in Penitence) it is the same Ministry. He speaks of a Ministry or Service, not of a judicial power.

The worst legerdmain of the Cardinal in this allegation, is that he would make the world believe, that both *Hierom* and *Ambrose* when they speak of Penitence, mean that pretended Sacrament of Penitence of the Roman Church, whereby the Priest after a secret and punctual Confession, giveth Absolution, and imposeth satisfactions. For that Penitence of which those Fathers speak, is publick Penitence, whereby the sinner after he hath past through all the degrees of Penitence, was reconciled unto the Church publickly, and received to the Communion. Of Absolution given in secret to a sinner after Confession, the Fathers of the first ages make no mention. In those dayes, if a sinner had confessed his sin privately to his Pastor, the Pastor, if he judged it expedient, disposed him to satisfy by publick Penitence. But of secret absolution, after a secret confession, no mention or trace is found in Antiquity. The custom was to fulfill the Satisfaction before Absolution : For the sinner was to satisfy the Church by Penitence, before he could be reconciled to the Church. But in the Roman Church of this age, the Priest giving absolution, imposeth satisfactory pains, which are fulfilled after absolution. He looseth the Penitent by absolution,

(h) Hier.
adv. Pelagium, lib. 2.

(i) Ambros.
lib. 1. de penit. c. 7.

(k) Chap. 2.
pag. 651.

(l) Lactant.
de vera Sa-
pient. l. 4.
c. 30.

(m) Cyprian.
Ep. 4. l. 4.
according to
the Cardi-
nals allega-
tion, p. 651.

(n) Ambros.
l. 1. de

pœnit. c. 16.

Si quis occul-
ta crimina

habens, prop-
ter Christum

tamen studiosè
pœnitentiam

egerit, quo-
modo istuc

recipit, si ei
communio non

rependitur?

Volo veniam
vires speret,

petat eam
lachrymis,

petat gemit-
ibus, petat

populi totius
fleibus, &c.

(o) Possi-
vinius in re-
censione

operum
Ambrosii.

Exhortatio
ad pœniten-
tiam agen-
dam extat

tomò primo
Editionis
Romanæ,

& rejicitur
inter opus-
cula Am-
brosii ascri-
pta quæ non

sunt ejus.

(p) August.
de dogm.

Eccl. c. 53.

Nam quem
mortalia cri-
mina post

Baptismum
commissa pre-
munt, hortor

prius publica
pœnitentia

satisfacere &
ita sacerdotis

judicio re-
conciliatum

communioni
sociari.

and at the same time binds him, obliging him to satisfactory pains, either corporal or pecuniary, which were altogether unknown among the antients. In a word, all the antient practice is overthrown and contradicted in the Roman Church. Of that publike penance all those testimonies speak, which the Cardinal brings in the following Chapter (k). Such is that of (l) *Lactantius*, *Because the Congregations of Hereticks hold themselves all of them to be principally Christian, and think their Church to be the Catholick Church, we must know that the true Church is that where there is Confession and Penitence, &c.* And the second Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which the Cardinal calls an Oracle. *To those that are run into divers sins, and give themselves to prayer, shewing a perfect conversion from their faults, a time must be prescribed according to the quality of the sin.* Such is also the testimony which he alleadgeth in the same place out of *Cyprian*, (m) *For the least sins that are committed, yea such as are not against the Lord, Penitence is done by a set time, and the confession whereby the life of him that doth the Penitence is discovered: And they cannot come to the Communion, unless hands be laid upon them by the Priest or the Clergy.*

In this place of *Cyprian*, it is evident that *Cyprian* speaks of publick Confession, whereby the life of the Penitent is discovered, and that he speaks not of the Sacramental absolution which is given in the Roman Church, but of the reconciliation of the sinner excluded from the Communion of the Church, which reconciliation was done in publick, with the laying on of hands of the Bishop and of the Clergy there present. Which that the Reader might not perceive, the Cardinal hath falsified that place, putting by the Priest or the Clergy, instead of by the Bishop and the Clergy.

With the like fraud, he alleadgeth in the same place a testimony of *Ambrose*. That Father speaks thus, (n) *If any having secret crimes, yet doth Penitence carefully for Christ his sake, how shall he receive here [an hundred-fold] if the Communion be not restored unto him?* There the Cardinal stops, and suppresseth the rest, which shews that *Ambrose* speaks of publick Penitence and Confession, and of receiving the sinner again to the Communion, which also was publicly done. *Ambrose* then addeth, *I will have the guilty to hope for pardon, let him ask it with tears and groanings, and with the tears of all the people, &c.* He adds also, that he hath seen some who in their Penance caused themselves to be trodden under the peoples feet. So this hath nothing common with Auricular Confession, or with Sacramental Absolution which is done in secret; & the Cardinal is found guilty of forgery, corrupting the Fathers with a License almost beyond all examples.

Of the same kind is another allegation of his out of *Ambrose* in the Treatise of exhortation to Penitence. For that place speaks only of publick Penitence, which the Roman Church holds not to be a Sacrament. Besides that Treatise (o) is, not of *Ambrose*. To which if two places be added out of *Basil*, and one out of *Leo*, alleadged by the Cardinal in the same place, and falsified, as we shewed before; eight testimonies of Fathers will be found in one page of his, all wrested and taken in a contrary sense, and five of them falsified in the words, or pared and clipt with notorious fraud.

Whereas then in the writings of the Antients, the Confession which sinners made in private is often mentioned, it is no where found, that in that private confession Priests gave the judiciary absolution, saying, *Absolve te*, &c. Or that the said action was put among the Sacraments of the Church. *Austin* is express upon that, (p) *Those (saith he) that are pressed with mortal crimes, I exhort to satisfy before by publick penance, and so being reconciled by the Priests judgement, to be associated unto the Communion.* It is then a great abuse of the Readers, which all our Adversaries that write of this matter are guilty of; to bring expressions of the Fathers which speak of private confessions made to the Priest, to infer from thence, that a private absolution was given after that private confession; yea a judicial absolution belonging to the Sacrament of Penitence. For of sine also that were confessed in private, a publick penitence was made, as the Bishop judged it expedient, or as the sinner was disposed. But of that secret absolution, and

of

of the Sacrament of Penitence, the Fathers speak not. It appears also by the alledged place of *Austin*, that he exhorted those that were guilty of great sins to publike penance, but did not constrain them to it.

It remains that we say something of the necessity of that Sacramental absolution, which the Cardinal saith to be necessary in case of necessity; that is, he that having opportunity to confess himself, and to receive absolution from the Priest, doth it not, cannot be saved, and shall not obtain of God the remission of his sins. This *Bellarmino* saith in the third book of Penitence, in the second Chapter. (q) *Christ instituted Priests to be Judges upon earth with that power, that without their sentence none that is slain after Baptism can be reconciled.* This he saith according to the doctrine of the Council of *Trent*, which holds the absolution by the Priest to be so necessary to salvation, that (r) even when a sinner hath confessed himself with a serious contrition, yet if the Priest gave him the absolution without an intention to give it, the Council forbids that man to believe that his sins are forgiven him. So necessary is (if we must believe them) not only the absolution of the Priest, but his very intention to absolve, to obtain forgiveness of sins before God. And the Catechism of the Council of *Trent*, (s) *We obtain not of God the Remission of our sins, unless the Sacrament of Penitence blot them out by confession.* And *Bellarmino* in the third book of penitence, chap. 2. (t) *Remission is refused to those to whom the Priests will not remit.* He means that remission is denied them by God. And in the same place, (u) *As the wind puts out the fire and scattereth the mist, so the absolution of the Priest scattereth sins and makes them vanish.* And he told us before, that none that sinned after Baptism, is reconciled without that, and that heaven is not opened to him without the Priests sentence. In a word, by their reckoning, in case of possibility, unless a man go through the hands of the Priest, unless he punctually confess all his sins to the Priest, unless he receive absolution from the Priest, he cannot be saved. That yoke was laid upon the Consciences without any Word of God to make the superstition of the people tributary to the covetousness of the Clergy, and to raise their power. For we find not that the Apostles ever said, *Unless we forgive you your sins, you cannot be saved*; but they said, (x) *Whoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins through his name.* He then that hath a true faith in Christ, before he confess his sins to a Priest, hath already remission of sins. Yea the Council of *Trent*, compelled by the force of truth, declareth that (y) *contrition, when it is perfected with Charity, reconcileth a man with God, before he receive the Sacrament of Penitence.* Only the Council will have the vow of the Sacrament joyned with that contrition. And the Catechism of that Council is yet more express to that purpose, *Contrition cannot but be acceptable unto God, for (saith the Prophet) a broken and a contrite heart, O God thou wilt not despise.* Moreover, these words of the same Prophet declare, that as soon as we have conceived contrition in our spirits, the remission of sins is granted to us of God. I have said, I will confess mine iniquity against myself, and thou hast forgiven the iniquity of my sin. And of that we see a figure in the ten leprous men, who being sent by Christ unto the Priests, were delivered from the leprose before they came to them. Whereby one may perceive that the vertue of true contrition is such, that thereby we presently or immediately receive the remission of all our sins. So then, when the truly contrite sinner comes to a Priest, his sins are already forgiven: And if that Priest giveth him Absolution, that Priest shall do a thing already done, and shall give a sentence in authority of a Judge, about a thing that God hath judged already. And if a man truly contrite, and whom God hath already pardoned, come to confess himself to a Priest that saith to him, *Absolve* te, &c. but without an intention of giving absolution, what will become of the sentence of the Council of *Trent*, whereby such a man is forbidden to believe that God hath forgiven him his sins? For God having already forgiven the sinner before he confess himself to the Priest, shall the impiety and prophane spirit of that Priest alter the will of God, or make God to revoke the pardon which he had granted before? Shall Gods charitate perfectam esse contingat hominemque Deo reconciliare priusquam hoc Sacramentum actu suscipiatur.

B b b b 2

goodness

(q) *Christus instituit sacerdotes iudices super terram cum ea potestate ut sine ipsorum sententia nemo post Baptismum lapsus reconciliari possit.* (r) *Conc. Trid. Sess. 14. c. 6. Atque ideo non debet pariter ad si de suis ipsius fide blaudiri, ut etiam si multa illi ad sit contritio aut sacerdoti animus serio agendi & verè absolventi detur, puet tamen se propter suam fidem verè & coram Deo esse absolutum.* (s) *Conc. Trid. c. de Sacram. penitentiae. Neque veniam peccatorum à Domino impetramus, nisi ea Penitentiae Sacramentum per confessionem delect.* (t) *Bell. l. 3. de Poenit. c. 2. Negatur remissio illis, quibus noluerint sacerdotes remittere.* (u) *Ut flatus extinguit ignem & dissipat nebulas, &c.* (x) *Act. 10. 43.* (y) *Conc. Sess. 14. c. 4. Et si contritionem hanc aliquando*

goodness be made subject unto the wickedness of men? Can his grace already granted to a faithful soul, be made void by the perverseness of a wicked Confessor?

In vain to establish the necessity of that penitential absolution, these words are alleadged, *Whose soever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted*: For hence it follows not, that all the sins which Priests shall not forgive, shall not be forgiven. If I say, that all those whom the King hath condemned to death are dead, doth it follow that none of those whom he did not condemn are dead? Besides, we have proved, that the pardon of which Christ speaks in that text is not the Sacramental absolution, nor a judicial act or sentence of a Judge absolving sinners before Gods judicial seat: That belongeth to none but God, for the reasons which we will shew in the following Chapter.

CHAP. 2.

What is that pardon of sin which the Pastors of the Church grant, and how far their power to forgive sin extends. And of the power of the Keyes.

OUR Saviour Jesus having given to his Disciples the power to forgive sins, who so teacheth that this grace is dead with the Apostles, thereby deprives the Church of the following ages (as far as in him lyeth) of a great comfort, and enervates altogether the Ministry of the Gospel. God indeed gave to his Apostles the gift of Miracles, and an universal power not restrained to a particular Church, in which power they had no successors. But as for the graces which serve to give peace unto the Conscience, and to reconcile sinners with God, and to maintain the Church in good order, they ought to be perpetual, and the Apostles did not receive them but to transmit them unto posterity. For God intends no less in this time, then in the Apostles time, the salvation and conversion of his Elect: And God put not the Keyes of the Kingdom of heaven in the hands of the Pastors of his Church, to take them out of their hands soon after. The miracles made by the Apostles in the birth of the Church, serve us yet to this day, and are so many confirmations of the doctrine of the Gospel; Therefore it is not necessary that the Apostles should have successors in that vertue. But as for the power of forgiving sins, if the Apostles alone had had that power, the Church of the following ages should thereby receive no benefit, because the pardon of sins is a personal grace, which every private person hath need to apply unto himself, and which comes not by succession: It being certain, that by the remission of sins which the Apostles granted to men of their time, the sins of men of our time are not pardoned.

But as we ought to be careful keepers and good husbands of the graces of God, which he would have to be perpetual unto his Church, so ought we to take heed that they be not abused in our keeping, and that this power be not changed into tyrannie, or into an occasion of pride and dishonest gain. Lest then we fall into that contrary extremity, it is necessary to know what the power of Pastors is to forgive sins, and what limits God hath set to it in his Word.

Christ said unto Peter, and in his person to all the Apostles, *Matth. 16. 19. I will give unto thee the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. Of which promise expresseth in the future-tense, the fulfilling is found in the fore-alleadged Text, John 20. 23. where Christ gives to his Disciples the power of remitting and retaining sins. In which power the use of the Keyes, about which we now dispute, consisteth. What those Keyes are, and what their nature is, the Word of God teacheth us.*

Scripture speaks of two sorts of Keyes, the one the Key of knowledge, the other

other the Key of Authority or Government. Of the Key of Knowledge, Christ speaketh, *Luke 11. 52.* saying, *Wo unto you Lawyers, for ye have taken away the Key of Knowledge*; meaning that they had taken away that Key of Knowledge from the people, challenging to themselves the office of opening the intelligence of Scriptures, and to bring others into it. Of the Key of Authority, God speaks, *Isa. 22. 22.* where God promiseth to *Eliakim* to lay the Key of the house of David upon his shoulder, that is, to charge him with the Government of the Kings house. Which is applied to Christ, *Rev. 3. 17.* where himself saith, that he hath the Key of David, and it is he that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth; because he hath in his hand the Government of the Church of God.

According to these two significations of the word Key, Christ hath givento his Apostles two sorts of Keyes, the Key of Knowledge to open the entry of Scriptures, and bring the people into the true knowledge of God: And the Key of Authority to govern the Church, which in the New Testament is commonly called (a) the Kingdom of God, and the Kingdom of heaven; for it were unreasonable thereby to understand the heavenly Paradise, whose government belongs not to the Pastors of the Church, although the last Council of *Lateran* in the X. Session, say by the mouth of an Archbishop, that (b) the Pope hath all power over all the powers of heaven and earth; and that *Bernard* said very well, speaking to Pope *Eugenius*, *All power is given thee in heaven and in earth: For (saith he) he that saith all, excludeth nothing.*

It doth not belong to the Pastors of the Church to bring souls into Paradise, or to exclude them from it. This belongs to God only, who before we were born, yea before the Creation of the world, defined in his counsel who are those whom he will save by pardoning their sins, and who are those whom he will not pardon. They shall be judged in the last day, as they shall be found written in the Book of life, not according to the sentences and judgements of Absolution that have been pronounced by the Priest. He that will bring those sentences for his Apology in Gods judgement, saying, *I have indeed committed such and such sins, but my Parson hath absolved me, and although I be none of thine elect, I must be saved nevertheless, for my Parson hath given me Absolution*; such a man, I say, shall find himself ill grounded. And the Parson himself who hath forgiven another, giving Absolution in quality of a Judge, shall have enough to do to get Absolution for himself in Gods judgement.

These words then, whereby Christ promiseth to his Apostles the Keyes of the Kingdom of heaven, are as much as if he said to them, *I will give you the Government of my Church.* Which government Pastors exercise two wayes; By the preaching of the Gospel, the Scepter of that Spiritual Kingdom, which is the Church of God; and by Ecclesiastical discipline.

These two wayes they remit and retain sins. For, as for the preaching of the Word, they announce unto the penitent sinners the remission of their sins, and to the unbelievers and impenitent, condemnation; not as a private person should do, but as persons purposely sent by Christ to announce the good news of Gods reconciliation with authority, as Heralds of Grace, and as (c) Embassadors for Christ, to whose word Christ himself giveth efficacy, using them to touch the hearts with repentance, and powerfully to print in their soul the sense of their reconciliation, and the certainty of the remission of their sins. In that sense they do not pronounce sentences in authority of Judges, but are Heralds of peace, and Ministers of reconciliation. Wherefore also their charge is called by the Apostle the ministry of reconciliation. *2 Cor. 5. 18.* *All things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself in Christ, and hath given unto us the Ministry of reconciliation.* In that respect then their charge is a Ministry, not a Judicature to judge the causes depending between God and men, in authority of Judges. Their Office is a Ministry of reconciliation, not a Judicature of absolution. Wherefore in the next verse, their word is called, *a word of reconciliation*; and the bearers of that word are called, not Judges in Christs cause, but Embassadors for Christ, that exhort and beseech men to receive the reconciliation with God by Jesus Christ.

(a) Matth. 3. 2. And 11. 32. & 13. 11. 24. 31 33. 32. & 20. 43. & 23. 13. and in many other places.
(b) Quapropter Bernardus ad Eugenium tanquam ad summum Hierarchicum in celo Ecclesia vivum, in quo erat omnis potestas supra omnes potestates tam celi quam terre, recte scripserat; Tibi data est omnis potestas, in qua qui totum dicit nihil excludit.

(c) 2 Cor. 5. 20.

Christ. We are (saith the Apostle) *Embassadors for Christ*, as if God did beseech you by us, we beseech you in Christs stead, be ye reconciled to God.

But that Embassie is adrest as well to the Infidels and not baptized persons, as to the faithful, seeing that unto all alike the Apostles propound the remission of their sins, that remission cannot be a Sacrament of Penitence, which the Roman Church conferreth only upon baptized persons, nor an act of Judicature, but is a Ministry of reconciliation. Yet as the Word of God saith, that faithful Ministers save souls, (as we have proved) because God makes use of their Ministry to save them, so they pardon sins, in as much as God employeth them, and makes use of them to announce and conferr pardon upon sinners. Make no doubt but that when a faithful Pastor having heard the confession of a repenting sinner, or comforted a sick person, saith to him, *I announce thee the remission of thy sins by Jesus Christ*; or, *I declare unto thee that thy sins are forgiven thee*; these words are very effectual towards a repenting sinner, and are powerful to strengthen his faith in the assurance of the remission of his sins, although these words be no sentence of absolution.

The like cannot be said of the second point, wherein the power of the Keyes consisteth, which is the government of the Church by Ecclesiastical discipline, whereby they punish sins in quality of Judges, by censures, suspensions, and excommunications, and remit sins by releasing those pains, and reconciling the sinner unto the Church, and receiving him to the Communion. It is easie to comprehend how far that Judicature extends. For every Judge pronounceth judgements, imposeth punishments, granteth graces, according to the nature of his charge. A Judge that sits upon life and death, judgeth not causes that are meerly civil. A secular Judge judgeth not of spiritual causes, nor of the decisions of faith. A Judge meerly spiritual, ought not to judge of pecuniary or criminal causes. In a word, every Judge, unless he be Sovereign, hath certain limits which his Judicature must not exceed. Now the Office of Pastors is to govern the Church in this world. Whence it follows, that the judgements which they pronounce, and the punishments which they impose upon the sinner in quality of Judges, are punishments which go not beyond the present life; and reach not so far as to give order that he be either in Paradise or in Hell after this life. They cannot give sentence that mens sins be pardoned in the day of Judgement. That would be giving Laws to God. It is true that God punisheth, even after this life, such as despise the judgement of the Pastors of the Church, and shake off the yoke of Discipline: But that punishment after this life, is done, not by the judgement or sentence of Pastors, but by the Judgement of God avenging the contempt of the order which he constituted in his Church.

Besides, a Judge cannot remit any pains, but such as he can impose. For the saying of *Ambrose* in the first book of Penitence is most true, (d) that the power of binding and the power of loosing are equal, and extend the one as far as the other. *God would have the right of loosing and that of binding to be equal. He permitted both upon the like condition. That man then who hath not the right of loosing hath not the right of binding, &c.* Since then Pastors cannot impose the pain of damnation upon any man, but only pains of Ecclesiastical censures, it appears also, that the pardon of sins which they may grant as Judges, exceeds not the release or remission of pains, and Ecclesiastical censures. It is so that Pastors as far as in them lyeth, and as much as sins and sinners are in their jurisdiction, pardon sins. For pardoning sins, is nothing else then not to punish them, when he that pardoneth hath the power to punish. The Judge cannot exempt the guilty from any punishment, but that which he may inflict by vertue of his Office. It is in that sense that Saint *Paul* adviseth the *Corinthians* to forgive the incestuous man whom they had cut off from the Communion of the Church, and himself joyning with them, forgiveth him also, 2 *Cor.* 2. 7. & 10. Which he doth not to absolve him before Gods judicial seat, but presupposing that God had accepted his repentance, and had pardoned him, he voteth that the Church also forgive him the Ecclesiastical punishment, receiving him to the Communion. Yea private persons

(d) Amb.
de penit.
l. 1. c. 2.
Dominus par-
ius & sol-
vendi esse
voluit & li-
gandi, qui
utrumque
pari condi-
tione permisit,
ergo qui sol-
vendi ius
non habet, &
ligandi non
habet.

persons will forgive offences one to another, not meaning thereby to prejudicate the judgement of God, but only remitting the revenge, and declaring that they will not return any punishment for it. Such remissions of sins done by the Pastors, and the opposite retentions when they are just, are approved of God, and ratified in his Counsel; Which is Christs meaning when he saith, that, Whatsoever shall be bound in earth by the Pastors of the Church, shall be bound in heaven; that is, the suspensions and excommunications wherewith Pastors shall justly bind sinners, shall be ratified in heaven, and such men shall be held justly bound with Ecclesiastical bonds and censures. And though the Ecclesiastical censure were unjust, and not hurtful at all to the excommunicated person as for the conscience, yet the Lord will have him to undergo that Ecclesiastical punishment, rather then to run into contumacy, and to thrust himself by force or tumult to the holy Communion.

The summary of this discourse is, that as for the announcing of grace by the Gospel, either propounded in publike, or applyed to some particularly, Pastors do not forgive sins as Judges, and exercise no Judicature, but pardon, in as much as God announceth and conferreth remission of sins by their means, and printeth in their hearts the certainty of pardon through their word. But as for the Ecclesiastical censures, whereby they remit or retain sins, they are truly Judges, and truly pardon sins, with a pardon which extends but as far as the punishments do which they can impose. They pardon sins as Judges, as for the Ecclesiastical pains: For God alone is the Judge of Consciences, and no man can by judicial absolution exempt a soul from answering at the Bar of Gods judgement, or by vertue of his judicial absolution, blot out his sins before God. Which will yet more clearly appear by the following proofs.

CHAP. 3.

That the Pastors of the Church cannot blot out sins before God. And cannot by pardoning sins exempt sinners from Gods judgement. And that unto God alone, as the only Judge of souls and consciences, it belongeth to forgive sins. And that the absolution of the Priests of the Roman Church is void and of no vertue.

IN this question we take remission of sins not for the remission of Ecclesiastical censures and penances, but in the sense that remission of sins is taken in the Creed, and in the sense that it is commonly taken in the Gospel, which (a) promiserth remission of sins to them that believe in Christ, so that God holds them for acquitted, there being no condemnation for them that are in Christ Jesus. In that sense we affirm and maintain, that none but God alone can forgive our sins with judicial authority. I say not only that he is the only Sovereign Judge, but absolutely that he is the only Judge, and that to forgive sins by authority of a Judge, there is no Judge neither with him nor under him, and that the Pastors of the Church are not inferiour Judges subordinated unto God to pardon sins by a judicial absolution. In word, that the judgement concerning remission of sins whereby we are absolved in Gods judicial seat, doth not belong to them in any respect. And we reject the doctrine of the Roman Church, (b) that God doth not forgive sins committed after Baptism, unless the Priest forgive them, (c) and that they to whom heaven is shut up by reason of their sin, cannot enter into it, unless the Priest open heaven unto them: (d) And that God forgiveth not those whom the Priest will not forgive.

(a) Isa.
43. 25.
Jer. 31. 34.
Mal. 3. 17.
Mic. 7. 18.

(b) Bell.
l. 3. de
penit. cap. 2.
Christus in-
stituit Sacer-
dotes judices
super terram
cum ea po-

testate ut sine ipsorum sententia nemo post Baptismum lapsus possit reconciliari. (c) Et eodem capite. Nemo cui calum ob culpam sit clausum, in illud ingredi poterit, nisi Sacerdotum ministerio aperiat. (d) Et paulo post. Negatur remissio illis, quibus noluerint Sacerdotes remittere.

1. The

(c) Mark 2. 7. because he forgave sins, (e) saying, *Why doth this man thus speak blasphemies? Who can forgive sins but God only?* Whereupon Christ doth not find fault with them for believing that it belonged to God alone to forgive sins, but presently by an excellent miracle he sets forth his divine vertue before them, that they might acknowledge that by the same vertue he could also forgive sins.

Luke 7. 21.
Psalm 51. 6.

II. To God alone God commanded us to say, *Pardon us our trespasses.* To God David said, *Against thee, thee only have I sinned*, acknowledging that to God alone he ought to address himself to obtain pardon. It belongs to the offended party to pardon, not to him against whom the offence was not done. Of him speaks Micah, chap. 7. 18. *Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by transgression?* God himself speaks thus by Isaiah, ch. 43. 25. *I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins.* He is that heavenly and mercifull Father, who exalted Jesus by his right hand to be a Prince, and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins, Acts 5. 31. Which Son of God hath the key of David, he openeth and no man shutteth, he shutteth and no man openeth, Rev. 3. 7. that none may take upon himself to open with him, or without him the door of the kingdom of heaven.

(f) Bellarm.
l. 1. de poenit.
cap. 11.
*Non fuit in
Testamento
Veteri possetas
remittendi
peccata.*

III. Our Adversaries (f) acknowledge that under the old Testament, and for the space of four thousand years before Christs coming, the power of forgiving sins was not in the Church, yet the godly without that were saved. Whence it follows that this judicial remission by the Priest was not necessary, and that by the doctrine of the Roman Church the condition of the Church of the New Testament is grown worse, since in those dayes God did immediately forgive, but now the remission of sins must pass through the hands of the Priests, and they are made Judges between God and man. Of these Judges the judgements many times are unjust, as our Adversaries acknowledge. Shall we say that remission of sins is now better, because it depends no more from God alone?

IV. This practice is so evidently unjust, that even in the Roman Church, where the people is used to go to the Priests and ask them Absolution, if they that speak so, spake in right French or English terms, and said to them, *Father forgive me my sins*, that would be odious, and intolerable.

V. Who knows not, that it belongs to the only sovereign Judge, to forgive crimes? and that the Highest Courts of Justice (though they judge without appeal) give no letters of grace or abolition to a fellow, because it belongs only to the Royal power? How comes it to pass then, that the Priests, who are infinitely more under God then the Highest Courts are under the King, make bold to attribute to themselves the power of forgiving sins, and give absolution to traitors against God? and to grant pardons which cannot be given but by the Judge of souls, which is the Sovereign Judge?

VI. Neither is it for subjects to pardon sins committed against the Sovereign. It belongs not to a domestick servant to forgive his fellow servant, the offences against their common Master.

VII. Much less yet ought a traitor in the Gaol to pardon the offences of his fellow-traitor against the King. How can then a sinner, who stands in need of pardon, yea, who often is a greater sinner then the man to whom he giveth absolution, forgive the sins committed against the eternal God?

VIII. And whereas Gods decrees are eternal, and Gods Counsel-order for the remitting of such a mans sins, as well as the Decree about his election, is before the foundation of the world, can a Priest retaining a mans sins and denying to give him absolution, alter the order of Gods Counsel? Or if he give him absolution, to what purpose doth he give a judicial sentence upon a case decided before all ages? And how doth the Priest know whether his judgement be conformable unto Gods decree? and whether he absolveth a man whom God hath reprobated? Especially seeing that the Priest himself doubteth

of

of his own ſalvation? Why doth the Priſt require of the penitent firmly to believe that he hath pardoned him his ſins, whereas himſelf knows not whether God hath forgiven him?

IX. Above all things it is conſiderable, that pardoning ſins like a Judge, cannot belong but to him that is Judge of conſciences, and knoweth the ſecrets of thoughts, intentions, and private affections, and the nature and grievouſneſs of the fact. For to give right judgement of a crime, the Judge ought to know the nature and the greatneſs of the ſame. Now the things that aggravate or diminith ſin are the thoughts, and intentions, and ſecret deſires. The principal part of the ſin is in the will and thought. Yea, very often the whole ſin is in the thought, and in the evil deſire, as when want of ſtrength and confidence keeps the intention from coming forth into action. Since then the Priſt ſeeth nothing in all theſe, and knoweth not the hearts, it is plain that he is incapable of judging of ſins, or to know the grievouſneſs or the nature of ſin. And it is certain, that if God had eſtabliſht ſome Judge on earth to forgive ſins, he would alſo have given him the knowledge of the hearts of thoſe that aſk pardon. For God who decreeth the end, gives alſo juſt and neceſſary means to attain it.

X. It is neceſſary alſo that he that hath authority to forgive ſins be Judge of ſouls, and have them in his power, and be able to puniſh ſouls, which are ſpiritual and immortal, with puniſhments conformable unto their nature, that is, with ſpiritual and eternal pains, and to give graces and abſolutions accordingly. That being not in the Priſts or the Popes power, it is evident that they cannot pronounce a ſentence either for or againſt ſouls, by pardoning or retaining their ſins. Which appeareth by the nature of the pains which they impoſe, as pilgrimages, faſts, whipping, and pecuniary mulcts. By theſe pains do they not confeſs that they have ſouls in their power? for all theſe are corporal pains. Why then in matter of grace and remiſſion do they pretend to give ſpiritual graces? Why doth their power of looſing extend further then their power of binding? ſeeing that thoſe two things muſt be equal, and have the ſame limits, as St. Ambroſe told us before.

Note.

XI. As granting letters of grace to a fellow guilty of death, is giving him his life, likewise pardoning a man his ſins, for which he deſerveth to be damned, is giving him ſalvation. If then the Priſt give abſolution to a man, and the pardon of all his ſins, he gives him life and ſalvation, eſpecially when he gives him abſolution on his death bed. And Bellarmine makes bold to ſay, that (g) the Pope remitteth both the fault and the eternal pain. Now is it not manifeſt impiety to think that a Priſt can give ſalvation, and pronounce a judgement whereby a man may be exempted from going into Hell? And how can one give ſalvation to another, being not certain of his own? Why do we not rather give glory to God, ſaying, that the Paſtor announceth unto the dying ſinner the remiſſion of his ſins by Jeſus Chriſt? and that if the repenting ſinner believeth that, God will forgive him for Chriſts ſake? and that there is no need that the Priſt pronounce a judgement, and by a judicial power give a ſentence of abſolution, to free the ſinner from Gods judgement? It being certain that God can forgive without the Priſt, and that the Priſt cannot forgive without God, who is not bound to follow the Priſts ſentence, and make his own ſentence void.

(g) Bell. 2. l. de Indulg. c. 11. §. Quinta. Pontifex remittit culpam & poenam aeternam.

XII. I know that Priſts giving abſolution, pretend to uſe the authority which they affirm they have from God. But every man knoweth how eaſily one may inroach upon Gods authority under that colour. They that uſurp the Kings rights uſe to ſhelter themſelves under the Kings authority, and doing things contrary to the Kings intereſt, and diſpleaſing to him, ſay nevertheleſs that all they do is for his ſervice. Muſt we abſolutely believe the Priſts without enquiring further, ſeeing that the pardon of ſins, is ſo lucrative unto them, and raiſeth their authority ſo high?

XIII. Wherefore alſo it ſhall not be found that any Apoſtle, or any Pa-

stor of the Church in the time of the Apostles ever used that power, or that ever they said to a sinner not suspended or excommunicated, *I pardon thee thy sins*. It is a new abuse and a corruption of which no example is found in all Antiquity. For as for the suspended and excommunicated sinners, the Pastors forgive them in quality of Judges, only as for the remission of Ecclesiastical pain, as Saint Paul, and the Corinthians did to the incestuous excommunicated man.

XIV. To this add that the power of Pastors extends only unto their flock, and by consequent both the graces and pardons which they grant, and the pains which they impose upon sinners, can last no longer then the said sinners belong unto their flock. Now the Priest giving absolution to a dying man pretends to give him a grace, not for this life, but for the future, for it as if he pronounced a sentence that such a man be happy after his death. And indeed the Pope pardons sins after death, forgiving the souls that are in Purgatory, yea reconciling excommunicated persons after their death, as we shall see hereafter. By this means he exerciseth the power of the keyes over those whom God hath not committed to his keeping, and that are not of his flock. He looseth those whom he cannot bind.

XV. The worst is, that by this doctrine men are set above God. For sin is that which puts a discord between God and man. In which discord the parties are God and man. In that suit, Priests bear themselves as Judges, as Cardinal Bellarmine saith, (h) *Sins are suits which we have with God, and therefore since God hath permitted the judgement of sins in the Church unto Priests, they that are in the Church, if they have such suits, cannot be reconciled unto God without the judgement of Priests*. These men make God their suitor in a manner, since the Priest is a Judge in Gods cause, and that God and man are parties in a suit, whereof the Priest is Judge. Truly whoso will look near hand into that judicial absolution, shall find it a sentence deciding how God ought to behave himself with the sinner; As if the Priest said to the sinner, *I give order that God forgive thee*. For his absolution cannot otherwise be the sentence of a Judge, nor a Judicial act, as M. du Perron calls it. I wish that our Adversaries would tell us whether the Priest giving absolution giveth a sentence that God should pardon, or declareth only that God hath forgiven? For if he enjoyne God to pardon, he is above God, and giveth him Laws. But if he only declareth that God hath pardoned, his absolution is not an action of a Judge, nor a Judicial sentence. He that saith *God forgive thee*, by these words giveth no pardon, or absolution. And he that declareth to a sinner that God hath forgiven him, must be certain of Gods intention, and of the sinners repentance, and must exactly know the nature of the sin; Things which the Priest knoweth not.

XVI. It must not be omitted that God never pardoneth sin, unless the sinner have a true repentance and contrition of heart, and a true faith in Christ. Things which the Priests know not, and by consequent, know not whether their absolution be valid. And the Priest must speak thus to the sinner, if not in word, at least in thought; *I absolve thee as much as it lyeth in me, and if thou be worthy of it, and if thou hast a true faith, and a serious repentance*. But because I know not whether these virtues be in thee, I know not whether I absolve thee, and whether my absolution be valid. So much the (i) Jesuite Maldonat freely acknowledgeth, saying that the Priest must say within himself, *I absolve thee as much as it lyeth in me, or as (k) Suarez saith, that the Priest pardoneth, unless he that receiveth absolution, put an impediment to it, in which impediment coming out of want of faith and repentance the Priest knoweth nothing*.

(l) Cardinal Tolet saith, that three conditions may be added to the absolution. The one is for the time past, saying, *If thou hast done this, I absolve thee*. The second is for the present time, *If it be so, I absolve thee*. The third is for the time to come, *If thou do this, I absolve thee*. He addeth a fourth if, when that depends

(h) Bellar.
l. 3. de poenit.
c. 2. Peccata
omnia cause
sunt, quas
cum Deo ipso
habemus. Et
ideo cum Deus
judicium
de peccatis
Sacerdotibus
permiserit in
Ecclesia sua,
non possunt
qui in Ecclesia
sunt, sine
sacerdotum
judicio cum
Deo reconcili-
ari.

(i) Maldon.
Tom. 2. de
poen. par. 3.
thes. 5.
Quantum
in me est, ego
te absolvo
(k) Suarez.
in Thom. tom.
4. disput. 19.
sect. 1. n. 20.

(l) Tolet. l. 3.
de instruct.
sacerdotum
cap. 12.

Triplex condi-
tio potest
ad poni absolu-
tioni, una est
de preterito,
ut si fecisti
hoc, ego te
absolvo. Altera
est de
presenti, ut si
ita est, ego te
absolvo. Tertia
de futuro,
ut ego te
absolvo, si hoc
feceris.

depends on a third person, I absolve thee, if the Bishop consent to it. If one of these *ifs* fail, the sinner must know that there is no absolution for him. Reason ought to put in another *if* for God, saying, I absolve thee, if God will have it, and if he know thee to be worthy of absolution; or if God approve thy repentance. But these Gentlemen presuppose that God will like whatsoever they like, and will acquiesce in their judgement. Is not a judgement thereby made ridiculous, and the judicial power imaginary; if the Judge must not know whether his judgement be valid, and if he pardon with an *if*, and with a condition upon which his judgement is suspended? as if he said, *I forgive thee if thou art not an hypocrite, but if thou art an hypocrite, I forgive thee not: But whether thou art an hypocrite or no, I cannot discern.* This is acknowledged by Hierom, (m) saying, *It is rashly done of them that boldly promise pardon unto sinners.* And by Basil, (n) *The power of forgiving is not given absolutely.* And by Cyprian, (o) *If any deceive us by a false shew of repentance, let God who cannot be mocked, and looks into the heart of man, be pleased to judge of those things which we did not perceive, and let the Master be pleased to correct the sentence of his servants.* In these places Basil and Cyprian speak of the reconciliation of sinners with the Church after publick penitence. For of a Sacrament of Penitence, and of a judicial absolution given in secret unto a sinner, there was no mention made in those dayes, neither was it known as yet.

Whereupon the words of the Treatise of exhortation to penitence in the first Tome of Ambrose, are observable. There the Author speaks thus of those that being in a mortal sickness do repent, and are reconciled, that is, admitted to the Communion. (p) *He that being put to an extreame necessity of sickness hath received penitence, and was presently reconciled, and so goeth away, that is, goeth out of this body, I confess that we deny him not what he asketh, but together I do not presume to say, that he goeth hence well and happily. I presume not so far, I say it not, I will not deceive you or cosen you. I will promise you no such thing. The faithfull that liveth well, is he that goeth out of this life with assurance.* The effect of that discourse is, that he doubts very much whether he that being sick calls his Pastor, protesting of his contrition and confesseth his sins, and upon that is reconciled (his Pastor announcing to him the remission of his sins) and is received to the Communion of the holy Sacrament, he doubts (saith he) whether such a one is saved, and whether his sins be pardoned: Whence the Author draweth an exhortation to live well betimes, rather then to trust in such a reconciliation. But the Priests of the Roman Church in our dayes, speak quite another language; If in a mans sickness a Priest being called, heareth the sick mans confession, and giveth him absolution of all his sins, giving him the host to eat: It is presumed that such a mans sins are truly pardoned, and that he is going, not into Hell, but to Purgatory, or to Paradise.

XVII. If the sinner be truly penitent, God in his word promiseth to pardon him. But unless he repent, God will not pardon him. So then, if the sinner repent and be converted with all his heart, God will forgive him, though the Priest, yea, though the Pope himself would obstinately deny him pardon. But if he have no true repentance, God will not forgive him, though he had received a thousand absolutions. Wherefore I see not what good that judicial absolution doth, since God forgiveth without it, and punisheth and damneth with it.

XVIII. It is certain as we have proved it, and as the Council of Trent, and the Catechism of the same Council heretofore alleadged do acknowledge it, that the man who is truly contrite hath already obtained of God the remission of his sins, before he receive sacramental absolution. So that the Priest giving absolution, forgiveth sins already pardoned, and giveth judgement in a suit already judged. Hereby Cardinal Bellarmine error (q) is laid open, when he saith that the Priest giving absolution, judgeth a suit between God and the sinner, for if God before

(m) Hier. in c. 4. Danielis. Rem temerariam faciunt qui audacter peccatoribus indulgentiam pollicentur.

(n) Basil. regular. breviorum Interrog. 15. n. 2. Si vero nos aliquis penitentia simulatione deluserit, Deus qui non decideret, & qui cor hominis intuetur de his que nos minus perspeximus judicet, & servorum sententiam Dominus emendat.

(o) Cyprian. Ep. ad Antonianum Sect. 11.

(p) Tract. de exhort. ad penit. Tom. 1. operum Amb. Qui postius in ultima necessitate agnitiois sue accepit penitentiam, & mox reconciliatus fuerit, & vadit id est exit de corpore, fateor vobis non illi negamus quod petit, sed non presumo dicere quid bene hinc exit. Non presumo, non polliceor, non

vos fallo, non vos decipio, non vobis promitto. Fidelis bene vivens securus hinc exit. (q) Bellar. lib. 3. de penit. cap. 2.

that sacramental absolution, hath already pardoned, and received the sinner into grace, there is no more difference, and no more suit to Judge.

XIX. As then under the Law the leprous being healed and clean, were sent to the Priest to be declared clean, not to be cleansed: Likewise the sinner already reconciled unto God by faith in Christ, and by true contrition, comes not to his Pastor to receive pardon, nor to be reconciled unto God, but that his reconciliation and repentance may be made known unto the Church, and that he may be confirmed, in confidence that God hath forgiven him. And as Christ raised *Lazarus* from the dead before he said, *Loose him and let him go*, likewise God regenerateth and quickneth sinners, before they be loosed by the Pastors from the bonds of Ecclesiastical censures.

(r) Toler.

l. 2. Instruct.

Sacerd. c. 63.

Non est

opus cum

cui virilia

abscissa sunt

secum in

pulverem

redacta aut

sicca portare,

ut vulgares

putant

(f) Navar.

Tom. 2. In

caput ad

inferendam.

23. qu. 3. De

defensione

proximi.

Sect. 37. Edit.

Col. p. 255.

Responden-

dum est, Sodo-

miae crimen

non compre-

hendi; Primo

quia sicut

dictum est

supra, irregu-

laritas nisi ob

casus à jure

expressos non

incurritur, ex

quorum nu-

mero hic non

est, &c.

Tertio quia

parum refert

illud crimen

esse gravissi-

imum spurcis-

simum &

maxime dete-

stabile, cum

maius sit

hæresis menta-

lis 22. 22 q.

11. Art. 3.

Et maius de-

speratio, &c.

quorum tamen

nullum irre-

gularitatem

inducit.

XX. In vain it is replied that God forgiveth a contrite sinner before he hath the absolution of the Priest, and that this hinders not but that the contrite sinner must have a vow in his heart to ask the Priests absolution. For he that makes that vow should offend God, if he did it with an intention to receive the pardon of sins which God hath already forgiven. A man that seriously repents, and believeth that God hath forgiven him, may and must make a vow to obey God, to hear his word, and to be partaker of his Sacraments, but must not make a vow to ask of the Priest pardon of those sins which he believeth that God hath already forgiven him. If for his sins he was excluded from the communion of the Church, he must seek his reconciliation with the Church, that he may glorifie God, and edifie his neighbours, although he be fully perswaded that God is reconciled with him. But who so believeth that God hath forgiven him all his sins, and looks besides for an absolution from the same sins by the judicial sentence of a man, brings the grace of God in question, and asketh for a sentence in a suit already judged. He expects of the Priest a judgement which is not in the Priests power, and attributes unto him a power which he hath not received of God.

XXI. But how shall the penitent that receiveth the Priests absolution, be sure that by this Sacramental absolution his sins are forgiven, since the Roman Church believeth that the Sacraments are void, and confer no grace, unless the Priest hath an intention to confer them, and to do that which the Church doth? That intention is probably presumed, and by a likely conjecture; so that it is a presumptive and conjectural absolution. It is an absolution that must be guessed at, an absolution which is believed, because a man will believe it. Truly here there is great reason of doubting, if I understand the world, and how we live in an age swarming with Atheists, there being many Priests that believe nothing of that they do, whether they laugh in their sleeve at all Religion, or whether they know the truth of Religion and the abuses of Popery, but are kept in it by fear. Such men when they give absolution have their heart somewhere else, and detest in their soul their own actions.

XXII. Another scruple troubleth the consciences, and makes sinners uncertain about the absolution which they have received. For all the actions of a Priest fallen into irregularity are invalid, because by the Laws of the Roman Church they are forbidden to exercise their charge. In the Roman Church they call irregularity an inability to receive orders, or to exercise them when they have received them. By the Laws of the Roman Church a man becomes irregular for drinking no wine; for loosing one of the fingers which serve for handling the Host, and making the sign of the Cross: For killing a man, or cutting off a mans limbs. Many hold (r) that a gelded man is not irregular if he carry about him the parts that are wanting to him, dried or beaten to powder. Also a Priest falls to irregularity if he marry, not if he keep concubines. He becomes not irregular nor unable for the Priesthood if he commit Sodomie, as (f) *Navarrus* a famous Doctor teacheth at large; The reason is, that be the vice never so detestable, yet the heresie conceived in the mind, and despair are more horrible crimes, which nevertheless bring no irregularity; Which he proveth by the authority of *Thomas*. These things being so,

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how shall he that receiveth absolution know, whether the Priest that giveth it hath some defect in his body, or whether he hath committed any crime that made him irregular? for if it be so, the absolution is void and without effect.

XXIII. The Council of *Trent* in the fourteenth Session, chap. 6. moveth another difficulty: That it may happen that a Priest, who by absolution remitteth the mortal sins of others, is himself in a mortal sin. (f) Yet that Council declareth that such a Priest hath nevertheless the power of remitting sins, by the virtue of the holy Ghost which was conferred upon him in his ordination. It is true that the power conferred upon the Ministers of the Gospel in their Ordination, is not made void by their sins. But in that assertion they commit two wilful mistakes. The one that they suppose that the Priest hath power given him in his Ordination, to remit sins in foro caelesti; [and that a man cannot be absolved by Gods judgement, unless he be absolved by the Priest:] Of which abuse we have spoken before. The other, that they extend these words of the Ordination, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, beyond the right intent of Christ when he spake them unto his Apostles. He did not bestow upon them at that time all the gifts of the Holy Ghost. The gift of Tongues was not imparted to them before the day of Pentecost: That gift of the Holy Ghost which he gave to his Disciples upon the point of his Ascension, appeareth manifestly by the context to be the Ministerial authority, and is declared to consist in the power of forgiving sins. But there being but few among the people that can or care to distinguish between the authority of the Order, and the quality of the person, few also will believe that a prophane Priest can forgive sins: Especially seeing these two things confounded by the Council of *Trent*, who makes the validity of the absolution to depend upon the intention of the Priest. For who will expect from a prophane Priest that hath not God in his thoughts, that he will apply his mind seriously to absolve a sinner before God?

But the chief consideration is, that by the Ordination which the Bishops confer, they pretend to give unto the Priests a power to do things which the Holy Ghost never commanded or taught. The Bishop constituteth the Priests sacrificers of the body and blood of Christ, of which Priesthood and sacrifice, there is not one word in the Word of God, no more then of the power of forgiving sins with authority of Judges, and of that judicial absolution which the Apostles and the ancient Church never practised, and of that indelible character of Priesthood, which remains even in hell, printed by the Bishop in the Ordination, by virtue whereof, Priests sacrifice and give absolution. Now it is not to be believed, that by such an *inordination*, whereby things contrary to the Holy Ghost are enjoined, the Holy Ghost can be conferred.

The second proposition is little more probable: That God approveth that an Atheist, or an incestuous man, or a blasphemers, have the power to forgive Gods children with an authority of a Judge; for to such men St. Peters sentence may be applied, 2 Pet. 2. 19. *While they promise liberty to others, they themselves are the servants of corruption.*

XXIV. Of the weakness of that power to absolve sins with authority of Judges, we have an example in the Pope himself, in whom they make the sovereign power of forgiving sins to subsist, and who hath limited unto Priests and Bishops the cases in which they may forgive sins, reserving to himself an unlimited power, without exception of any case. Yet we see in the first book of the sacred Ceremonies, chap. 2. of the fifteenth Section, that (r) the Pope when he is near his death, calls for his Confessor, and begs of him a full indulgence; and giveth (as Bellarmine (u) saith) power to his Confessor to forgive him all his sins. As if he said to him, *I command thee to forgive me my sins.* He that pardoneth sins unto all the Church, (x) from whom depend the keyes, and the power of absolving, so that Bishops and Priests have no power of absolving, but by a dependance on the Pope. He that giveth pardons for millions of years, and fetcheth souls out of Purgatory, yet asketh pardon of him to whom he hath given power to pardon. That Confessor

(f) Docet quoque etiam sacerdotes, qui peccato mortali tenentur, per virtutem Spiritus Sancti in ordinatione callatam tanquam Christi Ministros functionem remittendi peccata exercere.

(r) Pontifex petat à Confessore plenariam indulgentiam.

(u) Bellar. lib. 1. de indulg. c. 6. Sect. Postrema. Papa potest Confessione suo dare potestatem ut se à peccatis absolvat.

(x) Thom. Opusc. de regimine principum lib. 3. cap. 10. num. 20. Oportet dicere in summo Pontifice esse plenitudinem omnium gratiarum, quia ipse solus confert plenam indulgentiam omnium peccatorum. Ut competat sibi quod de primo Principe Dominus dicimus, quia de plenitudine ejus non omnes accipimus.

Pontifice esse plenitudinem omnium gratiarum, quia ipse solus confert plenam indulgentiam omnium peccatorum. Ut competat sibi quod de primo Principe Dominus dicimus, quia de plenitudine ejus non omnes accipimus.

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who hath his part in the Popes Pardons and Indulgences, forgiveth the Pope who hath forgiven him: So they forgive one another, nor the offences of the one to the other, but the offences which both have committed against God. By this means they are tossing remission of sins between them like a Tennis-ball, and the world may believe that God approveth that, and ratifieth it in his Counsel. Certainly these men play a pageant among themselves, even till death.

How far the Pope may relye upon that absolution, and that plenary indulgence which he received from his Confessor in the point of death, it appeareth by all the Masses which are sung at Rome for the Popes soul immediately after he hath given up the Ghost. (y) On the first day of his obsequies two hundred Masses are sung, and on the ninth day as many. And all the prayers said in those obsequies, pray for a soul that trembled for fear of Hell, and eternal damnation.

Now although all these proofs were as weak as they are strong and evident, and though God had given indeed power to the Pastors of the Church to forgive sins as Judges, yet the Roman Church had lost that right long ago, having altered the doctrine of the Gospel, and perverted or clipt the benefit of Christs merit, by the merits and satisfactions of men, by the sacrifice of the Mass, and by the Invocation of Saints, and overthrown the humane nature of Christ by the doctrine of transubstantiation. For the keys given to the Pastors depend upon the Gospel, and cannot be separated from it. To what purpose these keys, if Satan hath altered the locks? To what end that remission of sins, since thereby another kind of grace is offered unto us, then that which is contained in the Gospel?

CHAP. 4.

Proof of our doctrine by the Antient Fathers; And even by the Roman Church.

Vpon this point the Fathers of the first age are of one mind, for they say all, that there is none but God alone that can forgive sins, and that it is for God only to blot out sins before God, and that it belongs not to Pastors to be Judges in the remission of sins.

Irenæus speaking of the miraculous healing of the man to whom Christ forgave his sins, saith that (a) *The Lord forgiving sins healed a man indeed, but he manifestly shewed what he was. For if no man can forgive sins but God alone, the Lord together forgave them, and healed the men; it is then evident that he was the Word of God, &c.*

Tertullian speaks the same language, (b) *The Jews considering Christ as a man only, and not certain yet that he was God, and not considering him neither as Son of God, did with good reason represent to him, that a man cannot remit sins, but God alone.*

Again, (c) *That only Son of Man of whom it is spoken in Daniels prophecy, who obtained the power of judging, and by consequent of remitting sins.*

And Novatian, (d) *Seeing that it belongeth to none but God to know the se-*

(a) Iren. 5. l. cap. 7. *Peccata remittens hominem quidem curavit, sed ipsum autem manifeste ostendit quis esset. Si enim nemo potest remittere peccata, nisi solus Deus, remittebat hunc autem Dominus & curabat homines, manifestum est, quoniam ipse erat Verbum Dei Filium hominis factum, &c.* (b) Tertul. lib. 4. contra Marcionem: *Judei solummodo hominem ejus intuentes nec dum esse Deum certi — merito retractarent non posse hominem delicta remittere sed Deum solum, &c.* (c) *Uti offenderet eum & hominem qui delicta dimitteret, illum scilicet filium hominis apud Danielis prophetiam consecutum judicandi potestatem ac per eam usque & remittendi peccata.* (d) Novatianus cap. 13. lib. de Trinitate, *Si cum nullus sit nisi Dei veritas nosse secreta, Christus secreta conspiciit cordium: Quod si cum nullus sit nisi Dei, peccata dimittere, idem peccata dimittit, &c. merito Deus est Christus.*

crets of the hearts; if Christ seeth the secrets of the hearts, and seeing that it belongs to none but God alone to forgive sins; If Christ forgiveth sins, &c. Christ is with good reason [called] God.

And Cyprian, (e) Let none cozen himself; Let none deceive himself; there is none but God that can shew mercy. He alone can forgive sins committed against him, who hath carried our sins, who hath felt sorrows for us, whom God delivered for our sins. A man cannot be greater then God, and the servant cannot by his indulgence remit or pardon that which was committed against the Master by a greater sin, lest that this also be added unto the mans sin, besides his crime, Cursed be the man that puts his hope in man.

And Hilary (f) speaking of Christ, None can remit sins but God alone: Wherefore he that remitteth sins is God. God dwelling in man, bestowed healing upon that man.

And Clemens Alexandrinus, (g) That man alone can forgive sins, who is constituted our instructor by the Father of all things.

And Ambrose (h) None remaineth but Jesus that forgiveth sins, &c. He remains alone, because this cannot be common unto Christ with any man. This is the charge of Christ alone, who hath born the sins of the world.

The same in another place, (i) None is without sin but God alone. So none forgiveth sins but God alone: For it is equally written, Who can forgive sins but God only?

Theodore speaks thus of the Hereticks Audiani, (k) By a rash enterprise they give remission of sins. In the same place, (l) They give absolution to them that have confessed themselves; prescribing not a term for penitence, as the Laws of the Church enjoyn, but giving pardon with authority.

Chrysostom (m) Hom. 6. upon the second Epistle to the Corinthians, None can forgive sins but God alone. And Hom. 54. upon John (n) It belongs to none else to forgive sins. And Hom. 40. upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians, (o) It is a thing possible to God alone to forgive sins.

Opratus in the fifth Book against Parmenian, (p) He alone that formed the spirit, can wash the filth and spots of the spirit.

And in the same place, (q) If God promised that, why will ye do that which is not lawful for you to promise, or to give, or to have? Behold God promised in Isaiah, to whiten those that are stained with sin, not to do that by others.

Cyrillus Alexandrinus in the twelfth book upon John, chap. 56. (r) And truly it belongeth to none but the true God to have the power to loose men from their sins. For to whom else is it lawful to deliver the prevaricators of the Law, but to the author of the Law? And in consequence he sheweth how the Apostles forgave sins, namely, that it was the Holy-Ghost abiding in them that forgave sins.

Austin in the twenty third Sermon of the fifty, speaks thus to them that take upon them to forgive sins to others, (s) What art thou O man, but a sick man that must be healed? Wilt thou be my Physician? Seek rather a Physician with me.

(g) Clem. Alex. l. 1. de paedagogo c. 8. ὡς ἔστι θεὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πλημμελήματα, ὡς τὰ πατρὸς ἡμῶν. (h) Donatus peccatum solus remanet Jesus, &c. Solus remanet quia non potest hoc cuiquam hominum cum Christo esse commune ut peccata condonet, solus hoc munus est Christi qui tulit peccatum mundi. Ambros. Ep. 76. ad studium. (i) Id. l. 3. de Sp. S. cap. 29. Peccata nemo condonat nisi unus Deus, quia aequum scriptum est, Quis potest peccata condonare nisi unus Deus? (k) ἔτοι δ' ἀφ' αὐτῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ποιεῖτε ἀνδύσιν. Theodore. lib. 4. de fabulis hæreticorum in Hæresi Audianorum. (l) Ibid. ἔτι τοῖς ὁμολογηκόσι διαρῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὁ χρόνος διεξέχοντος εἰς μετανοίας κατὰ καρδίαν οἱ δ' ἐκκλησίας διαμαρτυροῦντες ποιεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ συγκλήσει. (m) ἔστι δὲ δύναμις ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀμαρτίας εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ θεός. (n) τὸ δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐξέρχεται ἐν τῷ εἶναι. (o) ἀμαρτημάτων δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνος θεὸς δύναται. (p) Sordes & maculas mentis lavare non potest, nisi qui ejusdem fabricator est mentis. (q) Si Deus hoc promissit, quare vos vultis reddere quod vobis nec promittere licet, nec reddere, nec habere? Ecce in Esaiâ promissit Deus inalbare peccatis affectos, non per hominem. (r) Et certe solius veri Dei est ut possit à peccatis solvere. Cui enim alii prævaricatores Legis liberare à peccato licet nisi Legis ipsius Authori? (s) Nam quid es homo, nisi ager sanandus? Vis mihi esse Medicus? Mecum quare Medicum.

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And as for that we were saying, that Pastors are said to do that which God doth by them, and that they administer the graces of God, not as Judges, but as Ministers and Proclaimers of Gods grace; this is also the language of Fathers. *Chrysostom* in the 86. Hom. upon *John*, (t) *What say I, the Priests ? No, not an Angel, nor an Archangel, can do any thing in the things that are given us of God, but Father, Son, and Holy-Ghost dispenseth all. As for the Priest, he lends his tongue unto God, and giveth him his band. And in the second Homily upon the second Epistle to Timothy*, (u) *All comes from the grace of God. To him (that is to the Minister) it belongs only to open his mouth. But it is God that doth all. This doth no more but fulfill the signs.*

And *Ambrose* in the fifth book upon *Luke*, upon the fifth Chapter. (*) *Who is he that can forgive sins but God alone? Who also forgiveth them, by those to whom he hath given power to forgive.* And as for the means whereby he forgiveth, *Hierom* makes an enumeration of them in the sixth book upon *Isaiah*, chap. 4.

(x) Every one is kept bound with the cords of his sins : Which cords and bonds the Apostles also can loose, imitating their Master who told them, *Whatsoever you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.* Now the Apostles loose by the word of God, and by the testimonies of Scriptures, and by exhorting to verine. In all this, neither he nor the other Fathers speak of Sacramental absolution, nor of the authority of Priests to forgive sins with authority of Judges. And whensoever in their Sermons (by oratory amplifications, which are familiar to *Chrysostom*) . they exalt the power given to the Pastors of the Church, they speak either of their power to impose, or to release Ecclesiastical censures, and to exclude the sinner from the Church, or to reconcile him ; or of their power to exhort the Nations to the grace and remission of sins which is propounded in the Gospel.

The antient Church having no other absolution, but that which was done in publick after that the penitence was fulfilled, the custom was, when the Penitent was reconciled unto the Church, and received to the Communion with the imposition of hands of the Bishop, that the whole Church joyned in prayers and humiliation to obtain the grace of God, and the remission of sins for the penitent, as *Tertullian* (y) teacheth in the book of Penitence, in the ninth chapter. And *Sozomenus* (z) in the seventh book, chap. 16. where he relates with how many tears and prayers, the Bishop and the people, with the Penitent, humbled themselves before God to obtain pardon from his mercy. An evident proof that the Bishop did not pronounce any judgement about the remission of sins before God, but did the office of a suitour and suppliant before God, not that of a Judge, but only as for the measure of Ecclesiastical pains, which were regulated by the Ecclesiastical Canons. Of which nevertheless, the shortening was in the Bishops power, and that shortning was called *Indulgence*. A word which in our dayes is taken by a notorious abuse, for a shortening of the pains of Purgatory by the Popes grant, employing for that the superabounding satisfactions of Christ and his Saints, and of the Fryars, which he boasteth to have in his keeping in the Churches treasury, whereof he carryeth the Keyes.

Besides that publick custom, we can bring many examples, to shew that for blotting out sins before God, and reconciling the sinner unto God, the Bishops behaved themselves as suppliants, not as Judges. In *Basil's* life, fathered upon *Amphilochius*, (a) a woman presents her self unto *Basil* to obtain the remission of her sins. To which *Basil* speaks thus, *Didst thou hear, O woman, that none can forgive sins but God? To which that woman answereth, Father I have learned it so, and therefore I made my request to you, that you would intercede unto God for me.* And *Austin* towards the end of the 58. Treatise upon Saint *John's* Gospel, speak-

scripturarum, & exhortatione virtutum. (γ) Presbyteriis aduolui, caris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suae iniungere. (z) ἀναμαρτυροῦν ὃ ἀδικεῖται ἐν ὁμίᾳ τοῦ ἑξαίρετα. τοσοῦτον ἐξουσίαν ὅτι οὐδὲν πᾶσι τῶν ἀδικημάτων πᾶσι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐμπιστευταί. (*) Note the old signification of the word *Indulgence*. (α) Tomo 2. Vita Sancti. ab Aloisio Lipomanno edit. Venet. an. 1553. fol. 298. Vita Patrum ab Her. Kofweido Edit. Antwerp. an. 1615. p. 160.

ing of the pardon of offences which we obtain of men. (b) *It is our part, by his gift, to imploy the Ministry of humility and charity. And it is his part, to hear our prayers, and to cleanse us by Christ, and in Christ, from all pollution of sin, that what we release unto others, that is, what we loose on earth, may also be loosed in heaven.*

Ambrose is exprest upon this, in the nineteenth chapter of the third book of the Holy Ghost, (c) *They (meaning the Pastors) are praying, but the God-head is giving. Unto man it belongs to obey, but liberality belongs to the heavenly power.*

Leo the I. about the year of the Lord 450. speaking of the Confession which the Penitent make unto the Priests, saith that (d) *the Confession is sufficient which is first presented unto God, and then to the Priest, who presents himself as a Petitioner for the sins of Penitents.*

And who so shall look with a judicious eye, into all that is still done in the Roman Church, shall find many traces whereby he may discover, that the custom of saying, *I absolve thee*, in form of a sentence, is new, and that it is not long since Absolution was given in form of a Petition. For in the extream Unction (which from a miraculous cure for the health of the body, is turned into a Sacrament for the health of the soul) the Priest giveth not absolution otherwise then by praying, and speaking thus unto the sick, (e) *The Almighty, gracious, and merciful God, give thee the remission and absolution of all thy sins.* If at any time there is need of an absolution in strong terms, and of a judicial sentence of pardon, it is especially upon the point of death: Yet when the Priest contents himself to beseech God that he would forgive the sinner, as acknowledging that it belongs not to him to forgive. Thus when it is questioned, to reconcile an Heretick excommunicated, and to take off the excommunication, The Bishop (after that by exorcism, and by the sign of the Cross upon the Hereticks fore-head, he hath conjured the Devil that possessed that poor Heretick) saith many prayers, whereby he prayeth to God to receive the wandering sheep, and to give absolution to the miserable strayed sinner, as it is exactly set down in the Roman Pontifical, (f) in the chapter of the reconciliation of an Apostate Schismatick or Heretick. And in the same book, in the chapter of the Solemn Office after the Mass of the dead, there are many prayers whereby the Priest prayeth that God absolve the soul of the deceased person, and blot out his sins. Which prayers in the same place are called (g) *absolutions*; Which is an evident trace of the custom of calling prayers *absolutions*, before the Priests had taken upon them the authority of Judges, pronouncing absolution with a judicial power.

In vain shall one reply, that these examples are taken from the absolutions that are done out of the celebration of Sacraments: For the extream Unction is put by the Roman Church among the Sacraments. And as for the reconciliation which they make of a sinner after excommunication, since it is made by vertue of the Keyes, the Prelates might speak with the like authority as in the Sacrament of Penitence. Yea they may and ought to speak with more authority in excommunications, relaxations, and censures, then in the Sacraments, because in the Sacraments they are meer administrators. But as for the Ecclesiastical discipline, they may pretend that God hath constituted them Judges and Dispensers with power of binding and loosing.

The antient Roman order shews the same: For there the Priest giveth absolution in the form of a Prayer. And we find in the 21. Opuscul. of *Thomas*, that a Doctor of the Roman Church in the time of *Thomas* maintained, that absolution was not to be given in absolute terms, and in the form of a judicial sentence, with an Indicative certitude, saying, *I absolve thee*: But that they ought to say, *God give thee absolution and remission of thy sins*; as it is said in the extream Unction. He added that the custom of saying, *Absolve*, &c. was new, and but of thirty years standing, and that no example of that practice was found in all Antiquity. He alleadged for himself, *Gulielmus Altsiodorensis*, and *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Hugo Cardinalis*. Which opinion, *Thomas* confuteth so, that

(b) *Notrum est, donante ipso, ministerium charitatis & humilitatis adhibere.*

Illius est, exaudire ac nos ab omni peccatorum contaminatione mundare per Christum & in Christo, ut quod alijs etiam dimittimus, hoc est, in terra solvimus, solvatur & in celo.

(c) *Isti rogant, Divinitas donat: Humanum est obsequium, sed magnificentia superne est potentia.*

(d) *Leo in fine Epist. 80. ad Episc. Campaniz. Confessio Deo offertur tum etiam Sacerdoti, qui pro delictis penitentium precator accedit.*

(e) *Absolutionem & remissionem peccatorum inorum tribuat tibi omnipotens, pius & misericors Deus.*

(f) *Pontificale Rom. Parisiis apud Rollinnum Thierry, An. 1614.*

(g) *Pag 392. Absolutiones istas non semper in omnibus exequi fieri.*

he rather confirms it. For he flyeth alwayes to that sentence, *Whosoever sins ye forgive*, &c. Presupposing without proof, that Christ speaketh there of the Sacramental absolution, and of a judicial absolution, not of the power of binding and loosing, which is exercised out of the Sacraments by the Ecclesiastical discipline, and by the preaching of the Gospel: Perceiving not that the said power is given to the Apostles, not only over those that are of the Church, but also over Infidels and not baptized persons, as many as shall be converted by the Gospel, to whom our Adversaries acknowledge that this Sacramental absolution cannot be given. And still he takes the pardon whereby a publick Penitent is reconciled unto the Church for the pardon whereby the sinner is absolved in Gods judgement. He saith indeed, that the Priest absolveth in Christs person. But if it be so, the Priest ought to produce the peculiar Commission which he hath from Christ to forgive such a man. For that general Commission, *Whosoever sins ye forgive*, &c. is not enough, because we know that God will not pardon hypocrites who have neither faith nor contrition; which are things that the Priest knoweth not. Christ did not authorize him to forgive in the quality of a Judge, without a true information of those things, without the knowledge whereof a judgement cannot be just. So I believe not, that the Priests of the Roman Church will grant him that, by saying, *I absolve thee*, they speak in the person of Christ. They say indeed, that they forgive in the authority of Christ, but not that they speak or pardon in the person of Christ: As if a subject representing the King, spake in his person, saying to a Felon, *I am your King*, and *I give you your grace*. If it be so understood, the Priest hath no power to absolve, for then these words, *I absolve thee*, must be so understood. *It is Christ, not I, that absolveth thee*. And in the same place he saith, that the power of the Keyes absolveth from the sin, not as the principal efficient cause, but as an instrument; in the same manner (saith he) as the water of Baptism by touching the body washeth the heart, as *Austin* saith. Hereby *Thomas* doth powerfully confirm the truth: For the water of Baptism washeth not the heart, and cleanseth not sins: That praise is due to the blood of Christ, and to the merit of his death, and to the efficacy of the Spirit of sanctification. And if *Austin* hath in some place spoken in such Metaphorical terms, (as the connexion of the discourse going before and after, may shew it) those Metaphorical terms have no force to establish a new doctrine in the Church.

That the Doctor against whom *Thomas* writeth, spake true when he said, that the power which the Priests challenge of pardoning with authority of Judges, and really to absolve the sinner with a judicial sentence, was but new, it appeareth by that which *Lombard*, the master of *Thomas*, and his senior by few years, writes of that matter in the fourth book of sentences, *Dist. 4. Litera D.* (h) These are his words, *He left to be a child of wrath, ever since he began to have love and so repent. From that time then he is free from wrath, which abideth not upon him that believeth in Christ, but upon him that believeth not. After that then, he is not delivered from the eternal wrath by the Priest to whom he confesseth, being already delivered from it by the Lord, when he said, I will confess. For none but God can cleanse man within from the spot of sin. None delivereth him from the debt of eternal death, but he that said by the Prophet, I alone blot out the iniquities and the sins of the people: And so Ambrose, The Word of God remitteth sins, the Priest is Judge. The Priest indeed doth his Office, but he doth not exercise the right of any power. And the same, He alone forgiveth sins, who alone is dead for our sins. And Austin, None takes away sins but the only God, who is the Lamb that takes away the sins of the world.*

Observe that he calls the Priest a Judge, but he adds, that the said Judge hath no right or power to Judge; that is, that in effect he is no Judge.

(h) *Filius ira esse desit, ex quo diligere & penitere capit. Ex hinc ergo solutus est ab ira, que non manet super illum qui credit in Christum, sed super illum qui non credit. Non ergo postmodum per sacerdotem, cui confitetur, ab eterna ira liberatur, à qua jam liberatus est per Dominum, ex quo dixit Confitebor, &c. Item Ambrosius, Verbum Domini peccata dimittit, Sacerdos est iudex, Sacerdos quidem officium exhibet, sed nullius potestatis jura exerceat. Idem ille solus peccata dimittit, qui solus pro peccatis nostris mortuus est.*

The same Doctor in the letters *E* and *F*, (i) Truly we can say and believe that God alone forgiveth and retaineth sins, and yet he hath given power of binding and loosing unto the Church. But he and the Church do not bind in the same manner. For he alone remitteth sins by himself, who both cleanseth the soul from the inward stain, and freeth it from the debt of eternal death. Now he gave not that power to the Priests, to whom nevertheless he gave the power of binding and loosing, that is, to shew that men are bound or loosed. Wherefore the Lord first by himself restored health unto the Leper, and after that sent him to the Priests, that by their judgement he might be declared clean. Likewise also, having already quickned Lazarus, he presented him to his Disciples to be loosed. Because although a man be loosed before God, yet he is not accounted to be loosed in the face of the Church, unless he be loosed by the judgement of the Priest. He speaks with good reason, for after reconciliation with God, the excommunicated sinner must satisfy the Church, that he may be loosed from the bonds of Ecclesiastical discipline. The effect of his discourse is, that the contrite sinner is already absolved, before the Priest absolve him: And that the Priest looseth the sinner, that is, he declareth that God hath loosed him. And that he proveth by Hieroms testimony upon *Matth. 16*. Whatsoever thou bindest on earth, &c. Bishops and Priests (saith Hierom) not understanding this text, take upon them I know not what of the Pharisees pride, thinking that they can condemn the innocent and loose the guilty: Whereas with God, the Priests sentence is not requisite, but the life of the guilty. And in *Leviticus* a Commandment is made to the Lepers, to shew themselves unto the Priests, which Priests do not make them to be either clean or Lepers, but only they discern those that are clean and those that are unclean. Whereby it is made evident, that God follows not always the judgement of the Church, which often judgeth by subreption or ignorance. But God judgeth always according unto truth. And in matter of pardoning or retaining sins, the Priests of the Gospel have the same right and office, as the Priests of the Law had in old time under the Law, as for the cure of Lepers. And by consequent they forgive sins, in as much as they judge and shew that God hath forgiven or retained sins. Lombard addeth, that besides this way of loosing (which is nothing else but declaring that such an one hath given such testimonies of his repentance, that there is reason to believe that God hath loosed him, and forgiven him) there is another way of loosing, namely by reconciling the sinner unto the Church, and restoring him to the Communion, after he hath satisfied the Church by penitence. But he holds that if he be truly penitent before that reconciliation to the Church, he was already reconciled with God.

Alexander Hales, famous among the School-men, was of the same opinion as Lombard. These are his words, (1) They are things of equal power, to baptize inwardly, and to give absolution from a mortal sin. Now God ought not to communicate [unto man] the power of baptizing inwardly, least that [men] should put their confidence in man. Then by the like reason he did not [impart unto man] the power of absolving from actual sin.

Let us hear what Pope Adrian the VI. saith of this. He writ about the year, 1500. being not yet Pope: For Popes spend not their time about making Books. And I make no doubt, but that when he was made Pope, he altered his opinion. For a man that brings in question the power of the Keyes to forgive sins, should not have been suffered in the Papal See, and himself should have overthrown his See. These are then his words in the fifth Quodlibetical Question, (m) There is a great difficulty among the Doctors, whether the Keyes of Priesthood reach as far as the remission of the fault. And truly, the most approved Divines have been for the

(i) Hoc sane dicere & sentire possumus, quod solus Deus dimittit peccata & retinet, & tamen Ecclesia sit contenta potestatem ligandi & solvendi, sed aliter ipse solvit & ligat, aliter Ecclesia. Ipse enim per se tantum dimittit peccatum, qui & animam mundat ab interiori macula, & a debito eterne mortis solvit. Non autem hoc sacerdotibus concessit, quibus tamen tribuit potestatem solvendi & ligandi, id est, ostendendi homines ligatos vel solutos. Hæc Dominus leprosum sanitati prius per se restituit, deinde ad sacerdotes misit, quorum iudicio ostenderetur mundatus. Ita etiam Lazarum jam vivificatum obtulit discipulis solvendum. Quia etsi aliquis apud Deum sit solutus, non tamen in facie Ecclesie solutus habetur, nisi per

iudicium sacerdotis. (k) Hier. in *Matth. 16*. prout citatur à Lombardo. Vide & Hier. in *Levit. 14*. Et Carl. Omnis & Can. Convenius Dist. 1. de Penitentia. (l) Alex. Hales Sum. Par. 4. qu. 21. memb. 1. Paris potestatis est intus baptizare & à culpa mortali absolvere. Sed Deus non debuit potestatem baptizandi interius communicare, ne spes poneretur in homine. Ergo pari ratione nec potestatem absolvendi ab actuali. (m) Difficultas magna est inter Doctores, an claves sacerdotii se extendant ad culpæ remissionem, & certè probatissimi Theologi senserunt quod non. Magister sent. dist. 18. in 4. lib. dicit, Sacerdotibus non concessit Deus potestatem culpam dimittendi seu ligandi, sed ostendendi homines esse ligatos & solutos, &c.

(n) Item Doctor Irrefragabilis, parte 4. qu. 80. Sacerdotis potestas se extendit ad culpam delendam per modum deprecantis, sed per modum impotentis vel imperantis nequaquam. unde dicit, Sacerdos enim nunquam tentaret absolvere eum, de quo non presumeret quod esset absolutus à Deo. Concludens potestatem clavium ad culpam delendam se non extendere, &c.

(o) Tenete, quia homo non potest peccata dimittere. Illa quæ sibi à Christo peccata dimitti credidit, Christum non hominem tantum sed & Deum credidit.

(p) Futuri erant homines, qui dicerent, ego peccata dimitto, ego iustifico.

(q) Sed in eo Phariseus melior, quia cum putaret hominem Christum, non putabat ab homine posse dimitti peccata. Melior ergo Judæis quam hereticis apparuit intellectus. Judæi dixerunt, Quis est hic qui etiam peccata dimittit? Audet sibi homo hoc usurpare? Quid contra hereticus? Ego dimitto, ego mudo. (r) Respondent & dicunt, Si non dimittunt homines peccata, falsum est quod ait Christus, Quæ solvitis in terra, soluta erunt in celo. Nescis quare hoc dictum sit? Quomodo dictum sit? Daturus erat Dominus hominibus Spiritum Sanctum, &c.

Negative. The Master of the Sentences in the eighteenth Distinction of the fourth book, saith that God hath not granted unto Priests the power of forgiving the fault, nor that of binding, but to shew that men are bound or loose. Wherefore the Ecclesiastical Priest, for the point of remitting or loosing sins, doth the same thing as the Priest of the Law did towards Lepers, and these are originally the words of Hierom, handling this text, Matth. 16. Whatsoever thou shalt bind, &c.

(n) Also the irrefragable Doctor, in part 4. question 8. The power of the Priest (saith he) extends it self to blot out the sin only by way of petitioning, not by way of giving or commanding. Wherefore also he saith, that the Priest would never undertake to absolve him, whom he did not presume to be absolved by God: Concluding, that the power of the Keyes extends not to the blotting out of sin. And as for the text of John 20. Whosoever sins ye forgive, &c. he saith that it must be understood as for the true remission, or obligation to the pain, or as for the manifestation or shewing of the fault. To which the interlineary Gloss seemeth to allude, saying in the same place, That is, those whom you shall judge worthy of remission, namely by the two Keyes of power and discretion. Bonaventure seems to be of the same opinion in the eighteenth Distinction of the fourth Book. And truly that seems to be probable: For the same power was given to the Priests, both to retain and to remit sins. Now it is manifest that they cannot retain a true penitents fault. How then could they pardon the sins of a true Penitent? And how then could they pardon a mans sins that doth not repent worthily enough? Yet because other Doctors probably maintain the contrary, saying that a Sacramental penitence, like a second plank after Shipwrack, confers sometimes the first grace, opere operato, I leave that undecided as a probable question.

I will shut up this Chapter by a place of *Austin*, in the 23. of the fifty Sermons, where that holy man speaks of that woman of ill life, *Luke 7.* who came to Christ when he was at the Table in a Pharisees house, and began to water the Lords feet with her tears, and wipe them with her hair, that she might obtain the pardon of her sins. Whereupon *Austin* speaks thus,

(o) Take this for a maxime, that man cannot forgive sins. This woman that believed that Christ did forgive her sins, believed that Christ was not only man, but God also. And a little after, (p) Some men were to come that should say, I forgive sins, I justify, I sanctifie, I heal all whom I Baptize, &c. (q) But in that the Pharisee was better then they, because that thinking him to be a man, he believed not that a man could remit sins. The Jews then seem to have had more understanding [in this point] then the Hereticks. The Jews said, Who is this that forgiveth sins? Dare a man usurp that [authority?] But what saith the Heretick against that? I forgive sins, I cleanse, I sanctifie, &c. (r) The Hereticks answer and say, If men do not forgive sins, that which Christ said is false, All that you loose on earth, shall be loosed in Heaven. To that *Austin* answereth, Dost thou not know why that is said, and how it was said? The Lord would give the Holy Ghost unto men, and would have it understood that it is by the Holy Ghost that sins are forgiven unto the faithful, not by the merit of men. For who art thou O man, but a sick man that must be healed? Wilt thou be my Physitian? Seek a Physitian with me, &c. It is the Spirit, not you, that forgiveth. Now the Spirit is God: God then pardoneth, not you.

Behold then the substance of our belief, and the language of our Pastors to the confessing sinner, that sheweth signs of true repentance. We say not to him, I absolve thee from all thy sins; nor, I forgive thee. But since thou hast a true repentance of thy sins, I declare unto thee that God forgiveth thee thy sins by Jesus Christ. Believe in Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved; I announce unto thee the remission of thy sins for Christs sake. It belongs not unto me to absolve

thee in Gods judgement : For Pastors are only Messengers of the Grace of God, and Ministers of reconciliation. Yea I say unto thee, that before thou camest to me, to declare unto me the contrition of thy heart, God had already forgiven thee. For, he forgiveth all them that turn to him with a true heart. Yet because thou hast given scandal to the Church, thou must be reconciled with the Church, and give her satisfaction by publick repentance, and so be received to the Churches Communion. For God hath given to the Pastors of his Church the **Keyes** of the Kingdom of heaven, that is, the government of his Church, and the power of binding sinners by Ecclesiastical censures, and of loosing them, by taking off the said censures, and reconciling the sinner, cut off from the Communion : Which judgements God promiseth to ratifie in heaven; so that he that is bound on earth by the judgement of Pastors, is judged in Gods counsel to be tyed and bound to that Ecclesiastical punishment.

For this we receive no money, and take nothing for confessions, and neither before nor after the reconciliation, do we impose any, either corporal or pecuniary pain : Very glad that God hath made use of us to bring the sinner to the right way again.

The purity and holiness of that proceeding, grounded upon the holy Scripture, and conformable unto the practice of the antient Church (but only in the length, and the divers degrees of publick penitence) will be much more evident, when we have laid open the strange abuses wherewith the absolution and remission of sins is defiled in the Roman Church.

CHAP. 5.

Of the Abuse of the Keyes, and of Absolution, both that which is called Sacramental, and that which is given without the Sacrament.

IN the building of Popery, there is scarce any place where Satan hath more powerfully laboured, and more disfigured the Doctrine of the Gospel, then in the use of the Keyes, and in the remission of sins, and in the absolutions which the Priests and the Pope confer.

It is already a great abuse, as we have proved, and a bold undertaking, that sinful men take upon them to pardon sins with authority of Judges, bearing themselves as Judges in Gods cause, and usurping a power which the Apostles never practised, and of which no example is found in the Word of God. But how many more abuses are joyned with that ?

I. Let us set in the front the unlimited and Sovereign power usurped by the Pope to forgive sins : Upon which, all the power that Bishops and Priests have to forgive sins, is made to depend. That power is thus described by *Thomas the Angelick Doctor* whom the Pope hath Sainted. (a) *Seeing that the High Priest is the Head in the mystical body of all the faithful [members] of Christ, and seeing that in a true body, all the motion and sense proceeds from the head, so it is in the thing now in hand. Wherefore we must say, that in the High Priest there is fulness of all graces, because he alone conferreth a full indulgence of all sins. So that to him is convenient, that which we say of the first Prince who is the Lord, that of his fulness we have all received, John 1. 16. Which Papal power he stretcheth even over the temporal of Kingdoms. And hereupon he accuseth Christ of importunity, saying, that (b) in the Gospel according to Saint John, the Lord makes a troublesome inter-*

(a) Thom.
21. Opusc.
cap. 10.
cum enim
summus Pon-
tifex sic
caput in
corpore my-
stico omnium
fidelium Chri-
sti, & a
capite sit
omnis
motus &
sensus in
corpore vero,

*fic etiam in proposito. Propter quod oportet dicere in summo Pontifice esse plenitudinem omnium gratiarum, quia ipse solus confert plenam indulgentiam omnium peccatorum : ut competat sibi quod de primo Principe Domino dicimus, quia de plenitudine ejus nos omnes accepimus. (b) unde Dominus utitur in Johanne quadam importuna interrogatione, ter-
quavens a successore suo beato Petro, quod si ipsum diligit, gregem pascat.*

rogation,

(c) Eman.
Sa, Aphor.
Confess. in
verbo Papa.
Papa potest
esse iudex
in causa
propria, &
absolvere ab
obligatione,
qua quis
homini tene-
tur, & secum
ut volet
dispensare.
(d) Ult.
Conc. Later.
Sess. 10.

rogation, asking of his successor Saint Peter, that if he love him he would feed his sheep. If we must believe this Doctor, Christ ought to have abstained from that importunity, and given more respect to his successor. The Pope then having (according to *Thomas*) fulness of grace and power to give full pardon of all sins, so that of his fulness we all receive; no wonder that in the distribution of that fulness of graces he keeps some for himself. So far, that he is judge in his own cause, and dispensing himself from the vows which he made unto God, as the Jesuite (c) *Emanuel Sa* teacheth, in his Aphorisms. Yea, as *Bellarmino* saith against *Barcklay*, He can in good sense make sin to be no sin, and no sin to be sin. Having (as the last Council of *Laterane* saith) (d) all power both in heaven and earth.

II. Having then reserved unto himself the power of remitting sins without any reservation or exception, he hath limited the power of Bishops and Priests to certain cases, which they cannot overpass, but upon the point of the penitents death. Murther, perjury, sacrilege, blasphemy, witchcraft, invocation of Devils, and eating flesh on the week before *Easter*, are cases reserved to the Bishop or his Penitentiary, and are above the power of Priests. Yet the Pope hath granted so many privileges to some Confessors, to the Jesuites especially, that the Bishops have almost nothing reserved to themselves. And the Doctors are not agreed about these cases. It is not yet decided, Whether playing at Dice over ones own fathers grave, or cutting a Priests purse while he is lifting up the Host, or pissing in the Holy-water, or cutting the staff of Saint *Francis* into a game of nine-pins, be cases reserved to the Bishop.

III. But besides the sins of which Priests and Bishops can absolve, there are crimes of an higher nature reserved unto the Pope alone, and passing the power of the Bishops. These cases are numbred in the Bull de *Cæna Domini*, where we find the form of Excommunication, that the Pope thundereth out every year upon the Thursday before *Easter*, which he ratifieth by casting down a burning candle. There all, that are guilty of the cases reserved unto the Pope, are excommunicated. Among others, they that appeal from the Pope to the future Council. The Pirates that rob the Sea-coasts of the Popes territories from mount *Argentario* to *Terracina*. The forgers of Apostolical Letters. They that carry arms to Hereticks. They that stop the Victualers bringing provision to the Popes Court. They that kill a Prelate. They that raise tents upon the Clergy, or usurp the rights of the Church, as Kings and their Chancellors, and their Courts of Parliament, for they are specified by these names in the Bull. They that oppose the reception of the Council of *Trent*. They that stay or molest the *Romipets*, that is, the Pilgrims, going to *Rome* to get pardons. These are the horrible crimes, the absolution whereof is reserved unto his Holiness. For of the less crimes, as Murther, Sodomy, Incest, Witchcraft, Bishops give Absolution. Priests will commonly give the absolution of fornication and theft, but not of eating flesh in the holy Week, which yet is the Week in which Christ ate a Lamb with his Disciples.

IV. Here words are wanting to describe the grievousness of the disease. Suppose that the Pope is *Peters* successor, in the quality of Apostle, and Head of the Church, as if we presupposed that a circle hath angles: Yet it is not found that *Peter* reserved certain cases unto himself, of which the other Apostles could not absolve: Nor that he reserved to the Apostles certain cases, of which ordinary Pastors could not give absolution. For *Peter* knew that Christ had spoken to all the Apostles alike, when he said, *Whatsoever you shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven*, Matth. 18. 18. And whose soever sins you forgive, they shall be forgiven, Joh. 20. 23. And if the power of the Apostles had no limitation in this point, why should their successors have a limited power: Why must the charge which Christ gave them without exception, be restrained in their respect. Why shall the Bishop of *Rome* be successor of *Peters* illimited power, and the successors of other Apostles, shall not be successors of the power which the Apostles had without limitation, and without cases reserved unto Saint *Peter*?

V. Hence also it is made evident, that the power given unto the Apostles to forgive sins, depended not on that of Saint *Peter*; and that Saint *James* and Saint

Saint Paul did not forgive sins by Saint Peters concession, or by dependance on his authority, since Christ gave to them all immediately the like authority to forgive: as Paul calls himself *an Apostle not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ*, Gal. 1. 1.

VI. It is true that the Fathers of the Council of Trent in the fourteenth Session, chap. 7. ground that reservation of certain cases upon a text of Rom. 13. where they make the Apostle say, *Quæ à Deo sunt, ordinata sunt*: The things that are of God, are ordered or set in order; Whence they infer, that the higher powers must reserve to themselves something above the inferior powers. But that text is falsely alleadged, and corrupted both in words and sense. In the words, for there is according to the Greek, (c) *The powers that are in being, are established or ordained by God.* And so the French Bible of the Doctors of Louvain translates it. In the sense, for in this place Paul speaks of Princes, and of the civil or secular power which beareth the sword; and speaks not of order or rank among Princes or higher powers, but faith only, that God hath established and ordained them. And though the text said that among higher powers there must be order or dependance the one on the other, it would not thence follow that the power of forgiving sins in the Sacrament of penitence must be greater in some then in others; For the Sacraments change not nature according to the quality of persons, no more then the preaching of the Gospel, as it is seen in Baptism.

VII. The Pope was not contented with that. For of the satisfactions which Priests impose before or after absolution, he may release what he pleaseth, and dispense from them by Indulgence. The Priest will impose to a penitent for a satisfactory pain, to say so many prayers, to fast so many dayes, to go to such a place on pilgrimage, to give so much alms to Monks. If these penances are ill, the Priest ought not to have enjoined them; if they be good, the Pope ought not to dispense with them. It belongs not to him to exempt the sinner from doing penance, since our Adversaries ground the necessity of those penances upon Gods command. (f) *Bellarmine* fears not to say, that, *Indulgences make, that as for the pains which are remitted to us by the Indulgences, we are not obliged to obey that commandment of God, to do fruits worthy of repentance.* By the same indulgence the sinner ceaseth to be obliged to fulfill the rule that faith, *Verily I say unto thee, thou shalt not come out thence, until thou hast paid the utmost farthing.* For our Adversaries understand that text of the satisfactory pain in Purgatory.

VIII. The terms used by the Priests in absolution, are considerable. The Jesuit *Emanuel Sa* in the word *Absolutio* sets down all the solemn words, and the whole form, saying that the wise speak thus when they give absolution. *Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve thee, and I in his authority absolve thee, first from the sentence of excommunication, as far as I can, and thou needest. Next I absolve thee from thy sins, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.* (g) *The passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the merits of the Blessed Jesus Christ, Mary, and of all the Saints, and all the good that thou shalt do, and all the evil which thou shalt patiently suffer, be unto thee for remission of sins, and augmentation of grace, and for the reward of eternal life, Amen.* The same words are related by Cardinal *Tolet* in the third book of the Instruction of Priests chap. 11. This way of absolution is but new, and the Gospel saith nothing of it. The Gospel speaks of the remission of our sins by Jesus Christ, saying that, *Whosoever believeth on him shall receive remission of sins through his name; And that God hath quickened us together with Christ, having freely forgiven us all our offences.* But that our sins are forgiven us by the merit of the Saints, the Word of God saith not. Neither doth that Holy Word speak of attaining to the reward of eternal life by the merits of Saints, or by our own. That absolution cannot be done in faith, since it is not grounded on the word of God. If the passion of Christ be sufficient to purchase for me the remission of my sins; What need I to add unto it the merit of men, who stood in need that their sins should be forgiven them by Jesus Christ?

IX. To

(c) αἱ ἐν
ᾧ οὐκ
ἐξουσία
τῷ θεῷ
τοῦ
ἐκτί-
σθαι
αὐτὴν.

(f) Bellar.
l. 4 de pen.
cap. 13.
Indulgentie
faciunt, ut
pro peccatis
quæ nobis per
indulgentiam
condonantur,
non teneamur
precepto illo
de faciendis
dignis peni-
tentie fructi-
bus.

(g) Passio
Domini nostri
Jesus Christi,
& merita
B. Mariæ &
omnium
sanctorum,
& quicquid
boni fecerim,
& mali
patienter
suffereris,
sint tibi in
remissionem
peccatorum,
& in aug-
mentum gra-
tiæ & præ-
mium vite
æternæ.

(h) Scilicet 14.
cap. 8. Ad
prætoriorum
peccatorum
vindictam.

IX. To make the abuse more gross, the Priest giving the absolution, imposeth penances or satisfactory pains which the Council of Trent calls (h) *revenge*. So the Priest doth wholly forgive the sin, and yet at the same instant he imposeth punishments of the same sin. He takes revenge of sins forgiven: As if he said, *I forgive thee, but thou shalt be punished, for I have forgiven thee thy sin, but not the pain of sin*. By this means Priests loose the sinner by the absolution, and send him back bound by the obligation to a satisfactory pain; which pain if the penitent bears not, and subjects not himself to it, he eludeth (as much as in him lyeth) the sentence of the Priest, and being more crafty than his Confessor, makes use of the absolution, and rejects the conditions under which he received it. All that without authority of Gods word, who gives not that power to Pastors to lay corporal or pecuniary pains upon the sinner. And against the Lords example, who sending back the woman taken in adultery, said to her only, *Go and sin no more*. John 8. 11. without imposing any penance upon her. And against the example of the Apostle St. Paul who receiving the incestuous man to the peace of the Church of Corinth, 2 Cor. 2. 7. & 10. layeth no corporal or pecuniary penance upon him: And against the example of all the ancient Church, which had no other absolution but the publick, and made with good reason the fulfilling of the satisfaction to the Church to march before the absolution and reconciliation with the Church. But in our dayes the Confessors give the absolution before the sinner hath fulfilled the enjoined penances, because they are paid presently after the absolution; for if the sinner were to fulfill the penances before the absolution, that would keep back the payment. If this were in fashion, I make no doubt but that Confessors would impose short satisfactions, that they might be quickly paid.

(i) Cum tamen
probabile sit
Confessarium
penitentem
accepturum,
non est incon-
veniens
precedere
absolutionem.
(k) Bellar. l.
1. Indulg.
c. 7. Paluda-
nus testatur à
Bonifacio
VIII. fuisse
prohibitum
penitentia-
rium, ne con-
fessionibus
peccata anno
illo subleci
satisfactio-
nes injungeret.
Acts 10.
John 3.

X. Here is worse yet; For sometimes Priests will give absolution before they know whether the penitent will accept of the satisfactory pain that shall be imposed upon him. As Cardinal Tolet saith in the third book of the instruction of Priests chap. 12. *Observe that the absolution must not be given but after the penance imposed and accepted.* (i) Yet when the Confessor probably knows that the penitent shall accept the satisfaction, there is no inconvenience to make the absolution go before.

Here it were good to know whether the absolution be valid, when the penitent having received absolution, and coming afterwards to consider the nature of the satisfaction imposed on him, declarerth to the Priest, that he cannot accept of it, and will not fulfill those penances, nor subject himself to them in any wise.

XI. Sometimes also Priests give absolution without enjoining any satisfaction, as (k) Bellarmine saith. Which is another abuse, For so the Sacrament of Penitence is administered without penitence, and a reconciliation is made without satisfaction, which satisfaction according to natural order, and the ancient custom, ought to go before absolution. For even among men satisfaction must be made to the offended party before he can obtain pardon. But these Gentlemen will perswade themselves that God will approve of a pardon without penitence, and without satisfaction. Or that he shall like, that sins be pardoned to a sinner before he hath satisfied.

XII. There is no less abuse in that doctrine of theirs, that the absolution which the penitent hath received from the Priest is void, if the Priest that conferred it had no intention to confer it. A doctrine which makes of absolution an illusion, and fills the penitents mind with uncertainty, since it depends on a conjectural condition, upon which the repenting soul can fix no assurance.

But that doctrine is directly opposite to the doctrine of the Gospel. For it makes the benefit of Christs merit and the remission of sins purchased by his death to depend upon a Priests intention. For this maxime of the Gospel is true of any man that hath true repentance and seeks salvation in Christ, that believing in Christ he hath remission of sins and eternal life. Shall the want of intention in a Priest make the grace of Christ to the sinner of none effect? Or shall the hypocrisie of a confessor who believeth not what he does, and hath a pro-

prophane intention to deride Religion ; make the promise of the Gospel void ? Christ knew the hypocrisie of *Judas*, yet he sent him to announce remission of sins by the Gospel ; Which Christ would not have done, had he known that the hypocrisie of *Judas* would have made the Sacraments which he administered of no use. Truly the Word of God, and the promise of absolution of sins are effectual, not according to the intention of the man that propounds it, but according to the disposition of the person that receiveth it. The Word of God saith, that the man that believeth is saved, not he that is absolved by one that believeth, or by one that hath an intention to effect what he saith. Yea I dare say, that if Satan being changed into an Angel of light, should preach the truth of the Gospel, and administer the Sacraments, the condition of a man that should believe in Christ by his word, should be better then of him that out of unbelief should reject the word of an Apostle.

XIII. To make the abuse worse, they separate the power of giving Absolution from the preaching of the Gospel. For the true Office of Priests is to preach the Gospel, and administer the Sacraments. But in the Roman Church, a Priest cannot absolve, unless he have an especial privilege, and some Priests give absolution that preach not : Bishops that preach not, and the Pope among others, give absolution. For they hold that the power of absolving, is a point of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which depends not on the order of Priesthood, nor on the nature of Episcopacy, but on the Popes power, who imparteth to such as he pleaseth, such part of that power as he thinks good. Hence it is, that even a Lay-man, yea a woman can bolt out excommunications by the Popes Commission.

Note.

XIV. Likewise there is a great abuse in this assertion of their Doctors, that by vertue of the *Keyes*, *attrition* becomes *contrition*. They call *attrition* a sorrow for sin, proceeding only from the fear of punishment, but *contrition*, a sorrow for sin, proceeding from the love of God. The one is a servile grief, the other is a filial sorrow. Is it credible, that the *Keyes* have the vertue to make vices to become virtues ? For the grief for sinning, moved only by the apprehension of the punishment that attends it, is evil, and proceeds not from the Spirit of adoption. A man must repent for such a repentance. It is a forced, not a willing obedience. God is merciful to such a Penitent, if he forgive his penitence, and punish him not for his obedience.

XV. The abuse also is evident, in that absolutions are given by others, and by subdelegate persons, as if sins could be forgiven by Attorney. As the Jesuite *Emanuel Sa* (1) saith, *the Bishop can absolve, either by himself, or by others, them that are subject unto him by right, &c.*

Bishops do for the Sacrament of Penitence, what they do for preaching the Gospel. For every Bishop is obliged to preach, either by himself or by another. Some Bishops being incapable to preach, because they are yet children, or because they are without learning, they preach by others. It is well for them if in the day of Judgement they may be admitted to give account by others, and to appear by Attorney. How should they like it, if they were condemned to dine by others, and to fast in their own person ? But why could not a Priest giving absolution by the Bishops Commission, give it of himself, and in his name, without borrowing another mans name ?

(1) Eman. Sa; Apho. 4. Confess. in Verbo Absolutio, Art. 4. Absolvere potest Episcopus per se vel per alium. Idem in verbo Episcopus. Oportet Episcopum esse Doctorem, id est, populum suum docere. Quod si non predicat, ipse dabit suis sumptibus predicatorem.

XVI. What shall we say of the dishonest gain, which the Clergy sets up under colour of confessions and absolutions ? It is one of the prime revenues of ordinary Parsons. As if they said, *Pay me, for I have forgiven thee thy sins*. Is it not a reasonable demand ? But all that the Priests do, is nothing compared to that the Pope doth, and to the gain which he reapeth from the remission of sins. As his hands are longer, he sweeps far more, and his rapines are answerable to his greatness. Would one insist upon that matter, he might make a great book of it. The Book of the Apostolick *Chancery* sheweth so much. That book made by a Dotary, Receiver of the casual revenues of the Pope, hath made a great discovery of the mysterie of iniquity. Among other Articles, there is the Chapter of

E e e e

Absolutions,

(m) Taxa
Cancel.

Apostolicæ
excusa Pa-
risiis in vico
sancti Jacobi
ad crucem
ligneam
prope Sacel-
lum Divi
Juonis apud
Tossanum
Denis 1520.
cum privi-
legio.

Absolutio
pro eo qui
in Ecclesia
cognovit
mulierem,
& alia mala
commisit,
grof. 6.

Absolutio
pro eo qui
matrem, foro-
rem, &c.
carnaliter
cognovit,
grof. 5.

Absolutio
pro eo qui
destravit
virginem,
grof. 6.

Absolutio
pro perjurio,
grof. 6.

Absolutio
pro eo qui
revelavit
confessionem
alterius,
grof. 7.

Absolutio
pro eo qui
falsificavit
litteras
Apostolicas,
grof. 17.

vel. 18.
Absolutio
& dispen-
satio super
homicidia, &c.
grof. 18.

Absolutio
pro eo qui
interfecit

patrem, matrem, &c. grof. 5. (n) Ad diversa regna misit questuarios vendendo dictam Indulgentiam offerentibus tantum quantum essent expensuri in via, si propterea insent ad urbem, &c. Omnia peccata etiam si se penitentia ipsis confitentibus relaxarunt; Super quibusdam irregularitatibus dispensarunt interuentu pecunie, dicentes se omnem potestatem habere super hoc, quam Christus Petro ligandi & solvendi contulisset in terris. (o) Lib. 2. Schism. c. 11. Cui-dam interroganti ab eo in ultimo confituito qualiter se haberet aut sentiret? respondens ait si pecunias haberem, bene sta-rem. (p) Tempore huius Bonifacii infamis curia habebatur de labe Simonia, ut beneficia non tam meritis conferrentur quam plures pecunias offerentibus. Et replevit orbem terrarum Indulgentiis plenariis ita ut parva Ecclesia in suis festi-vitatibus parvo pretio eas obtinerent. (q) Nihil est quod absque argento Romana curia dedat, ipsa maxum impositio & Spiritus Sancti dona venduntur, nec peccatorum venia nisi nummatis impenditur. (r) Dico non esse murmurandum contra Papam, quod exigit pro his pecuniis, non per modum pretii, nam ista ad sustentationem datur, qua multum indiget tanta in Ecclesia dignitas.

Absolutions, (m) where these words are found, *The Absolution for him that hath known a woman in the Church, and committed other evils, costs six groats. The absolution for him that hath carnally known his mother, his sister, or another kin's woman of his, five groats. The absolution for him that hath deflowered a Virgin, six groats. The absolution for a perjury, six groats. The absolution for him that hath revealed the Confession of another, seven groats. The absolution for him that hath falsified Apostolical letters, seventeen or eighteen groats. The absolution for a man and a woman who during the time of the Interdict, have carried away some dead bodies to bury them, nine groats. And in the 38. leaf, The absolution for him that hath killed his father or his mother, &c. costs five or seven groats. Those groats are worth four pence, like our English groats. But in the end of the Book the taxes are raised, and groats are turned into Ducates. In the 32. leaf mention is made of a kind of letters called Confessional, whereby the Pope grants leave to a man to chuse in the hour of death a Confessor, that gives full pardon of all sins. But the Author saith that this is granted but to Princes, and with great difficulty. Every one knoweth that in Spain, none can have absolution at Easter without buying the Papal Bull, which costs two Realls for every man. Many examples I could bring to the same purpose. But the example of Pope Boniface the IX. whose life is written by his Secretary Theodericus a Niem will serve for all. In the first Book of schism, chap. 68. he saith (n) that the said Boniface sent Collectors to several Kingdoms, who sold the Indulgences, taking from the buyers as much money, as they should have spent to fetch them at Rome. And he saith that the same Collectors remitted all sins to all that confessed themselves without penitence; and dispensed with some irregularities for money, saying, that for that they had the same power of binding and loosing on earth, as Christ had given to Peter. This Pope is the Inventor of Annates; The same Pope (as the same Theodorick his Secretary relateth) being at the point of death, (o) and being demanded how he did, answered, I should be well if I had money.*

Antonine Archbishop of Florence, whom the Pope hath Sainted, in the third part of his Chronicles 22. Title, upon the year 1388. speaks thus of that Pope, (p) In his time the Roman Court was very infamous for Simony. Benefices were conferred, not so much according to merits, as according to the greater sums of money that were offered. He filled the world with plenary Indulgences. So that small Churches in their feasts obtained them for little money. That Pope dyed in the year 1404.

About four and fifty years after him, Aeneas Sylvius of Siena was chosen Pope, and was called Pius the II. That Pope in the 66. Epistle to John Perregal speaks thus, (q) The Roman Court giveth nothing without money, even the laying on of hands and the gifts of the Holy Ghost are sold, and the remission of sins is not imparted but to them that have money. If this witness may not be believed, I know not who may. And truly to make of a Bishop who at the first had no revenue at all, a Prince that hath above thirty thousand Ducates a day to spend, there was need of ravening lustily, of making great prizes with Saint Peters net, and using the Keyes of the Kingdom of heaven to open many chests. For this the Cardinal and Jesuite Toller gives a gallant excuse. In the fifth Book of the Instruction of Priests, in chap. 89. he speaks thus of the gain which the Pope gathers from absolutions and dispensations, (r) I say, that we must not murmur against the Pope, who ex-

acteth money for these things, not in form of price or salary; for these things are given for his entertainment: Of which such a great dignity in the Church hath great need. Indeed, he that raiseth armies, who hath guards of Switzers; and of Troops of horse, is obliged to make a great expence, which among other profits, is maintained by the remission of sins. See *Navarrus*, in the title of *Penitence and Remission*, in the 18. Council, where he maintains that the Pope hath well done to grant the remission of all sins, even of reserved cases, for one *Giulio*, which is the tenth part of a Ducate. His reason is, (f) because the Pope holds the place on earth, not of a man simply, but of the true God, and that none can say to him, Why dost thou that? He should have said, What will become of the poor that is not worth a *Giulio*? Shall he have that punishment of his poverty (as if it were a crime) to be deprived of that Spiritual grace?

XVII. That power of absolving extends even to the dead: Whereof we have an instance in the letters of homage and subjection of *John King of England*, which we shall hereafter produce: whereby, to obtain of *Innocent the III.* the remission of sins both for himself and his deceased friends, he subjecteth his Kingdom unto him, and promiseth to pay a thousand marks of silver to his Holiness. The Book of the Apostolick Chancery sheweth the same. The title of the Chapter is, *De absolutionibus mortuorum*. Of the absolutions of the dead. In the forty one leaf these words are found, (t) For a dead man excommunicated, for whom his friends are petitioning, the letter of absolution is sold for one Ducate nine pence. (u) For a woman that hath hanged her self, or for a man, that they may be committed to Church burial, one Ducate nine pence. (x) And Cardinal *Tolet* affirmeth, that a man may be absolved after his death of an excommunication which he incurred in his life time. And how many Indulgences are given after death? How many privileged Altars, upon which whosoever saith a Mass, draws a soul out of Purgatory at his own choice? By the Book of Roman Indulgences, it appears that there are few Churches at *Rome* without such privileges. *Navarrus* in the Commentary about the Jubilee and Indulgences in the 22. Observation, hath these words, (y) I say that all with one consent ought, in my opinion, hold this truth, that no man inferiour to the Pope, can extend Indulgences unto the dead of Purgatory, both because we see not that ever it was done hitherto, and because no small doubt was made, whether the Pope can do it.

XVIII. It is true that some Doctors begin of late to doubt, whether the Pope giveth pardons to the dead with authority of a Judge, or whether he give them only by way of suffrage or intercession; for, say they, the dead are none of his flock. He hath no charge to feed them. It was said unto *Peter*, Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, not under the earth. And since the Pope hath no more the power to bind the dead, why doth he keep the power to absolve them? But these men speak without warrant, and the Pope gave them no charge to speak so. And truly they speak against reason and against experience; for this expression of pardoning, or giving pardons by way of intercession, hath no sense. Praying for one, is not forgiving him. Now when the Pope giveth letters of absolution for the dead, he speaks as a Judge. If he prayed for them only, that power ought not to be reserved to him alone, for every one can make the same prayer. This appearevidently, in that the Pope giveth Indulgences by Letters Patents in Parchment sealed with Lead, as *Bellarmino* acknowledgeth in the second Book of Indulgences, chap. 5. For such pardons are given in the form of a sentence: The world never heard of prayers and intercessions to God, sealed and signed in an authentic form, nor of supplications to God in the form of Ordinances. Wherefore also *Bellarmino* in the same place (z) saith, that the Pope by these Letters thus sealed, declareth his will, and the power which he received of God. And to assign to an Altar eighteen thousand years of pardon, and so many forties of days, and the deliverance of a soul out of Purgatory, is not praying,

factum; Tum quod etiam non parum dubitatum extitit, an Papa id efficere possit juxta latissimè congesta per Felicem. (z) Bell. lib. 2. Indulg. cap. 5. Literæ Pontificis suis legitimis sigillis munitæ signa sunt; ita plumbum & membrana signa sunt remissionis quam Pontifex pro potestate à Deo accepta concedit, &c.

(f) Papa non puri hominis sed veri Dei vicem gerit in terris ut est in Can. Quamvis adeo quod Glossa ejus ait, non potest dici ei, cur ita facis?
(t) Pro mortuo excommunicato, pro quo supplicant consanguinei, litera absolutionis veniunt, Duc. 1. Carol. 9.
(u) Pro muliere que se suspendit, sive pro viro, ut possit Ecclesiasticæ tradit sepulture, Duc. 1. Carol. 9.
(x) Tolet de instruct. Sacerd. l. 1. c. 7. Potest ab excommunicatione contrahit in vita absolvi post mortem.
(y) Dico convenire debere inter omnes meæ sententia, quod inferior Papa non potest indulgentiam extendere ad mortuos Purgatorii. Tum quod nunquam id videtur haberi.

but decreeing and speaking, as having exactly calculated with God. But which way soever the Pope give Indulgences to the dead, he will have us to believe that these souls come out of Purgatory by that pardon. So that it is the same power under another title. And we should have the declaration of some Pope of the last ages, whereby he should declare, that he pretends no jurisdiction over the dead, and that the power of his Keyes extends not to them.

XIX. Of that power of giving Indulgences and Absolutions to the dead, there is not one word neither in Scripture nor in all Antiquity. We have produced before the testimony of Cardinal Cajetan, and that of Gabriel Biel, who say, that in all the writings of the Fathers, there is no mention of Indulgences, nor of the treasure of the Church made up of the overplus of the satisfactions of Christ, and of the Saints, of which the Pope takes upon himself the distribution. And Bellarmine in the second book of Indulgences, chap. 10. acknowledgeth that Durandus, Rossensis, Antoninus, and Sylvester, say that Scripture makes no express mention of Indulgences. To which I will add the testimony of Navarrus the most famous Doctor of the Canonists of the Roman Church, as also the title of his works giveth him that commendation, and one that was the Popes Penitentiary. These are his words, *What the cause is, that among the Antients so little mention is made of Indulgences, but among the late Authors the mention of them is so frequent: That most holy man* (a) John of Rochester, reverend by his dignity of Bishop and Cardinal, hath taught is: *Of whose discourse about that point, this is the summary. That it is not certain by whom Indulgences were first given, and that some use of them, as they say, is very ancient among the Romans.* (b) *That many things of the Gospels and Scriptures are now more eminently printed, and more clearly understood, then they were in old time. That now no Orthodox man doubts whether there be a Purgatory, of which among the Antients no mention was made, or very infrequent. That the explicate belief, both of Purgatory and Indulgences, was not so necessary in the Primitive Church, as it is now. And soon after: While men cared not for Purgatory, men cared not for Indulgences, because all the price of Indulgence depends on that. Sure the strength of truth must needs be very great, since it fetcheth such confessions from the strongest of our Adversaries. And I wonder how that language could be suffered in such a famous man, one of the Roman Penitentiaries under Cardinal Borromeo, Great Penitentiary. And in the same Treatise he speaks thus of the Concession of Indulgences. (c) The Questors (so he calls the Collectors of the money that is got by pardons) seek not to gain souls, but to gain money. He adds that by that concession of Indulgences, the Penitential satisfaction, which is so useful to us is much weakened, &c. That he that grants Indulgences, payeth one mans debts with the estate of another, and that to practise that too largely is unbecoming. It is (as the barbarous proverb saith) cutting large thongs out of another mans leather. He saith, that because the Pope employeth the superabounding satisfactions of Saints which he hath in his treasure for the payment of others, it is credible that the Pope takes some also for himself, as the Jesuite Emanuel Sa saith, (d) Indulgentia utitur etiam qui eam concessit. He that granted the Indulgence, makes use of it for himself also: So that he forgiveth his own self. He should have added, that they that have no money to pay the two Reals or the Giulio, to which the Indulgence or the Bull of Absolution is taxed, have not the remission of sins. And that he that wants money, or good legs, or a horse to go to Rome to the Jubilee, or to the places where the Pope hath transported the Jubilee, hath no share in that spiritual grace.*

XX. Out of the same abuse of the Keyes, and the power of absolving, came that intolerable Tyrannie, and depravation of Christs words, *Whatsoever you*

(a) Johannes Rossensis.
(b) Navarrus. Tom. 3. Com. de Jubil. & Indulg. septimo Notabili Art. 5. & 6. Quod multa de Evangelicis & aliis Scripturis sunt nunc excusa laculentius & intellectu perspicacius quam fuerunt olim. Quod nemo iam dubitat Orthodoxus, an Purgatorium sit, de quo tamen apud priscos illos nullo vel quam rarissima fiebat mentio. Quod non fuit tam necessaria siue Purgatorii siue Indulgentiarum fides

e plebica in primitiva Ecclesia atque nunc est, &c. Quod dum nulla erat de Purgatorio cura, nemo quaesivit indulgentias, quia ex eo pendet omnis indulgentiarum pretium. (c) Quaestores non quaerunt commodum animarum sed pecuniarum, &c. Per eam multum enervatur satisfactio penitentialis quae tantopere est nobis utilis, &c. Adjuncto item illo quarto, quod concedens indulgentiam de alieno solvit alienius debita, & indecorum esse id fufius efficere significat illud barbarum proverbium, Decorio alterius corrigia longa. (d) Eman. Sa, Aphor. in verbo Indulgentia.

shall bind on earth, &c. whereby the Pope maketh himself judge of all things, and Lord either direct or indirect, of all the estates of the world. If we ask by what power the Pope looseth the obligation of Oathes made unto God, and the bond of allegiance of subjects to their Prince; and upon what ground he takes the authority of loosing and dissolving marriages lawfully contracted, and dispensing children from their obedience to their parents, as likewise of exempting those that have made vows, from the obligation of keeping them, and of giving and taking away Kingdoms; and by what power he puts an Interdict upon Cities and upon whole Countries, exposing them for a prey to the next Conqueror, and delivereth souls from the power of Purgatory: They give us this answer, that Christ said unto Peter, *Whatsoever thou loosest on earth, &c.* Let us suppose that the Pope is successor of Peters Apostleship: Let us suppose that this was said to Peter alone, although *Matth. 18. 18.* this was said to all the Apostles. What prophannation is this of the Word of God, that the power of loosing the bonds of sin by Church-discipline, and by the preaching of the Gospel, be transported to the loosing of vows, of marriages, of the fidelity of subjects, of the obedience of children to their parents, yea of souls after death? Where is one word of that, I say not in the Gospel (which they alleadge to abuse it) but in all Antiquity? A prodigious thing, that in the light of the Gospel, after so many ruines and bloody wars, which that doctrine hath brought, these things are said, yea and believed! And that in places where the Inquisition reigneth, to make but a shew of doubting of these things, is a crime punishable with fire, and a case of Inquisition!

X XI. Would one search all the abuses of these absolutions, both the Penitential, and those that are without the pretended Sacrament of Penitence, one might make a great volume of them. I will put here, some out of the rules of *Emanuel Sa*, and Cardinal *Tolet*, both Jesuites.

(e) Every Priest can absolve from venial sins, and from mortal sins also, of which the Penitent was absolved already before. This rule giveth power to a Priest to do that which is already done, and to loose a man that is not bound. By this means a man payeth twice for the absolution of the same sin. Besides, when the Priest giveth absolution of mortal sins, he sheweth thereby that they are venial, that is, pardonable.

(f) A dying man that speaks not, but giveth signs of contrition, and a man out of his wits, who hath before given signs of contrition, may be absolved.

(g) That man may be absolved, who for a reasonable and just cause, will not lose the occasion of sinning, so that he have a stedfast purpose not to sin any more, although he be often relapsed. I cannot conceive what occasion of sinning can be so just, but that one must lose it.

(h) A man may be absolved, that will not confess, or that denjeth a sin, which the Confessor hath learned by the Confession of another, that he hath committed.

(i) He that hath the ordinary power of absolving in the inward barr, can absolve without confession.

(k) Absolution may be given to a man, not only without sorrow [for his sin] but also against his will, and may be absolved of one excommunication, another remaining. Of which we have a notable example in the sixth book of the Epistles of Cardinal *d'Offat*, Epist. 221. to the King, pag. 485. This is a strange way of absolution, to say to a man, Thou wilt not be absolved from thy sins, but thou shalt be, in spite of thy heart. And thou art excommunicated with two excommunications; I absolve thee from one of them, and receive thee into the Church, but thou art excommunicated with another excommunication, and so thou re-

(e) Eman. Sa, Aphor. in verbo Absolutio. Absolvere potest Sacerdos quivis à peccatis venialibus & à mortalibus etiam, à quibus penitens est alias absolutus. (f) Ibid. Absoluti posse morientem qui nihil potest confiteri, sed tantum ostendit signa contritionis, alii aiunt, alii negant, cum quibus ego sensi. Sed jam placet ut absolvetur sub conditione etiam amens, &c.

(g) Ibid. Absolvi potest qui ex rationabili & iusta causa non vult omittere peccandi occasionem: Alibi proponat firmiter non peccare, etiam si aliquoties sit relapsus. (h) Ibid. Absolvi potest qui non confitetur, aut negat peccatum quod Confessor ex alterius confessione intellexit illum commississe. (i) Idem Cap. Absolutio ab excommunicatione. Qui habet ordinariam facultatem absolvendi in foro interiori, potest absolvere etiam extra confessionem. (k) Ibid. Potest absolvi quis non solum sine dolore sed etiam invidens, & ab una excommunicatione, relicta altera.

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mainest out of the Church. By these rules an impenitent man may be absolved with a valid absolution, and one that is truly penitent and contrite, with an invalid absolution, namely, when the Confessor hath no intention to absolve.

(1) *He that is plainly absolved, but upon security that he will satisfy, if after that he do not satisfy, he falls not again into excommunication.* Note, that here it is questioned of satisfying God for the punishment of sins. When there is reason to instruct one who hath promised to satisfy, he is required to give security. God (belike) will have sufficient security, and if the Priest accept of the security, God will accept of it also. And if God cannot get satisfaction from the party, he will sue the security. Is not all that contrived with singular prudence, and with mature consideration? And how meek is that dealing, that a man who after he hath received absolution, scorns to make satisfaction, should nevertheless be suffered to enjoy the benefit of his absolution? Why? the man hath outwitted God, and hath given him the slip, and now if God will be paid, he must strain upon the security.

An absolution made for an unjust cause yet is valid: So say, (m) Bellarmine, (n) Emanuel Sa, and (o) Tolet.

(p) *Neither a woman, nor a Lay-man, nor a common Priest can absolve, but by some privilege.* For absolving is a point of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Here observe, that even a woman can excommunicate, and absolve by the Popes permission.

Cardinal Tolet in the first book of the Instruction of Priests, in the fourteenth Chapter, gives many very considerable rules. He saith, that (q) *one who hath no orders in the Church, can give absolution in the outward barr.* So that a Cobler having the Popes Commission, may both excommunicate and absolve.

Again, (r) *To be absolved at the outward barr, it is not necessary that the excommunicate person have a will to be absolved. As he was excommunicated against his will, he may also be absolved against his will. Also one may be absolved without his knowledge.* Tolet saith in the same place, that *absolution may be done by Letters, by Attorney, by Commissaries, and by Subdelegacy.*

(s) *The faculties which the Pope giveth by the jubilee, or by Bulls unto Confessors to absolve all censures whatsoever they be, concern not the outward Barr, but only that which regards the Barr of Penitence, and the purgation of the conscience.* That is, they absolve sinners before God only, not before men; and reconcile sinners unto God; not unto the Church, nor to the Pope. So that the Pope having reconciled a sinner unto God, hath not therefore reconciled that sinner unto the Pope himself. That poor sinner is acquitted towards God, by the pardon which the Pope gave him, but is not therefore acquitted towards the Pope, who by the jubilee, intended to remit Gods interests, after his own. There is need of another absolution again. And the said Cardinal, after he hath alleadged many Doctors, saith that *it is the style of the Court of Rome.* (t) In the same place he saith that the absolution of excommunicated persons *must be done with a Psalm, and the Lords Prayer, and whipping, and other customary things.* No wonder if those that have usurped the power of whipping penitents, make bold with their purse. Through that whipping many Kings have passed; of which we will bring examples in the next Controversie.

(u) And in the same Chapter, *An unjust absolution is valid.* Again, *If the*

(1) Ibid.
Absolutus
simpliciter
sed præstata
cautione de
satisfaciendo,
si non satisfaciat non
reincidit.
(m) Bellar.
l. 1. de
Indulg. c. 12.
Cum summus
Pontifex
dispensat in
jure Eccle-
siastico, di-
spensatio est
valida, etiamsi
non ad sit
causa justa.
Satis est
enim, si con-
stet eum
voluisse
dispensare,
cum id totum
ab ejus ar-
bitrio depen-
deat.
(n) Eman.
Sa, loco
superiori.
Absolutio
ex causa
falsa valet,
et si id qui-
dam negant.
(o) Tolet.
lib. 1. de
Instru. Sacerd.
cap. 14.
Absolutio
injusta valet,
ut habetur
cap. de Vene-
rabilibus S.
ubi de sent.
excom. in 6.
(p) Nec
femina, nec
Laicus, nec
simplex Sa-
cerdos ab-
solvere pos-
sunt, nisi ex
privilegio aliquo. Tolet de Instr. Sacerd. l. 1. c. 16. (q) Quilibet habens jus excommunicandi potest absolvere, etiamsi nec presbyter nec diaconus nec subdiaconus sit. (r) Ad illam priorem non est necessaria voluntas excommuni-
cati. Nam etiam invitus potest absolvi, sicut potuit invitus excommunicari, &c. Potest absolvi ignarus & inscius ab-
solutionis, &c. Potest etiam illa prior dari per literas, &c. Potest etiam illa fieri per procuratorem, &c. Cui de jure
competit, potest alteri delegare vel demandare absolutionem. (s) Facultates quæ per Romanum Pontificem dantur, per
jubileum aut Bullas Confessariis absolventi a quibusvis censuris non concernunt forum externum, sed tantum ea quæ ad
penitentiae forum & conscientie purgationem. ut notat Paris. Consil. 67. num. 20. lib. 4. Et Covarr. ubi supra ver-
quibus attestantes hunc esse stylum Romanæ Curie ut revera est. (t) Absolvitur cum Psalmo, & oratione Dominica,
verberibus, & alijs consuetis. ut dicit Sylv. absolutio 3. num. 4. (u) Absolutio injusta valet, ut habetur cap. de Ve-
nerabilibus S. ubi de sent. Excom. in 6. Si Episcopus absolvat non præmissa satisfactione, tenet absolutio Episcopus
tamen malefacit & debet corrigi.

Bishop absolveth without imposing any satisfaction before, the absolution holds, and yet the Bishop doth evil, and must be corrected.

That I may not stir that snak of abuse further, Whoso will seriously consider the whole structure of Popery, will easily perceive that the whole bulk of the doctrine tends to give authority to the Clergy, and to perswade the people that God doth not impart unto men either remission of sins, or salvation, or any spiritual grace, but by the Sacraments which Clergy-men administer, and by the intervention of their Ministry: As if God had tyed his own hands, to shew no grace to his people, unless they pass through their hands before.

Hence is sprung the opinion of the efficacy of Sacraments, by the only and bare action which they call in their canting, *ex opere operato*. That is, the Sacraments which they administer, confer grace, although they were administered to one that sleeps, or hath his mind somewhere else: And that the attention is not requisite, it being sufficient that he that receives them, resist not purposely the grace, and set not his mind to hinder it. Hence came the doctrine, that the Sacraments are void and without effect, if the Priest that administered them had no intention, so that we must believe that the grace of God conferred by the Sacraments, depends on the Priests intention, though he be never so wicked. Hence also came that doctrine, that God doth not forgive sins, but upon condition of receiving the Priests absolution in case of possibility; That God forgiveth not those sins, which the Priest would not forgive; That Priests are Judges, and pronounce judicial sentences which absolve in Gods judgement. Hence also the power which the Bishops challenge to give the Holy Ghost by the laying on of their hands, and by ordination, to print in the soula Character which remaineth even in Hell. Hence the priviledge of Clarks and Kings to be partakers of the cup in the Communion, thereby to make Clarks to become fellows to Kings. Hence that terrible power of Priests, which goeth beyond all Angelical power, to create the Creator, and to make God with words, and holding him locked up, to be able to boast that they have Christ in their power, yea though the Priest were a Sodomist: For we have seen before, that for that crime a Priest falls not into irregularity; no more then for keeping Concubines. Wherefore these Gentlemen boast in their Books, that they have a power equal unto Gods. These are the words of *Besse* a Doctor, and Preacher of the Prince of Conde, in the first book of the Royal Priesthood, chap. 3. *Joshua did only make the Sun to stay where he was before, but Priests stay Christ being in heaven, to bring him to an Altar, where he had no abode before. The creature obeyed him, but the Creator obeyeth these. The Sun obeyed him, God obeyes these, whensoever they pronounce the sacred words. The remission of sins is of a divine jurisdiction. It is the work of a Sovereign, an effect for the Almighty, a strain beyond humane merits and capacities. Yet it is a power imparted unto Priests, Quorum remiseritis, &c. A sign that the Godhead and the Priesthood have I know not what common among them, and that they have almost the same greatness, since they have the same power. How high doth this man raise Priests! There wanted no more but to call them Gods. And that he doth in the same strain. For having applied unto Priests, that which God saith of Princes, he addeth, That which God is in heaven, the Priest is upon earth; And a little after, Priesthood marcheth even with the God-head, and all Priests are Gods. A goodly doctrine; according to which, when you see a whoring and a drunken Priest, one that can hardly read his Mass (and of such the world is full) you must say, Here is a God; This man marcheth even with the Godhead, and hath the same power. Yea God obeyeth him, as this Doctor saith, and he hath God in his power, when he hath him locked up in his box. And if that Priest dyeth impenitent, (which our Adversaries deny not to be possible) here is a God carryed away by the Devil. This evil floweth from a higher spring, from the Head of the Papal Hierarchy, who could not raise his Empire, without raising together the props and pillars upon which his Monarchy stands. It is he who the first of Bishops suffered himself to be (*) adored and to be called God, (x) and the Divine (y) Majestie, and the (z) Bride-*

(*) Conc. Lat. ult. Sess. 3. & 10. *Universis populis adorandus & Deo simillimus, & adorabunt eum omnes Reges Terre.*

(x) Glo. Ta Extravag. Cum inter. *Credere Deum Deum nostrum Papam, &c.* Dist. 96. Can. sacif. *Post hanc constet a pio Principe Constantino Deum esse appellatum.*

(y) Conc. Later. ult. Sess. 9. *Divina Majestatis tue conspectus.* Liber. 2. Sacri. Cerem. sect. 7. c. 6. *Sedes Dei, id est, Sedes Apostolica.* Bell. in Barclayum. cap. 16. *Potestas Papæ est similis potestati Dei, cuius Pontifex vicem gerit in terris.*

(z) Extrav. de Immanit. Eccles. Tit. 23. sup. *Quoniam in o. Bellar. l. 1. de Pontific. c. 9. sect. Ac ne forte.*

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(a) Extrav.
Unam San-
ctam de Mi-
noritate &
Obedientia.
(b) De
Constituti-
onibus Tit. 2.
in cap. 6.
Licet ubi
Bonifacius
VIII. sic
loquitur.
Licet Rom.
Pontifex qui
iura omnia
in serinio
pectoris sui
conservet ha-
bere, &c.

groom of the Universul Church, and his Holiness exclusively to all others. It is he alone, who hath challenged to himself alone, and of late ages, the Apostles sentence, (a) *The spiritual man judgeth all things, but himself is judged of no man*; as if all men of the world were carnal in comparison of him. It is he who of late ages and without president, hath attributed unto himself infallibility in the faith, (b) and to have all the right [or Law] within the closet of his breast, and to be able to add to the Symbol, and to change that which God hath commanded in Scripture, and to make new Articles of Faith, and to be a Sovereign Judge above Scripture: Likewise, to dispense from vows and oaths made to God, to promise a degree of glory in Paradise above the ordinary sort, to unthrone Kings, to put down Emperours, to give his feet to kiss to great Monarchs, to dispense subjects from allegiance to their Sovereign, to put such as he will in the number of Saints, commanding that they be prayed to, to give pardons for many thousands of years, to give Indulgences to the dead, and to deliver souls out of Purgatory. It is he, who reserving full power to himself to forgive sins, hath limited the power of Priests and Bishops to certain cases, granting them such a portion of the Keyes as he would. That the world may think, since the authority of Priests goes so far, as to pardon sins with authority of Judges, and to absolve them before Gods judicial seat, what may the power be of him that hath an unlimited authority, and in whom God put fulness of graces, that of his fulness we may all receive, as we heard *Thomas* saying before; That great man to whom he gave the title of Saint, and of Angelical Doctor.

Eighth



Eighth Controversie, OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

OF Penitential Satisfaction.

Where also it is spoken of Satisfactions in general.

CHAP. I.

The Doctrine of the Roman Church, about Penitential Satisfaction.



After that the Penitent hath confessed his sins, the Priest layeth penances upon him, that is, satisfactory pains, enjoining him, either to fast so many dayes, or to undertake such a pilgrimage, or to visit barefoot the relicks of such a Saint, and there to do his devotions for nine dayes, or to get himself whipt, (a) or to find another that will whip himself for him; or to give so much money to such Fryars, and that is called alms, though the Fryars be rich, and the Penitent poor. Or to say for so many dayes, the seven Penitential *Psalms* in Latine. To say so many *Ave's*, interlaced with *Pater's*. Sometimes Confessors will delight to enjoin extravagant penances. *Nicol. Gyles*, Secretary to King *Lewis* the XII. in the year 768. of his *Annals*, speaks of a Penance imposed to *Robert* the *Norman*, surnamed the Devil, by reason of many excesses by him committed. That for seven years he should abstain from speaking. And the Penitent lay at a stairs foot, and ate nothing but the remnant of bones gnawed by a Greyhound. The Decree of *Burchard* Bishop of *Worms*, in the nineteenth book, prescribes many the like penances. He condemneth one who hath Killed his father or his mother, never to

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(a) *Eman. Sa, Aphor. in verbo Satisfactio. Potest quis per alium satisfacere de licentia Confessoris. Tolet, de. Instruct. Sacerd. l. 3. c. 11. Unus satisfacere potest pro altero, &c. Potest Confessor imponere penitentiam vel per se, vel per alium explendam.*

(b) Occidisti seniores tuum, &c. Vinum & medonem & mellitam cervisiam nunquam bibas, nisi in illis predictis tribus diebus. uxorem ne ducas. Concubinam non habeas, &c. Nunquam te lavas in balneo. Equum non ascendas. Causam tuam & alterius in conventu fidelium non agas. In convivio letaniam nunquam sedcas. In Ecclesia segregatus ab aliis Christianis post officium humiliter stes.

(c) Ut tria scoparum millia unum penitentiae annum expleant cum modulatione Psalmorum. Decem Psalmorum modulatione mille scopas admittit. Cumque Psalmorum constet ex 150. Psalmis, in quodque Psalterio quinquaginta annorum penitentiam expletur.

(d) Matth. Paris in Henrico II. An. 1174.

Canonicum suam discipline virgarum supponens à singulis viris religiosis, quorum multitudo magna convenerat, ictus ternos vel quatuor accipit. (e) Si quis forte non potuerit jejunare, & habuerit unde possit redimere, si dives fuerit, pro septem hebdomadibus det solidos viginti. Si non habuerit unde tantum dare possit, det solidos decem. Si autem multum pauper fuerit, det solidos tres, &c. (f) Laicus blasphemans, si nobilis fuerit, pœna 25. ducatorum mulsetur, & pro secunda vice 50. fabricæ & officii principis Apostolorum de urbe applicandis. (g) Baron. an. 1055, sect. 9. Non ignoras, quia cum à penitentibus terras, possessiones agrorum videlicet, accipimus, juxta mensuram muneris eis de quantitate penitentiae relaxamus. Quibus plane ostendit Damianus bona Ecclesiastica ejusmodi fieri, solita redemptione aucta crevisse.

ride in a coach, never to marry, and never to eat flesh. (b) To him that hath killed his Lord, he gives for penance, never to drink Wine, or Mead, or Beer with honey in it, but three dayes in the year : Never to marry : To keep no Concubine : Never to bathe himself : Never to ride on horse-back : Never to plead his cause, or that of another : Never to be at a feast ; and in the Church, to stand behind the door.

To him that hath killed a thief, he enjoyns for a penance, not to enter into the Church for forty dayes. : All these dayes to be clad with wooll : To wear no sword : To ride no horse : Not to lye with his wife, (which is punishing two for one) : Upon *Tuesdays*, *Thursdays*, and *Saturdays*, to eat nothing but pulse, herbs, apples, and small fishes, as Sprats, Smelts, small Trouts, but no Poor John. And on the same dayes to drink nothing but small stale Beer. Most part of all that is taken from the Roman Penitential, and from *Theodore's* Penitential.

It is an usual penance from the time of *Petrus Damianus* Cardinal, and which is yet practised, to whip ones self, and together to sing *Psalms*. *Baronius* in the 1055. year, relates these words of the said Cardinal, (c) *With three thousand lashes, singing Psalms melodiously, they fulfilled a year of penitence. Now one must give a thousand lashes, singing ten Psalms. And whereas the Psalter hath one hundred and fifty Psalms, with every Psalter five years of penance are fulfilled : I think he put five for fifteen.* Cardinal *Tolet* in the first Book of the Instruction of Priests, chap. 14. speaks thus, *Let him be absolved with a Psalm, and the Lords Prayer, and whipping.* (d) King *Henry the II. of England*, was so whipt at *Canterbury* by a multitude of Fryars, some of which gave him five lashes, and others gave three. I could bring many examples of Princes whipt by way of penance in our dayes. At *Rome* in the holy week, there is a publick whipping. But they that march thus through the Town whipping themselves, have their faces masked and their back bare; and for a lenitive of their wounds, some cause Vinegar to be squirted into them.

But because these are hard penances, and a fast of many years is grievous and troublesome, these Doctors have bethought themselves to use clemency, permitting the sinner to redeem these penances with money, and to exchange corporal into pecuniary pains. In the nineteenth Book of *Burchards* Decree, the nineteenth Chapter is this, (e) *If perhaps a man cannot fast, and hath wherewith to redeem [his fast] : If he be rich, for seven weeks [of fast] let him pay twenty sous. If he cannot give so much, let him give ten sous. If he be very poor, let him pay three.* He adds, that the said money must be employed for the ransom of prisoners, or given at the Altar, and to Gods servants (so he calls Priests and Monks) or else given in alms, for also that which is given to the Church is called alms. (f) The last Council of *Laterane*, Section IX. enjoyneth a Gentleman who hath blasphemed, to pay five and twenty Ducates for the first time, and fifty for the second time, which are employed for the building of *Saint Peters Church* at *Rome*.

The Roman Church was very much enriched that way, and is grown fat with the sins of the people. So much *Baronius* acknowledgeth in the year, 1055. where he asleadgeth *Petrus Damianus* Cardinal, (g) *Thou art not ignorant, that when we receive from Penitents, Lands, that is possessions of fields, we release of the quantity of the penance; according to the measure of the gift. To which Baronius addeth, By these words Damianus evidently sheweth, that the goods of the Church*

are increased by that redemption which useth to be done. Thus sins are redeemed with money, and the rich have here a great advantage. Can one blame these Gentlemen, that take so much pains to dispose of remission of sins, and by consequent of salvation, if they think it not reasonable to pardon sins for nothing?

But if there be any man that cannot fast, and that will not or cannot give money, they have devised to make him burst with singing, enterlarding lathes with the singing of a multitude of *Psalms*. The Roman Penitential enjoyns, that such a man (h) sing three times the whole *Psalter*, in twelve times three dayes, with three hundred blows for every *Psalter*, and that thereby he be discharged of a year of penance.

To the Penitents whom they will use kindly, they impose no penance or satisfaction, as we learn of the Jesuite *Emanuel Sa*, (i) To him that receiveth plenary Indulgence, absolution may be given without penance, yet it is expedient alwayes to impose some. Or they enjoyn the Penitents to do some work by way of penance, which the sinner was obliged to do, though the Priest had not enjoyned it, as the same Jesuite saith, (k) One may impose for a penance, a work which otherwise was due, and he alleadgeth many Doctors that say the same. Cardinal *Tolet* is of the same mind, (l) The Confessor may impose for a penance, works that were due without that, as to fast three dayes in Lent, which the Penitent was bound to fast howsoever. By the same reason, the Confessor may enjoyn as a penance to the sinner to believe in God. And if the Confessor enjoyns for a penance to do some good work, to which every Christian is obliged, it must be presupposed, that when the Penitent doth that work, he doth two things: For by that work, he doth what he ought to do for the present, and yet by the same work he satisfieth and recompenseth God for the time past. And the same work is meritorious for the future, and satisfactory for the sins done before.

It is also a gentle kind of satisfaction, when the Confessor imposeth to the Penitent for satisfaction, (m) all the good works which he shall do afterwards, and all the evils which he shall suffer. That is, he declares unto the sinner that all the prayers and alms which he shall do (yet without specifying to him any kind of good works) and the sicknesses that he shall suffer, and all the law-suits that he shall have, must serve him hereafter as payments and satisfactions to God. This is expressly set down in the ordinary form of absolution, to which *Tolet* saith, that it was very prudently added, *All the good that thou shalt do, and all the evil that thou shalt suffer, may serve thee for remission of sins, and increase of grace, and reward of everlasting life*. For, (saith this Cardinal) good works which otherwise are due, when the Priest imposeth them by way of penance, become of a value above the obligation; so that the Priest can alter the nature of the work.

The gentlest satisfaction of all, is when the Priest imposeth for a penance to a man, to find one that will be whipt for him, or that will fast for him. As the same Cardinal saith, (n) One may satisfy for another. And, The Confessor can lay a penance, which the Penitent shall be obliged to fulfill, either by himself or by another. And the Jesuite *Emanuel Sa*, (o) One may satisfy by another, by the Confessors leave.

The worst penance or satisfaction of all, is when remission of sins is given to a sinner upon condition of committing some murder, or treason, or disloyal act. (p) As when *Paschal* the II. in the year 1107. commanded *Robert* Earl of *Flan-*

(h) Burchard. l. 19. c. 23. ex Penitentiali Romano.

Duodecim triduanæ singula cum Psalteriis tribus impletis & cum palmatis trentia per singula Psalteria excusant unius anni penitentiam.

(i) Etsi accipient indulgentiam plenariam potest dari absolutio sine penitentia, expedit tamen aliquam semper imponere.

(k) Eman. Sa, ibid. Potest in penitentiam imponi opus alias debitum. Toler De Valentia, Navarrus, Cajetan, Soto, Palud. Capreol. Sylvest.

(l) Tolet lib. 3. de Instr. Sacerd. c. 3. Possit Confessor pro penitentia imponere opera alias debita, ut quod jejundet tres dies quadragesimæ, quos

tamen tenebatur alias jejunare penitens. (m) Ibid. Alia via juvatur penitentia & satisfactio scilicet imponendo illi omnia que faciurus est bona & que passurus est mala loco penitentia. Est enim sciendum, quod opera alias debita Deo, si imponantur à Confessario, valent ultra obligationem, &c. Unde optimo consilio in forma absolvendi adjungitur illud. Quicquid boni feceris, & mali sustinueris, sit tibi in remissionem peccatorum. (n) Ibid. Unus satisfacere potest pro altero, &c. Potest Confessor imponere penitentiam, vel per se, vel per alium implendam. (o) Eman. Sa, Aphor. in verbo Satisfactio. Potest quis per alium satisfacere de licentia Confessoris. (p) De Paschali & Leodiensibus vide Bochetti decretum, lib. 5. cap. 6.

(q) Matth.
Paris, &
Vestmonasteriensis in
Johan.

ders to destroy and slay the Clergy of *Cambray* and *Liege*, because they adhered to the Emperour *Henry* the V. & he was to do that for the remission of all his sins. (q) And when *Innocent* the III. gave to *Philip August* of *France* the remission of all his sins upon condition of invading and wasting all *England*, where he had no right. And when in our time the French Priests gave absolution, and the Pope set forth Indulgences, upon condition of taking part with the League and rebelling against the King. For it is as if one said, *Wilt thou have me to forgive thee thy sins? Be a Traytor and a Murderer, for it is the true way to make thy peace with God: Or, Because thou art a wicked thief, thou shalt have eternal life.*

(r) Bellar.
lib. 1. de Indul.
c. 9. Peccatis mortiferis singulis debetur secundum canones penitentiae trinum vel septem annorum.

(f) Gerson.
lib. de absolutione Sacramentali. Fatue sunt & superstitiose quaedam intulaciones de Indulgentiis viginti mille annorum, si quis dixerit quinque Pater noster ante salutem imaginem, &c. Et flet per Praelatos providendum, quia cedit hoc in contemptum & irrisum indulgentiarum.

(t) Bellar.
l. 4. de penit. c. 13. Indulgentia faciunt ut pro iis quae per indulgentias condonantur,

non teneantur precepto illo de faciendis dignis penitentiae fructibus. (u) Bell. l. 2. de Indulg. c. 6. In secunda reconciliatione, quae fit per Sacramentum penitentiae, Evangelium dicit Christum offerri penitentis cum affluentia bonorum quidem celestium, sed non tanta ut remittatur omnis reatus culpa, sed ut post remissionem omnem culpam & poenam sempiternam remaneat penitentia & satisfactio peragenda, pro temporaria poena expianda. (x) Id. l. 1. de Purg. c. 14. Dicitur in Sacramento absolutionis Deum contrahere nonnulli manum; & applicare Christi meritum ad tollendam culpam & poenam aeternam, tamen adhuc requirere opera penitentiae quibus redimamus temporales poenas. (y) Conc. Trid. Sess. 14. Satisfactio quam imponunt non fit tantum ad novam vitam custodiam, & infirmitatis medicamentum, sed etiam ad praeteritorum peccatorum vindictam & castigationem.

remedy

By fulfilling of these penances imposed by the Priest, our Adversaries hold that the Penitent satisfieth unto the justice of God, and that they serve for expiation of sins as for the temporal pain, which whosoever shall not fulfill in this life, he must fulfill what is wanting of the whole satisfaction in Purgatory, a fire far hotter then our ordinary fire, (r) where souls must suffer seven years for every mortal sin, or three years at least: unless the Pope graciously fetch them out of it by his Indulgences, or unless the friends of the deceased found Masses and Dirges for them. But none comes out without money: For these men industrious in the most superlative manner, have found the way to dig money out of the graves, and death is tributary to them. If a man hath deserved to be twenty thousand years in Purgatory, (f) let him obtain ten thousand years of pardon, he is discharged of the half of the satisfaction, and the pain which he deserveth in Purgatory is shortened by one half. But if he hath deserved to be but two thousand years in Purgatory, and hath obtained twenty thousand years of pardon, what becomes of the eighteen thousand years of pardon more then he needed? The Doctors dispute about it.

This is then constant among our Adversaries, that when the Priest hath imposed satisfactory pains upon the Penitent, which are called penitences or penances, (t) the Pope can dispense from them, and exempt the sinner from obeying God, who saith, *Act. 2. 3. Do penitence; or, Repent.*

But because the Gospel teacheth us that Christ is the propitiation for our sins, and that he gave himself a ransom for us, *1 Tim. 2. 6.* Which ransom being most perfect and of an infinite price, it seems that looking for other satisfactions or expiatory pains is more then needs, and going about to satisfy for a debt which is fully paid already, or derogating from the perfection of the ransom and satisfaction which Christ had paid, and calling the virtue thereof in question, and accusing God of envy, because he will not receive the satisfaction and ransom paid by his Son, for so much as it is worth. To daube that, and to get a shelter against the doctrine of the Gospel, they sow up a piece to the Gospel, and a new Article of faith, which is one of the main buttresses of Popery, and a fundamental maxime of his tyrannie, and a great gate open unto traffique. (u) They say that in the absolution or reconciliation which is done by the Sacrament of Penitence, Christ is not offered with such affluence of good, that thereby the whole pain of our sins be altogether forgiven. (x) But that God withdraws his hand a little, and makes himself somewhat sparing to pardon. For, (say they) the fault of sins since Baptism, and the eternal pain, is so remitted unto us, that there remains an obligation to the temporal pain, both in this life and in Purgatory. Which pain is called satisfactory, because by bearing it, we satisfy the justice of God, and bear the expiation of our sins. Which satisfactory pain the Council of *Trent* declares to be not only (y) an instruction to learn to live with a new life, and a

remedy to our infirmities; but also a revenge for sins done, as if God would have a revenge for sins pardoned, or took a delight to avenge himself of his children whom he hath pardoned, and for whom Christ is dead.

(z) The same Council thundreth out an *Anathema* against those that say, that God never remits the fault, without remitting the pain also, and that there is no other satisfaction to God for us, but Christs satisfaction apprehended by faith.

(a) The same Council addeth, that by our satisfying for our sins, by the pains which we suffer, we are made conformable unto Christ who satisfied for us: For these Fathers will, that as Christ by his sufferings hath paid and satisfied for us unto God, so we by our sufferings pay and satisfy for our selves, that we may be made conformable unto Christ.

They say also, that our satisfactions are valid and receivable before God by vertue of Christs satisfaction. For such is their Doctrine, that the payment which Christ hath made of our debts, serveth to make us pay the same debts; and that the ransom which he paid for us, serveth to make us pay a ransom for our selves: And that the satisfaction whereby Christ fully satisfied unto the justice of God for us, gives us this vertue, that by the torment which we bear in a burning fire, we satisfy the justice of God for the obligation to the temporal pain. Yea they make no difficulty to say, that to speak properly there is no other satisfaction but our own. (b) *Bellarmino* saith so much in chap. 14. of the first book of Purgatory, *That there is but one actual satisfaction* (that is, one satisfaction in effect) *which is our own.* For, as for Christs satisfaction, they will have it to serve to make ours good, as Christ having not paid to exempt us from the torments and pains of Purgatory, but serving only for to give value to our torments, and to make them satisfactory.

Yea, they go so far as to say, that in respect of that temporal pain, whereby we are to satisfy God, the merit of Christ is useful indeed, but not necessary, and that all men stand not in need of it. (c) Let the attentive reader weigh these words of *Bellarmino*, in the first Chapter of the second book of Indulgences, *The merits of Christ are partly necessary to all, partly not necessary but useful, and in this last manner they belong to the ground of Indulgences.* He declareth that the merits of Christ are the ground of Indulgences, in that they are not necessary, but only useful. So that if the merits of Christ were alwayes considered as necessary, Indulgences should have no ground. To explain his meaning further he addeth, (d) *If any after he hath got the grace of reconciliation, is yet guilty of the temporal pain, he doth not of necessity need the merits of Christ to get an absolute pardon of that guilt. Not that without the merits of Christ, the guilt or obligation to the pain can be absolutely forgiven him, but because he may forbear requiring of God such a great liberality, being content to give satisfaction to God, by his labours and pains, either in this life, or in Purgatory, the merit of Christ alwayes co-operating.* According to the doctrine of that Cardinal Jesuite, a soul in Purgatory may ipeak thus to God; *O God, I know that the merits of thy Son Jesus Christ are so great, that I may be exempted from this torment by his merits: But I beg not such a great liberality at thy hands, and am content to be burnt in this fire, and to satisfy thy justice by temporal pain. Being thus resolved, the merits of thy Son are not necessary to me, and I stand in no need of them. Only they are useful to me, to make the pain whereby I satisfy thy justice to be acceptable.* Thus a courageous soul may send back unto God his present, and will not be so much obliged unto him. And see what that generosity is grounded upon. (e) *It is not* (saith the same Doctor) *because Christs merits are not sufficient, but because it is more profitable for us, and more honourable for Christ (as God also hath instituted it) that the second causes be not idle, but that they concurr with the first cause to bring forth effects.*

(z) Sess. 14. Can. 12. Si quis dixerit totam penam simul cum culpa remitti semper à Deo satisfactionemque penitentium non esse aliam quam fidem, qua apprehendunt Christum pro eis satisfecisse. Anathema sit.

(a) Dum satisfaciendo patimur pro peccatis, Christo Jesu qui pro peccatis nostris satisfecit, ex quo omnis nostra sufficientia est, conformes efficiamur.

(b) Tertius modus mihi videtur multo probabilior, quod una tantum sit actualis satisfactio, & ea sit nostra.

(c) Merita Christi partim sunt omnibus necessaria, partim non necessaria, sed utilia. Atque hoc posteriore modo ad fundamentum Indulgentiarum pertinet.

(d) Si quis post gratiam reconciliationis adeam adhuc sit reus luende pene tempore

valis, is non necessario eget meritis Christi, ut per ea reatus illi simpliciter condonetur. Non quod sine meritis Christi possit reatus illi simpliciter condonari, sed quia ipse poterit non requirere tantam liberalitatem, contentus ipse suis laboribus & poenis vel in hac vita vel in purgatorio satisfacere Deo, co-operante semper Christi merito. (e) Non quod Christi merita non sufficiant, sed quia id nobis utilius, & Christo gloriosius est, quemadmodum etiam idem Deus instituit, ut secundae causae non sint otiosae, sed cum ipsa prima causa ad res producendas convenient.

Is not that a very pregnant consideration, and sufficient to make a soul willing to be burnt some thousands of years? For, belike, there is both profit and honour in contributing to the payment, and presenting to God ones own pains and satisfactions, to attain to the Kingdom of God when the term of the torment is expired, rather then to be presently transported into Paradise, like an idle man and of small courage, contributing nothing of his own. These are gallant and courageous spirits indeed, whom God will torment and burn to gratifie them. Yet to my thinking, since some action must be attributed to second causes, if these souls had been presently put in possession of the heavenly glory, their actions would have been more noble and excellent, then those which they do in that underground fire, far from the sight of God, and from the company of his Saints, and they had glorified God in a far better way.

And that one may not think that these satisfactions are such small things, the Roman Church holds, that the (f) Saints, Monks, and Martyrs, do more then needs for the expiation of their sins, so that there is an overplus which the Pope reserveth in his treasure. How he gathers it, and layeth it up, and by what text of Scripture he is constituted the Keeper and Distributor of the same, it is not said, but is left to be piously presumed. As the same *Bellarmino* saith, (g) That *trusting in the merits of the Saints, is honourable and glorious unto Christ*. For it is an Article of Faith, drawn from the unwritten word. O excellent Apostle, who was wrapt up to the third heaven, and there didst learn unutterable things; if all that doctrine be true, how ignorant wert thou in the doctrine of the Gospel! For in all thine Epistles where thou magnifiest so excellently, and expoundest so clearly the benefit of our Saviour Jesus, we find not one word of all this doctrine. Here let us give glory to God, on the one side acknowledging the depths of Satan, and on the other side the just wrath of God, who hath smitten these last ages with the spirit of stumbling. Indeed, when after the reading of Evangelists and Apostles, I come to revolve in my mind this horrible sink of prodigious abuse, I find my self as it were transported into a new world, as if from the reading of the holy Oracles, I past to the reading of *Alcoran*.

(f) Bell. id prolixè probat lib. Indulg. c. 2. Sancti plus passi sunt, quam eorum peccata requirunt.

(g) Idem l. 2. de Indulg. c. 8. Fidere sanctorum meritis est Filio Dei per bonificum & gloriosum.

CHAP. 2.

Of the word Satisfaction. State of the Question.

BESIDES the general significaion of the word *Satisfic*, which signifieth, to give content, there are two kinds of satisfaction in the civil society, which belong to the present question. For either satisfaction is made for injuries and offences, or for debts. For injuries, satisfaction is made (a) when a man protesteth that he is sorry for it, excuseth himself with humility, and craveth pardon. The Roman Civil Law had forms of satisfactions for offences. But as for debts, satisfaction is made by paying, either personally, or by another.

Our Adversaries and we are agreed upon this, That since we have offended God, we ought to humble our selves before him, repent, amend, and crave his pardon. If that be called satisficing, we willingly acknowledge and approve that satisfaction. But because our sins in the Lords Prayer are called *debts*, whose payment is nothing else but the punishment due to Gods justice, the question is, Whether the faithful children of God are able to pay that debt? and, Whether God exacts of them satisfactory pains to satisfic his justice? and, Whether they be obliged to bear penances or pains, which serve for expiation or satisfaction to God?

It is the doctrine of the Roman Church, that by absolution, which the Priest giveth in the Sacrament of Penitence, the whole fault of the sins committed since Baptism, is remitted and put out, but not the whole pain: And that by the vertue

of

(a) Terent. Adelph. Nolim factum, iurandum dabitur te esse indignam injuria hac.

of the Keyes, eternal pain is changed into temporal, by which we must satisfie and bear it, both in this life and in Purgatory. Which is the reason why the Priest imposeth satisfactory pains upon the sinner, which he must bear and fulfill to satisfie the justice of God. And if the Penitent doth not wholly satisfie in this life, and dyeth before he hath fulfilled the satisfaction, he must bear those pains which remain yet to bear, in Purgatory, to fulfill the satisfaction.

According to that doctrine, our Adversaries take the word Satisfaction for a compensation payed to God for the offence. As Cardinal *Tolet* saith, (b) *Satisfactio est una recompence of the offence past, as for the pain.* And the Catechism of the Council of *Trent*, in the Chapter of the Sacrament of Penitence, (c) *Satisfactio est unum payment of the thing due, and a compensation which a man payeth unto God for his sins.* According to that doctrine, when a man hath borne the pains enjoined by a Priest, we must say that God is wholly paid and well recompenced, and believe that God will be contented with that payment: And that the Priest knoweth exactly how much God must have, that he may be wholly paid, and call for no more. *Bellarmino* in the first Book of Indulgences, Chapter 2. makes no difficulty to say, that the remission of the pain is due to the satisfactory work by commutative justice. That commutative justice, is a justice that payeth so much for so much, so that God being thus paid by the Penitent, ought in reason to be contented, and according to that Cardinals rule, God must pardon, and should be unjust, if he accepted not for payment those satisfactory pains, which the Penitent fulfilleth by the Priests injunction. (d) The same Doctor saith, that the justified man can satisfie God for the debt of the temporal pain, *Ex condigno*, that is, by an equipollent satisfaction. And Cardinal *Tolet*, As near as can be, one must impose a just and equal satisfaction; that is, according to the grievousness of the sin.

By all that was said, it appears that the satisfactions of the Roman Church, are not only humiliations and requests for pardon, but are pretended to be payments and recompences to satisfie Gods justice. As indeed the chief of all these satisfactions is the pain of Purgatory, which is a punishment inflicted by a Judge, who draweth satisfaction from the sinner, and a revengé, as the Council of *Trent* told us before. For in Purgatory, the amendment, and the correction, or warning for the future hath no more place. The same appeareth, because the Pope dispenseth and dischargeth such as he pleaseth from those satisfactions; for he would not discharge a sinner from being contrite, and from craving pardon of God. Also because the Roman Church in the Sacrament of Penitence, puts Contrition and Confession, as things different from satisfaction, so that satisfying is another thing then being contrite, and asking pardon of God, by confessing sin unto him. So then satisfying in the style and sense of the Roman Church, is paying God, it is giving compensation to God, it is contenting his justice by suffering the punishment.

Our language is far from that, for we speak after the Word of God. Among the sufferings and the disgraces which we bear for the doctrine of the Gospel, we have that honour, that we maintain the perfection of the merit of our Saviour Jesus, and that we are Advocates among men of the honour of him, who is our Advocate with God. For knowing the misery of our nature, and how guilty we are before God, we humble our selves before him, and to him make Confession of our sins, believing that the best, yea the only Penitence which God requireth at our hands, is to be sorry that we have offended God, and that keeping our selves from evil, we apply our selves unto good works, and advance in the fear of God. For as the book of Ecclesiastical maxims attributed unto Saint *Austin*, saith, (f) *True penitence is not to do things which we should repent for afterwards, and to weep for sins committed, satisfaction of penitence is to cut off the occasions of sin, and to give no access to their suggestion.* But as for satisfying God by satisfactory pains, we acknowledge no other satisfaction but the sufferings of our Saviour Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for us, and who is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. This satisfaction being most sufficient, we look for no other,

and

(b) *Tolet.*
Instruct.
Sacerd. l. 3.
cap. 11.

Est autem satisfactio, ut in presenti sumitur, offensa pœne quo id pœnam recompensatio.

(c) *Satisfactio est rei debiti integritas solutio. Est compensatio, cum homo pro peccatis commissis aliquid solvit.*

(d) *Bellar.*
lib. 1. Indulg. cap. 9.
Iustificatus potest ex condigno satisfacere Deo pro debito pœne temporalis.

(e) *Tolet.*
de Instruct. Sacerdotali l. 3. c. 11.
Quantum fieri potest, satisfactio iusta & equalis imponi debet.

(f) *De dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis, cap. 34.*
Pœnitentia vera est pœnitenda non admittere, & admissa desistere.

Satisfactio pœnitentie est causas peccatorum excindere nec earum suggestionibus aditum præbere.

and renouncing our own satisfactions, we repose our consciences upon the only satisfaction which Christ offered unto God.

We borrow not the satisfactions of Saints or Monks, knowing that the best of them was saved by Christs satisfaction, not by the merit of their sufferings. We are not so rash as to enjoin a sinner to pay God, or give him some compensation, knowing that God will not be paid with such light coyn, as mens works or sufferings; we advise consciences not to build their faith upon such a weak foundation. We are not so injurious to Gods goodness and mercy, as to believe that he giveth us but half a pardon, or that he receives not Christs satisfaction for as much as it is worth, seeing that it is sufficient to acquit us both from temporal and eternal pain. We will not wrong his justice so much, as to believe that he punisheth with satisfactory pains, those that have no more sin, and that by consequence are no more guilty; or that he will take two payments for one debt, and two satisfactions for one sin, seeing that one, which is that of Christ, is most perfect and sufficient. We are confirmed in this belief, because we see that those very men that impose these satisfactions, dispense from them afterwards, as acknowledging them not necessary, and sometimes they give absolution without any satisfaction. Also because we see that these humane satisfactions are very gainful to them that maintain them, and that the benefit of Christs merit was pared purposely, to make room for gain. For if no other satisfaction but that of Christ were acknowledged, Priests should have no authority to impose corporal or pecuniary penances, and none should have recourse to the Pope to be delivered from those pains by Indulgences, which are so beneficial unto him: He hath invented torments for souls, that he might release them for their money. He hath built a burning prison for souls, that he might be the Jaylor, and that the living should pay for the deliverance of the dead. But this accusation must be justified with proofs, and requires a Chapter apart.

(g) Gellius,
lib. 6. c. 14.
*Puniendis
peccatis tres
esse debere
causas existi-
matum est.
Una est, que
vindicat vel
reducit.
Altera, que
exemplum
tertia, que
maius deryma,
à Grecis no-
minatur.*

But before we bring our proofs, the Reader is desired to remember, that to have a clear understanding of this difference, (g) the ends for which God afflicteth sinners, ought to be carefully distinguished. 1. Some pains are called *Castigatory*, which serve to amend and correct the sinner, turn him away from vice, and teach him to fear God. So doth a father chastise his children, and a good Master his Disciples. 2. There are *Satisfactory* pains, which serve not to amend the sinner, nor to turn him away from vices, but to satisfy justice, and pay unto God a compensation for the pain due to our sins. Such is (if we believe our Adversaries) the torment of Purgatory fire, where amendment hath no more place. 3. There are also some pains which are called *Exemplary*, and are inflicted to be an example and a warning to others. Such are the pains of malefactors, which are publicly punished or executed, that others may be refrained by their examples.

These ends, though different, may sometimes meet in one punishment. As when a thief is whipt in publick, he satisfieth justice, he giveth example to others, and by his punishment he is taught to amend.

CHAP. 3.

That the Holy Scripture makes Christ and the merit of his death, to be the ground of remission of sins, as his death being the only ransom and propitiation for our sins. And that the Roman Church feigning to acknowledge the sufficiency and perfection of that satisfaction, debaseth and weakeneth it with all her power.

HOLY Scripture attributeth the remission of our sins to Jesus Christ. 1 John 2. 1, 2. *We have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.* 1 John 1. 1. *The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin.* Acts 10. 43. *To him give all the Prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins.* Col. 1. 19, 20. *It pleased the Father — having made peace through the blood of his Cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself.* Isa. 53. 5, 6. *He was wounded for our transgressions — and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.* John 1. 29. *He is the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.* 1 Tim. 2. 5. *There is one God, and one Mediatour between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all.* Col. 2. 13. *God hath quickened us, together with Christ, having (a) forgiven us all our offences.* In a word, it is the substance of the Gospel; it is that we profess to believe in the Symbol. It is that we ask in our prayers, the remission of our sins by Jesus Christ.

(a) *See Acts*

5. 31.
Luk. 24. 47.
Heb. 1. 3.

Now as in our prayers we intend to ask of God an entire remission of our sins, so we must believe that the ransom which he paid for us, is not an imperfect ransom. As in the Symbol, when we say, *I believe the resurrection of the flesh, and everlasting life*, we mean not that we believe half a resurrection, or an imperfect eternal life, but we profess that we believe a full and whole remission of our sins by Jesus Christ. As the Lord said unto his servant, *Matth. 18. 32. I forgave thee all that debt.* And the texts alleadged before say, that all our sins are forgiven, and that freely. And the Apostle to the *Hebrews 7. 25. He is able to save to the uttermost, them that come unto God by him.* It would be an impious opinion, tending to the abolishing of the Gospel, to think that when the Apostle said, that *Christ gave himself a ransom for us*, he spake of an imperfect ransom, after which we are still obliged to pay our ransom or redemption, and to satisfy Gods justice by satisfactory pains, such as those of Purgatory. Of which it cannot be said that they are inflicted for example, for no body seeth them: Or that they are for correction or amendment, for they hold that the souls in Purgatory are altogether just, and are no more subject to sin.

The same is made evident by the death of those whom Scripture affirmeth to be entred into rest, and into the glory of the Saints, as the thief carried into Paradise the very day of his death, and that *Lazarus* mentioned, *Luke 16. 22, 23, 25.* whose soul departed from his body, is carried by Angels into *Abrahams* bolom, where he is comforted. And *Simeon* received into peace, as God had promised him, *Luke 2. 19.* And the merciful and righteous, of whom we read, *Isa. 57. 1, 2.* that they are taken away from the evil to come, and enter into peace: And those of whom it is proclaimed in heaven, that being dead in the Lord they rest from their labours, and they are blessed. For upon such it is evident, that after their mortal race done, God laid no satisfactory pain. Upon this Cardinal *Belarmine* is sore gravelled, and not knowing in what rank to put the souls lying in Purgatory, he saith that (b) they partly die in the Lord, partly not in the Lord. This doctrine is so evidently set down in Scripture, that the Doctors of the Roman Church seem to embrace it, whensoever they go about to amplify the price, and efficacy of Christs sufferings with excessive terms and Hyperbolical words, so

(b) *Beilar. lib. 1. de Purgat. c. 12. §. Ref. on-deo. Qui decedunt cum peccatis venialibus aut cum debito poene alicujus temporalis, si simpliciter non moriuntur in Domino, sed partim in Domino, &c. partim non in Domino.*

far as to say that one drop of Christs blood was sufficient to redeem a thousand worlds, so that by their reckoning his death was not necessary to save us. Which is accusing God upon the by, and taxing him of cruelty, for laying such horrible torments upon his beloved Son without necessity, when one drop of his blood could have served to his end. But these high expressions are used purposely to amuse the simple, and to insinuate with more plausibility, those Articles whereby they pare the merit of Christs death, and derogate from the perfection of the same. For Cardinal Bellarmine in the fourteenth Chapter of the first Book of Purgatory, makes no difficulty to say that he (c) *thinks it more probable that there is but one actual satisfaction which is our own.* He holds not Christs satisfaction to be an actual satisfaction. Only he will have it to serve to make our satisfactions of a sufficient value for our redemption. Wherefore also he teacheth (d) that the Saints who suffered more then needed to satisfy for their own sins, are in some sort our Redeemers, because their sufferings become payments for our redemption. Whence it follows that every one of us, when he satisfies for himself, is the Redeemer of himself.

This is also the Doctrine of the Jesuite Vasquez, (e) in the 132. dispute upon the first part of the second of Thomas, in the 82. question, where he flustly maintains that *the next cause that gets us a right to the Kingdom of heaven, is not the righteousness of Christ, but the righteousness which by the merit of Christ is derived into us.* So he calls the inherent justice, and the habitual vertues which are within us, the chief whereof is Charity.

To the same purpose our Adversaries bring texts of Scripture depraved after their manner, which command us to redeem our souls our own selves. They say that we satisfy *ex condigno*, and by equipollency, so that God is wholly paid: That to satisfy God for temporal pain, such as that of Purgatory, the merit of Christ is not necessary: And that we may very well forbear asking of God such a great liberality, contenting our selves with our own satisfaction: As we shall hereafter more exactly shew.

The same appears in that belief of the Roman Church, that the torments and labours which the Saints have suffered, serve to others for payments, and satisfactions to the justice of God. For example, Saint Antonine Archbishop of Florence, who was Sainted by the will, statute and mandate, (for these are the terms of the Bull of canonization) of Clement the VII. relates of Saint Dominick, (f) *That he gave to himself three disciplines, that is, he whipt himself three times almost every day, not with a whip-cord, but with an iron chain, even to effusion of blood; one for his sins, which were very small, another for them that are in Purgatory, and the third for those that dwell in the world.* Thus that venerable Saint paid and satisfied for others. The Pope hath received the two last disciplines of that Saint into his treasure, and converts them into compensation, payment and satisfaction for others. Not but that Christs satisfaction is sufficient to exempt from Purgatory, but because it is not Gods pleasure to make it serve so far, or because it was not Christs intention when he dyed for us, to satisfy for the pain of Purgatory. For (saith (g) Bellarmine) *if Christ satisfied for all our faults and for all our pain, why after the fault is forgiven do we suffer so many sorrows?* This is declaring plainly enough, that Christ did not satisfy for the whole pain, although the whole fault be forgiven us.

This is the fundamental maxime upon which all that abuse is grounded, that by Baptism all the fault is forgiven, and together all the pain of sins committed before Baptism. But as for sins committed after Baptism, the fault is wholly forgiven and remitted by the Sacrament of Penitence, but not the whole pain, but we are to satisfy for that pain, both in this life by penances enjoined by the Priest, and by those that are voluntarily undertaken, and after this life in the fire of Purgatory, out of which nevertheless the Pope may deliver souls by his indulgences.

That maxime being a new Gospel, taken from the unwritten word, deserveth a Chapter by it self.

S. Tertius.
(c) Tertius
modus videtur
probabilior,
quod una
tantum sit
actualis sa-
tisfactio, &
ea sit nostra.
(d) Bellar.
lib. de In-
dulgentiis,
cap. 4. §.
sexta.
(e) Cap. 9.
pag. 597.

(f) Antonin.
de sancto
Dominico
Tit. 23. c. 1.
sect. 2.
Ternam disci-
plinam quasi
quotidie de
manu propria,
non chordula
sed catena
ferrea usque
ad sanguinis
effusionem
capiebat:
Pro suis cul-
pis unam,
que minime
exant, pro in-
Purgatorio
existentibus
aliam, tertiam
pro iis qui
versantur in
mundo.
(g.) Bellar.
lib. 1. de
Purg. c. 20.
Si Christus
satisfecit pro
omni culpa
& pena,
cur post re-
missam culpam
adhuc tam
multa mala
patimur?

CHAP. 4.

Where this Maxime of the Roman Church is examined, that God having forgiven the whole fault, doth not alwayes forgive the whole pain.

OUR Adversaries lay this as a ground, that in sin there are two things, the fault and the pain, that is, the offence and the punishment, and that God forgiving the whole fault, doth not alwayes forgive the whole satisfactory pain due to the fault.

In this doctrine I find four notable absurdities, which before all things must be laid open.

I. The first is, that in sin there are two things, the fault and the punishment : A great absurdity. For how can they say that fault is in sin, seeing that fault and sin are all one ? When the Priest saith, *Mea culpa*, he confesseth his sin. See *Genes.* 31. 36. (a) *Numb.* 15. 26. He that saith that the sickness is in the body, presupposeth with good reason that the sickness and the body are two things. But these men say without reason, that the fault is in the sin, as if they were different things.

(a) *Numb.*
15. 26.
Quoniam
culpa est om-
nis populi.

II. The absurdity is much alike, in their saying, that these two things are in sin, the fault and the pain, whereby they say by consequent, that the pain is in the sin. Which is not true. For the pain is not in the sin, and is neither part, nor accident, nor circumstance of sin. Sin is truly sin, though it remain unpunished. There are sins without pains, and pains without sin. How should the pain be in the sin, since the pain is of a nature contrary to the sin ? The sin is unjust, but the pain is just. The sin comes from man, but the pain comes from God. The pain is made to correct the sin, and is by consequent contrary to the sin.

III. The third absurdity is in their saying, that *God forgiving the sin, doth not alwayes forgive the pain.* They presuppose that God sometimes forgives the pain, which is false. For the pain is never forgiven, there is nothing that can be pardoned but the sin, or the fault, which is all one. Themselves would laugh at him that should say, that the Prince hath pardoned whipping or the gallows to a malefactor. It is the fault that is pardoned, because it is unjust. But pains are just, therefore they need no pardon.

IV. This discovereth a fourth absurdity, the grossest of all. For by speaking thus, they make two pardons where there is but one. If a Malefactor receiveth grace from the King, no body hath lost common sense so much as to say, that the King hath forgiven him, not his crime only, but also the punishment. The felon will be contented at all times that his crime be wholly pardoned ; Which pardon when he hath once obtained, after that he will never be such an idiot as to petition, that the punishment be forgiven him : For he knows that by the absolute pardon of his crime, the prison-gates are open unto him, and that he is free from all the punishment which he might have feared from the Kings Justice. Hence it appears how ridiculous and imaginary the Popes pardons are. For nothing can be forgiven but the fault. Now by these pardons, the Roman Church holds that nothing is pardoned but the pain, because it is already wholly remitted by Jesus Christ. According to the imagination of these Gentlemen, when a father hath wholly pardoned his sons fault, his son needs to get another pardon, that he may not be whipt. No other way did they find to set up their error, but by overthrowing reason. Having forsaken the Word of God, they have by his just judgement lost common sense.

V. Absurdities might be sleighted, if impiety did not go along with them. But by this doctrine a high wrong is offered unto God. It is casting injustice upon God, to teach that God forgiveth the fault, and yet burns a poor soul for faults wholly pardoned. He that wholly pardoneth, looks for no more vengeance

or satisfaction to justice. Let them tell us whether these souls that are burning in Purgatory be guilty or not guilty. If they be guilty still, they affirm untruly that all their fault is remitted and pardoned, for it is the fault that makes a man guilty. If they be not guilty, it is unjust to burn and torment souls that are not guilty. Where there is no fault, there is no sin, and by consequent no satisfactory pain for sin. And would God behave himself so towards the souls of his children, for whom Christ dyed? Is there any father so unnatural, as to burn his children for offences absolutely pardoned? Yea to punish them with pains, which serve not to mend them, but to content himself, and to satisfie his justice?

The cause being taken away, which only can make the satisfactory pain just before God, the pain also is taken away. Now the only cause that can justifie the torment of souls burning in a fire, is the fault. Otherwise the sinner frying in that fire, might justly complain of God, and say to him, *Why dost thou punish me with satisfactory pains, after thou hast absolutely forgiven me my sin? Why dost thou use me as guilty, when I have no more faults? And whereas thy son Jesus hath paid both for the fault and the pain, and hath sufficiently satisfied to exempt me from this torment of Purgatory? Why dost thou not receive the ransom which he paid for me, for so much as it is worth? Why dost thou abate of the price and vertue of my ransom? If it be for thy glory, thy goodness shall be much more exalted by pardoning me. If it be to satisfie thy justice, Christ hath entirely satisfied for it.* Our Adversaries have not yet bethought themselves to frame answers for God unto this expostulation: For they will be burnt for many ages, although God hath given a full pardon to the repenting and believing sinner.

VII. Sins being debts, the payment whereof is the satisfactory pain, he that saith that God wholly forgiveth the sin, and yet exacteth satisfactory pains after full pardon, maketh God to say, *I forgive thee the whole debt, but yet thou shalt pay: I do wholly forgive thee, but thou shalt be burnt and punished for the sin which I have forgiven thee.* As if one hang'd a man with his Kings Letters of pardon hanging at his neck, in contempt of the Kings authority. So these men frame us a God that abuseth men, and his own Graces, fetching satisfaction for debts fully acquitted, punishing sins pardoned with satisfactory pains.

VIII. But how did Christ bear all our sins? Was it not by bearing all the satisfactory pains due to our sins? And if Christ bare all our pain, it was to acquit us from it. *Si tulit abstulit.* No man loads himself with another mans debt, but to discharge him of it. So speaketh Saint *Austin*, that (b) *Christ by taking part with us of the pain, hath abolished both the fault and the pain.* Here the question is not of the means of applying that grace, whereby Christ hath born all our pain, of which we shall speak hereafter, but only to know whether Christ hath born all our pain, and whether he did not bear it to discharge us from it. The grace of God is not applyed unto us, by means contrary to that grace, and such are our torments. Our Adversaries themselves make these means superfluous by the Popes Indulgences, who exempteth such as he will from Purgatory. For thereby they declare that it is not a thing repugnant unto the justice of God, or to the Gospel, that God remit unto men the whole pain, as well as the fault, and exact no satisfactory pain from them.

IX. Let them tell us why they will have God, at certain times, and to certain persons, to remit wholly both the pain and the fault; but at other times, and to other persons, though less stained with sin, to use rigour, and punish and torment them many ages in a vehement fire? For example, all the faithful that shall be alive in the world when Christ cometh to judge the quick and the dead, though they have run never so far on the score, as for the debt of satisfactions, they shall have all that score discharged, and shall not enter into Purgatory. And the Carmelite Fryars have that priviledge, to be no longer in Purgatory then till the next Saturday after their death; so that if they die upon Friday night, they are but lightly tinged, and enter into Purgatory only to come out, and to tell news of it. Whereas there are many persons, dead many ages ago, held to have been very devout in their lives, for whom nevertheless Masses are said still, upon a presupposition

(b) August.
Serm. 141.
de Tempore.
Communican-
do nobiscum
sine culpa
penam, &
culpam sol-
vit & pe-
nam.
Idem lib. 1.
de peccato-
rum meritis
& remissione
cap. 32.
Ut esset in
similitudine
carnis peccati
pena sine
culpa, unde
in carne
peccati &
culpa solve-
retur &
pena.

position that they are in Purgatory still. Is it not because they have paid and made large gifts unto the Church? For a man that hath given nothing, so many services should not be said. It is lucre that brought in these satisfactions. By a new *Pyrotechny* that imaginary fire was kindled, that souls might be drawn from it with profit to the Pope and his Clergy.

X. That Commandement of God so often iterated, that we forgive those that offend us, as God forgiveth those that offend him, and that prayer which Christ hath indited to us, *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us*, gives us here a great light. Saint Paul, Eph. 4. 32. gives us the same charge, *Be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you*. We ought to know then, how God would have us to forgive those that have offended us. Doth he mean that a private man offended by another private man (for of such the Apostle speaketh) ought to forgive the whole offence so, that he reserve to himself a resolution to make him bear the whole pain of it? Doth he mean that we avenge our selves after we have forgiven? Would not that be a base and treacherous part? Would not the world call it a fraudulent and hypocritical pardon? Since then God will have our forgiving of our neighbours, to be framed after the example of Gods pardon to us, and since when we forgive the whole offence, we forgive also the whole pain, it follows that God forgives us in the same manner, and that by forgiving the whole offence, he forgives also the whole satisfactory pain. Yea it is far more reasonable and likely that God should do so then man, because God is infinitely more merciful then man.

XI. God saith, Ezek. 18. 21, 22. *If the wicked will turn from all his sins—All his transgressions that he hath committed, shall not be mentioned unto him*. Then he layeth no satisfactory pain upon him, such as the fire of Purgatory: For punishing a converted sinner in that manner, would be mentioning his sins unto him.

XII. According to the doctrine of the Roman Church, he that after a total pardon of an offence, will punish him whom he hath forgiven, cannot be justly reprehended. For he will say, Doth not God do the same? Doth he not punish those in a fire, to whom he hath given a full pardon? Will ye have me to be more merciful then God? Certainly man is of himself but too prone to evil, and given to fraud and revenge, and needs not to be seduced to it by Gods example, whom these men make Author of vices, and a Teacher of Revenge and Disloyaltie.

For these causes *Tertullian* (c) speaking of Baptism, saith that *the guiltiness being taken away, the pain also is remitted*. He gives a reason why in Baptism the pain is remitted unto us, even because the fault is pardoned. As *Austin* told us before, that *Christ taking part with us of the pain without the fault, hath abolished both the fault and the pain*.

(c) Tertul.
lib. de Bapt.
cap. 5. *Es-
empto reatu
remittitur co-
pena.*
(d) Aug.
Serm. 141.
de Tempore.

CHAP. 5.

Proofs of our Adversaries, whereby they pretend to prove that God, after all the faults is forgiven, inflicteth the satisfactory pain.

Against that truth so evident, our Adversaries bring some small reasons; and whereas they pretend to make a great building, they bring straws to it instead of timber and stone.

I. They say that God having forgiven *David's* sin, yet punished it, and sent affliction on his family, 2 Sam. 12. 13.

I answer, that the question being of satisfactory pains, they bring us examples of castigatory and exemplary pains, which served only to correct and amend *David*, and make him an example; not to satisfy Gods justice, or to pay any recompence to him. Of that *David* himself is a good example, thus speaking of himself, Psalm 119. 71. *It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy statutes.* And the Apostle, Heb. 12. 10. *God chasteneth us for our profit, that we might be partakers of his Holiness.* The chastening of a Father, and the punishment of a Judge are different things. There is great difference between bearing the corrections of our God, and satisfying his justice. Medicines are not satisfactions or payments. They that strike a man in a fit of falling sickness, do it not to be avenged of him, or to draw satisfactions from him, but for the ease of the patient. *David* never intended by the afflictions which he suffered to satisfy Gods Justice; that would have been an intolerable burden, but he comforted himself in that confidence, that God chastened him as a father his son. *Chrysostom* in the Homily of Penitence and Confession, saith that *God imposeth pains upon us, not to punish us for sins past, but to mend us for the time to come.* And *Austin* in the second Book of the merit of sins, and of remission, chap. 34. *Pains before the remission of the fault are punishments of sin, but after the remission they are combats and exercises of the righteous.* And so *Ambrose* in the first Book of Penitence, chap. 4. speaking of the chastenings wherewith God visiteth his children, *His indignation is not an execution of revenge, but rather an effect of pardon.* And as for *David's* case, *Austin* in the fore-alleged place saith, that he was punished after the pardon, *Ut pietas hominis in illa humilitate exerceretur & probaretur; that the piety of that man might be exercised and tried in that humiliation.* It was not then out of revenge, or to draw satisfaction from him to the justice of God. The castigatory pains of Gods children, which serve to mend them, are very unreasonably alleged to establish the torment of Purgatory, where souls are burning without mending, and where they hold that God tormenteth the souls of his children to content himself, and satisfy his justice, not to mend them: As if, because a father makes his son to take Physick to heal him, one would infer that he will hang him to content himself.

II. To this *Bellarmino* opposeth the words of God himself, 2 Sam. 12. 14. *Because by this deed thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, the child also that is born unto thee shall surely die.* Whence he gathers, that God sent him that punishment for his sins past. But this Cardinal labours in vain to prove that which we grant. We know that *David* was punished for his sins past, and that his murder, and adultery, were the meritorious causes of that punishment; but the question between us is about the final cause, and the end which God purposed when he chastened him; whether God punished *David's* sins to satisfy his justice, and to draw from him recompence and satisfaction, as our Adversaries will have it; or, whether he chastised him to amend him, and make him wiser for the future, as we affirm, and as *David* himself doth acknowledge. For since God had fully pardoned him, the pains that followed must be compatible with that first pardon: Now they are things compatible and very well agreeing together, that a father forgive his son, and yet keep him to a Physical diet

diet or abstinence. He may forgive him an excess committed by drunkenness, and yet forbid him the use of wine for a time. But the Doctors of the Roman Church teach, that God tormenteth souls after he hath fully forgiven them.

I V. Hereby also their example is confuted of the damned, whose father God is, as he is their Creator, and yet he maketh them satisfy his justice in Hell. For God doth not punish the damned, after he hath fully pardoned them. But here the question is of the pain which God inflicteth upon his children after remission, not of that which he makes his enemies to suffer whom he never pardoned.

V. The tears, the fast, and the humiliation of *David*, were not to satisfy Gods justice, nor to pay him any recompence, as *Bellarmino* imagineth, but they were effects of his sorrow, signs and helps of his repentance, and a lesson to others to teach them how much they ought to hate sin. It would have been an aggravation of sin in *David*, if he had been senseless at Gods rods, and had not bowed under his mighty hand, or had given himself to mirth, when Gods judgements or threatnings invited him to repentance.

VI. *Bellarmino* saith, that God, after he had pardoned *David*s fault about the numbring of the people; did nevertheless punish him. But of that pardon after the punishment, the sacred history saith nothing. And the punishment that followed, was not laid upon *David* especially, but upon the people, who for other reasons had deserved that punishment: But God took occasion of *David*s fault in numbring the people, to punish the people which he was numbring. Yet nothing happened to *David*, that may not be taken rather for a chastisement then a satisfaction. Now the wholesom chastisements whereby God exerciseth and instructeth his children, agree very well with their pardon.

VII. They alleadge to us also the example of *David*, forgiving *Shimei* who had cursed and reviled him to his face, and yet *Shimei* was since put to death for the same crime that was forgiven him. In which passage they find, to their thinking, that *David* forgave him the fault, but not the pain. So that, by their reckoning, when *Shimei* was put to death, it was not because of the fault which he had committed since it was forgiven him. They should have told us then for what fault he was put to death. These men put out their own eyes, and study to speak absurd things. Read the history, and you shall find that *David* had not forgiven *Shimei*; but that when *Abisai* required that he should be put to death, *David* answered, *Shall there any man be put to death this day in Israel? for do I not know that I am this day King over Israel? David* seeing himself that day restored to the Kingdom, would not trouble the publick joy, by spilling the blood of any man, wherefore he said to *Shimai*, *Thou shalt not die*; but he did not tell him whether that promise was for ever, or for that time only, reserving to himself the intelligence of that which might be diversly understood. Besides it is evident by the second Chapter of the first Book of the *Kings*, that *Shimei* was put to death, not for his curses, but because he was gone out of *Jerusalem* against the express prohibition of *Solomon*. The remembrance of the first fault, made him to be punished for the second. Truly, if a King having fully pardoned a mans crime, should afterwards put him to death for the same crime, he should cast a great blur upon his reputation, and hardly would any man trust his word after that, although he should use the distinction of the Roman Church, that he hath pardoned the fault, not the pain.

VIII. *Bellarmino* brings the example of those that were slain by Gods commandment for worshipping the golden calf, and saith that God had forgiven them: But he saith that without proof. For Scripture saith not that God had forgiven them. And though he had, the punishment which happened since the pardon, ought to be considered, not as inflicted to give satisfaction to justice after the remission of the fault, but to give example unto others.

IX. The same I say of *Moses* and *Aaron*, who were punished for not glorifying God in the waters of *Meriba*. For it was an example to all the people to trust in the Word of God. And the same of the *Corinthians* punished with death and sickness

2 Sam. 24.
22.

1 King. 1. 16.
and the following verses.

sickness, for the prophanation of the holy Communion. In all these God took no satisfaction after the fault remitted, but did chastise sins by an exemplary punishment.

X. To the same purpose they object, *Numb. 14. 20.* where God saith that he hath pardoned the people, yet two verses after, God denounceth to the most part of that people, that they should never see the Countrey which God had promised them.

I answer, First that it is a great licentiousness to bring examples of the pardon granted to a great people, when the question is about the pardon of sins, which God granteth to every particular person. For among a great multitude, there being some good some evil, it is not possible that the pardon granted to a Nation, be understood to be alike effectual to all the particulars. Neither ought we to believe that in a Nation, the impenitent have the same benefit of a pardon as the penitent, that become new men.

Heb. 3. 11.
Heb. 4. 5.
6. 7.

Secondly, They are mistaken, if they believe that God pardoned the sin of that Nation, with the pardon whereby salvation is obtained. For of that very people the Apostle to the *Hebrews* saith, that *God swore in his wrath that they should not enter into his rest*; by which rest, the same Apostle declareth a little after, that the heavenly rest must be understood. The sense of that text, *Numb. 14. 20.* is clear. In the twelfth verse God had spoken as if he would have exterminated that people in an instant, and made *Moses* to grow to a great Nation, but at the request of *Moses* he executes not that threatening. Yet the fault of that people was not blotted out, as for the eternal salvation, as the Apostle teacheth us.

XI. They think they have some reason to alleadge unto us the example of *Adam*, whom God pardoned, and yet punished. I answer, that if *Adam* was saved, as we presume, the pains which he suffered in his life were not satisfactory, nor laid on him to satisfy Gods justice, but were chastenings and profitable exercises for his salvation and amendment.

XII. They say also, that the godly whose fault God hath fully pardoned, die nevertheless: And that little children, to whom God hath forgiven original sin, yet bear the pain of that original sin, which is death, and that death is not a castigatory pain that may serve to amend a sinner, or to instruct and warn him for the time to come: And by consequent (say they) it is a satisfactory pain to content the Justice of God.

This argument is very injurious against the death of Gods children, putting it among the Judgements of God, and the satisfactory pains to satisfy his justice. Our Adversaries call with good reason, the death of Martyrs a triumph and a crown, because for them death, which by nature is evil, changeth nature, becometh honourable, and is put among Gods blessings, as having a conformity with the Cross of Christ. Why shall we not say the same of the death of the godly, that yield their souls unto God with joy, and by that death are exempted from sin, and put in possession of life? And that because Christ by his death hath taken away the curse of ours, and made death which by nature is the gate of hell, to become the gate of heaven, bringing to us under the hideous face of death, the gift of everlasting life. Is it material, whether we yield our soul unto God by the mouth, or by the wound? By a burning fire, or by a burning Fever? by a commotion of humours, or by a popular commotion, since both the wayes we go to God alike? and that many without Martyrdom die, having the zeal and the vertue of Martyrs? Was it to satisfy Gods justice by torments, that *Lazarus* dying, yielded his soul unto God, which was carried into *Abrahams* bosom? Was it to satisfy by punishment, that *Jacob* departing in peace was saying, *I have waited for thy salvation O Lord*? Certainly they that put death among satisfactory pains, make the death of the Saints very bitter. It is a cold comfort to a godly person dying, to tell him, that he must take his death as a punishment from God: that he must bear it to content his justice; and that God having forgiven the fault, yet will be paid and satisfied for the pain.

Gen. 49. 18.

The same I say of the death of little children, whose sin is blotted out by the blood of Christ, being sealed with the seal of Gods Covenant by Baptism. To these God grants a great privilege to hasten their rest, and to bring them betimes out of the combat, to exempt them from temptations, and give them the reward of workmen, before the heat of the day. If they feel pain in death, it is because the passage is troublesome, but a strait and troublesome passage is not a payment nor a satisfaction. Do our Adversaries believe that the Virgin Mary dyed without pain? And yet they would not say that her death was a satisfaction or a punishment of her sin.

Besides, it is without reason that the evils that are general unto all mankind, are here alleadged, seeing here the question is of those evils only, which are proper unto Gods children, to whom the fault is altogether remitted. Sickneses and death happen to Gods children, not as they are Gods children, but as they are men; but God makes those evils to change their nature; he makes evils to become remedies, sicknesses medicines, and death an entry into life.

XIII. Our Adversaries finding no help in Scripture, try the help of Reason, to no better purpose: They say that we acknowledge as well as they, that the regeneration of the godly is done by degrees, not in an instant: Whence they infer, that we ought not to find it strange, if by the same reason the remission of sins is not done all at once, but by degrees and progresses, God forgiving first the fault, and then the pain. This reasoning will help to clear the Truth; For regeneration and the amendment of the godly is done by degrees, and by little and little. We advance in it by labour, by the exercise of good works, and by continuing instant in prayers: And that because it is an habit which is contracted, and a quality which is formed in us. But the remission of sins is a decree of Gods Counsel, which changeth not, and advanceth not by encrease or addition. Thus the King giveth pardon to a felon in an instant, not by degrees. Besides in the progress of regeneration and amendment of life, the last degrees are not repugnant unto the first. But here they will have God to forgive the whole fault, without forgiving the whole pain, which are things repugnant. For he that remits not the whole pain, shews thereby that he hath not forgiven the whole fault, else it would be a pain without fault, and a punishment for a sin fully pardoned.

XIV. They alleadge, that after the King hath granted to a guilty man his life, yet he layeth heavy Fines upon him. I said in another place, that in that case the pardon which the King granted was not a full pardon, but a diminution of pain; but that God doth not give half pardons. He doth wholly forgive his children for whom Christ is dead, for he is infinitely merciful, and Christ hath fully satisfied for them. *The blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God cleanseth us from all sin,* 1 John 1. 7.

XV. Others say, that (c) after that the King hath given to a felon his grace, he must satisfy his Adversary; whence they infer, that after that the King hath pardoned the whole fault, he must yet satisfy, and bear the pain. This is a reason without reason. For the King cannot justly exempt a man from paying his debts, nor give leave to a Robber to withhold his neighbours goods. But God may without injustice remit the whole pain, as well as the fault, as our Adversaries acknowledge. Here it is especially to be noted, that a felon after he hath obtained the Kings grace, yet is obliged to satisfy the offended party, because the King and the adverse party are two, and that the right of the offended party is not in the Kings power: But here God who is the King, is also the offended party; who when he hath remitted all his interest, there remains no more party to be satisfied. So these Doctors, by that example of the King condemn themselves. For should not that felon be mad, who having obtained the Kings grace, would come and ask his Majesty, *Sir, You have forgiven me the fault only, do you mean to forgive me the pain also?* These men study to paint Gods Temple with *Chimera's*, and those conceits which in all other things would be ridiculous, they find reasonable in matter of Religion.

(c) This Rule belongs to the Civil Law, and to the municipal Laws of France.

H h h h

XVI. No

Jam. 2. 13.

Rom. 8. 1.

XVI. No more reason have they to say, that in all Gods actions mercy and justice must shine together. Now Gods mercy (say they) shines by pardoning us the whole fault, and his justice by making us bear the satisfactory pain. By thus reasoning they condemn the Popes plenary indulgences, whereby the sinner after the remission of the fault, is exempted also from all the pain, whereby they think to satisfy Gods justice. Thereby also they condemn the absolutions which are given without expecting any satisfaction. And their maxime is false, for towards Devils, God useth Sovereign justice without mercy. The Apostle James tells us, *That he shall have judgement without mercy, that hath sowed no mercy.* So we must not find it strange, if God useth mercy to some without execution of his justice, according to that sentence, *that there is no condemnation for them that are in Christ Jesus.* Yet towards the sins of the godly, God hath used his whole justice by punishing them in Christ wholly and fully; and receiving from his son a perfect satisfaction to his own justice: But together, he hath set forth his mercy, imputing unto them that satisfaction. As for the means of applying that satisfaction, we shall speak of them afterwards. If any being moved with compassion towards the Devil and the damned souls, will affirm that God useth some mercy towards them, he speaks without any authority of Gods Word, and tells us news of that Countrey, as having intelligences there, or as newly returned from thence.

We have shewed why the remission of the fault excludes not castigatory pains, but excludeth satisfactory punishments. If remission of sins exempted us from chastening, it would serve to corrupt us, and so remission of sins would be a kind of punishment. In this life there is no worse pain then impunity, for thereby a man becomes insolent and abandoned to all evil. It would be an ill privilege of a father to one of his children, to exempt him from taking Physick when he is sick. The like cannot be said of satisfactory pains, as they make the pain of Purgatory, which serveth not to amend the sinner, for there they hold that souls sin no more. Our Adversaries will not deny, that to be exempted from that torment, would be a great benefit.

CHAP. 6.

That the satisfactions of the Roman Church, derogate from Christs satisfaction, and are injurious against Gods Justice.

(a) Bellar.
lib. 1. de
Purgat. c. 14.
§. Respon-
deo si.
Homo sui
ipsum redem-
ptor & sal-
vator appel-
latur, &c.
Respondeo
tres esse
modos di-
cendi, Primus
quorundam
est, qui asse-
runt unam
santum &
illam Christi esse, ac nos proprie non satisfacere, &c. quæ sententia erronea mihi videtur, nam Scriptura & Patres passim vocant nostra opera satisfactiones & redemptiones. (b) Tertius tamen modus videtur probabilior, quod una tan-
tum sit actualis satisfactio & ea sit nostra.

Cardinal Bellarmine (a) disputing of the wayes to satisfy Gods justice for our sins, saith that upon that point there are three diverse opinions. The first is of those that say, that there is but one satisfaction to Gods justice for our sins, which is that of Christ. Which opinion he saith to be erroneous, affirming that the good works that we do, are satisfactions and redemptions for our sins, and makes no difficulty to say, that in Scripture the faithful man is called the Saviour and Redeemer of himself.

The second opinion is of those that say, that there are two satisfactions, the one that of Christ, the other our own, yet so, that ours depends on that of Christ, which opinion he saith to be probable, and yet he rejects it, and followeth the third.

He saith then, (b) *The third way seems to me more probable, that there is but one actual [or real] satisfaction, and that the same is our own.* He acknowledgeth no satisfaction indeed, but our works or sufferings: and acknowledging

that

that Christ hath satisfied, he holds not his satisfaction to be actual, but that it serveth only to give a value to our satisfactions, and that by it we come to have the grace to satisfie. As if he said, that Christs death is not actually and indeed the ransom for our sins, but that it gives us vertue to pay our ransom: Or that it is not a payment, but that it is like the Philosophical stone, which by her touch maketh our payment, that we our selves furnish, to become good money, and that by vertue of the same, the pains of Purgatory are accepted for redemption, from the pain due for the sins committed after Baptism. For this cause he maintains that, *homo sui ipsius Redemptor & salvator appellatur; man is called the Redeemer and Saviour of himself.* This is not mincing, it is roundly and openly blaspheming against the Son of God.

If this doctrine be true, we must say that the Apostle spake but inconsiderately, when he said, that the Lord Jesus is the only Mediator, who gave himself a ransom for us; for to speak the language of these Gentlemen, he should have said, that Christ gave not himself actually a ransom for us, but that he gives us the grace to pay our ransom our selves, and that there is no other actual satisfaction to Gods justice, but that which we do our selves. And the Apostle to the Hebrews, chap. 1. v. 3. ought not to have said that Christ had *by himself* purged our sins, that is, in his own person. For to speak as the Roman Church doth, he should have said, that he gives us the grace to purge our sins *our own selves* by the torment that we bear in Purgatory.

The question is then of the nature and efficacy of Christs satisfaction, *who his own self bore our sins in his own body upon the tree, and by whose stripes we are healed.* And as Isaiah saith, *He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him;* where the word *chastisement* signifieth satisfaction. *He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world,* saith Saint John. *For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell. And having made peace through the blood of his Cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself,* saith Saint Paul. *Neither is there salvation in any other, for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved,* saith Saint Peter.

1 Tim. 2.
5, 6.

1 Pet. 2:24.
12a. 53-5.

1 Joh. 2. 2.

Col. 1. 19,
20.

Acts 4. 12.

I. Here then I ask these Doctors that would be Saviours and Redeemers of themselves, whether Christ by his death and sufferings hath paid and satisfied Gods justice for all the pain, both eternal and temporal due to our sins? And to speak more plainly, I ask, Whether Christ payed and satisfied for the pain of Purgatory? If he did not satisfie for the pain of Purgatory, he did not satisfie for the whole satisfactory pain which is due to us, and there will be need of some addition to the ransom and satisfaction which Christ paid for us. And it will be hard enough for them to find in any man that which is deficient in Christ, and to find where or how to supply what they find wanting in the death of Christ. But if Christ hath satisfied for all the satisfactory pain of sins, both eternal and temporal, and both for Hell and for Purgatory, it is certain that his end in satisfying for the pain due in Purgatory, was to exempt us from it. If he paid the debt, it was to acquit us. Why should God demand two satisfactions for the same sins? Why should he take two payments for the same debt, when the first payment is sufficient? Why should he not receive Christs satisfaction for so much as it is worth? Or why should he abate of the value and efficacy of the same? As if in a payment one would take angels only for crowns, or having received the whole Covenanted sum for a Prisoners ransom, would take it for half the ransom only. May not here poor souls frying and tormented in Purgatory now many ages, justly ask of God why he punisheth them, when they are without fault? Why doth he make his children to bear the punishment of a sin fully pardoned, yea of a sin for which Christ hath fully satisfied? Truly, should that be done to a stranger, yea to an enemy, it would be unjust dealing. How much more when a father doth that usage to his children? Where is that Sovereign bounty of the heavenly Father? Where are those tender compassions? that infinite mercy whereby he delivered his Son unto death to save his enemies, and make them heirs of his Kingdom?

H h h h 2

II. And

II. And since they acknowledge that there is a residue of the merit of Christ above that we need for our salvation, yea so much above, that one onely drop of his blood (if our Adversaries may be believed) was sufficient to redeem many worlds, and both from Hell and Purgatory; why, since the payment is greater then needs, is it not imployed by God for so great a need?

III. Do they not contradict themselves, when they say that Christ hath redeemed us from the eternal pain, not from the temporal? For it is as if they said, Christ hath redeemed us for ever, but not for two or three hundred years. That he hath satisfied for all, but not for this or for that. For the pain of Purgatory (if there be any) is comprehended within eternity.

IV. Ask them proofs of their assertion by the Word of God, they will answer as if you made them another question. They will bring Texts of Scripture that exhort to good works, and to penitence, and to sufferings for Christs sake, and they accuse us of a dastard mind, because we refuse to satisfie in our own person. But they could not yet bring one Text of Gods Word to prove that by Baptism the pain indeed, and the fault of the precedent sins is blotted out, but that for the sins committed since our Baptism, it lyeth upon us to satisfie for the pain thereof, both in this life and in Purgatory. And that in that respect the godly are Redeemers of themselves, and satisfie Gods justice. That doctrine is a new Gospel unknown to the Apostles, and a fundamental Article of the Roman faith taken from the unwritten word.

V. Holy Scripture sets forth Christ unto us, as sent into the world to remedy the evil which the sin of Adam hath brought into the world. To that the most part of the fifth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans is employed. Now it is an inconvenient doctrine, that Adam should have more strength to make us debtors to Gods justice, then Christ to acquit us of that debt, and give satisfaction to Gods justice. But Adam by his sin hath made all his posterity subject to satisfie Gods justice, both by temporal and by eternal pains. Christ therefore was sent into the world to satisfie for us, so that by his satisfaction we are discharged from the obligation of satisfying Gods justice, either by temporal or eternal pains.

(*) Bellar.
lib. i. de
Purgat.
c. 14. Sect.
Quarta.

VI. Against that doctrine of the Roman Church, Cardinal Bellarmine moveth an objection in these words, (c) *If Christs satisfaction be applyed unto us by our [satisfactory] works, either they are two satisfactions joyned together, the one of Christ, the other our own; or it is but one satisfaction. If they are two, then the same fault is twice punished, and two punishments answer one fault. Or if there is but one satisfaction, either it is that of Christ, and so it is not we that satisfie; or it is our own, and so Christ shall be excluded. Or else we shall share that honour with Christ, he paying for the fault, we for the pain.*

To that objection the Cardinal answereth nothing, but only propounds three several opinions, of which he chuseth the worst, saying, that in effect there is but one satisfaction, which is ours, and that our works are the redemption of our sins.

VII. One reason seems to me very strong against these satisfactions and penal works, whereby they pretend to satisfie Gods justice by the punishment, after the full pardon of the sin. That whosoever will pay or satisfie, he must do it with his own, not with another mans estate. Much less can a debt be paid, by giving to the Creditor that which belongs to him already: For then the Creditor will say, you pay me with mine own goods: You take money out of my purse to pay me, and thereby pretend to be quit. Our Adversaries do the very same: They pay and satisfie God with his own; for we cannot offer any work which may be acceptable unto him, unless it proceed from his grace; And after all, they say that God is satisfied according to the Laws of commutative justice, which payeth so much for so much, and they say themselves to be Redeemers of themselves.

VIII. Of this argument the strength groweth, when we come to consider what God is, and what we are. For the distance being infinite, and the inequality between

between God and man without measure, all that we do to satisfy his justice cannot have any, I say not equality (although our Adversaries speak that language) but not so much as any proportion. It is of this, as of the Suns beams beating upon a looking glass, whose reflexion doth not reach to the Sun again, who is extream far from the sphere of activity of the glass. Thus David speaking of all the good that he could do, said to God, *My goodness extendeth not to thee, Psalm 16. 2.* That holy servant of God, did not aim to pay unto God a satisfaction *ex condigno*, by equality of recompence. If a company of Pismires did present a rich man with the fourth part of a corn of Wheat, stoln out of the same mans barn, what satisfaction could that present give him? Yet between Ants and the greatest Kings there is some proportion, for both are finite things. But between the infinite God, and man who is finite, yea and wicked, poor, weak, and infinitely in Gods debt, there is no proportion.

IX. This will be more evident yet, when we consider that a servant that must serve his Master every day, cannot by yielding to day the service that he oweth, satisfy thereby for his disobedience of the dayes before. He that oweth a crowns rent every Moneth, cannot by paying the crown this Moneth satisfy for the arrears of the Moneth before, nor for other debts of many years that are behind. Now there is never a day but is wholly due unto God, and all our labour is his due. How can a sinner then by fasting, praying, and giving alms, satisfy Gods justice for sins past, as the Roman Church will have it, seeing that the service which he doth to day, is due for this very day? What more? for that very service which we owe him at this present time, we shall never render unto God all that we ought to pay, whatsoever we do: So far are we from satisfying by our present works for our sins past. For we owe unto God all that we can, yea we owe our own selves. And among our best works there is alwayes some imperfection, and matter for craving pardon.

X. To shew here the wrastling of truth against untruth in a prejudicate mind, and obstinately set upon error, I will bring here Cardinal Bellarmine's words, (d) *We must (saith he) give this warning before-hand, that we speak in this place of that satisfaction, which (as our Doctors speak) expiates the temporal pain by a condigne (that is equipollent) satisfaction, yet not according to the rigour of Justice. For satisfaction in the rigour of justice requireth two things, that we satisfy with our own proper goods and with equality, no grace of him to whom the satisfaction is due preventing or intervening. But we have nothing that belongs not unto God, and we cannot by any kind of honour equal the injury which we have done to God, seeing that the measure of the injury is esteemed by the dignity of God which is infinite, and the measure of the honour which we yield unto him, is esteemed according to our dignity, which is finite and very small.* (d) Bellar. lib. 4. de Pœnitentia, cap. 8. Illud antea præmittendum putamus, nos hoc loco de satisfactione illa verba facere, quæ (ut nostri loquuntur) ex condigno quidem penam temporalem expiatis non tamen ex rigore justitiæ. Satisfactio enim ex rigore justitiæ duo requirit, ut satisfiat ex propriis, & ad æqualitatem, nulla

This is evidently the language of a man set upon the rack, who having said before, things that directly oppose the Word of God, and where untruth is evident, namely, that we can expiate the temporal pain by condigne or equipollent satisfaction, endeavours to return to the good way, and to give glory to God, but soon after the spirit of error giveth him a stop, and makes him turn about again: For he adds, (e) *Nevertheless the grace of God intervening, and that grace being of many sorts, we can truly, in some sort, give satisfaction of our own, and with equality, and by consequent justly satisfy, and with condignity, that is, with equipollency.* Truly he had clearly proved, that we cannot satisfy God with any thing of our own, nor present any satisfaction unto God, but that there will be an infinite distance between that satisfaction, and that which is due by the rigour of justice. But now overthrowing all that he had said, he coyneeth a grace

videlicet præveniente aut intercedente gratia ejus, cui debetur satisfactio. Nos autem neque aliquid habemus, quod Dei non sit, neque possumus ullo genere honoris æquare injuriam quam Deo fecimus, cum injuriæ mensura æstimetur ex dignitate Dei quæ infinita est, mensura honoris quem illi impendimus, æstimetur ex infirmitate nostra quæ est finita & perexigua. (e) Nihilominus tamen accedente Dei gratia eaque multiplici, verè possumus, aliquo modo, ex propriis, & ad æqualitatem, ac per hoc justè & ex condigno satisfacere.

of God, which makes us to give unto God a satisfaction of our own, & with equality and condignity. Truly, if it be the grace of God that we satisfie, the satisfaction is not of our own. And if it be infinitely under the rigour of justice, it is not with equality and equipollency. Besides, that doctrine puts our satisfactions and torments among the graces of God. And so we must believe that to be burnt in a vehement fire for many ages, is a grace of God, and one of his blessings. But I should rather think, that to be free from that torment is a grace of God. And if to be delivered from that torment by Indulgences is a grace of God, here is one grace of God that destroyeth another, and a blessing of God, that keeps God from doing us so much graces as to torment us.

(f) Gregor.
de Valent.
lib. de Satisf.
c. 3. sect.
Hoc tamen
ex hac re
consequi ne-
gandum non
est nempe,
compensati-
onem pro
offensa per
aliquid am-
plius Deo
fieri, quam
alioqui secun-
dum rigorem
justitiæ opor-
tasset. Si-
quidem ab-
que nostra
satisfactione
potuisset sola
Christi satis-
factio abun-
dantissime
sufficere.
(g) Neque
vero injustum
est, quod plus
in offensa
compensati-
onem Deus
ex pacto exi-
git, quam
alioqui satis
esse potu-
isset, &c.
(h) Quo fit,
ut secundum
justitiæ nor-
mam satisfiat
Patri eterno
in proposito,
etiam si ali-
quid amplius,
quam alioqui
ad equalita-
tem oportu-
isset, ipsi
offeratur.
(i) imen-
tetur.
(k) æter-
næ.

XI. The force of truth giveth another stretch to our Adversaries, and extorts this confession from them, That it followeth from their doctrine, that God takes a greater payment then needeth, according to the rigour of justice, and a greater satisfaction then justice requireth, because Christ having sufficiently paid both for all the pain and for all the fault, yet he requireth from us another satisfaction for the same pain, for which Christ hath fully satisfied. These are the words of Gregorius de Valentia, (f) *We must not deny that hence it followeth, that the compensation for the offence is done to God by some thing more then otherwise it needed, according to the rigour of Justice; for the satisfaction of Christ alone might have been most abundantly sufficient, without our satisfaction.* And a little after, (g) *God by passion exacteth more for the compensation of the offence, then might have been sufficient, &c.* which he maintaineth to be just. (h) *Whence (saith he) it happens that satisfaction is made to the eternal Father, according to the rule of justice, and as he had purposed it, although something more be presented to him, then needed to satisfie with equality.* Could one disgrace more the justice of God, or offer a greater wrong to his Mercy? For not only Fathers, but equitable Judges use to remit somewhat of the rigour of Justice towards Delinquents by the vertue of (i) *equity*, which for considerable causes abates something of (k) *the rigour of the Law*, giving a favourable interpretation to the Law, according to that rule that *summum jus* very often is *summa injuria*. But these men will have God to exact more satisfaction then is due to him by the rigour of justice, and to take a greater payment then he should; Yea that he exceeds the rigour of Justice in punishing his own children.

XII. Also it ought to be considered in what state that doctrine puts consciences. For holy Scripture teacheth us to glory in our afflictions, and to be well pleased with the chastisements wherewith God visits us, taking them for wholsome remedies and testimonies of his love. But these men study to aggravate afflictions, and dip them in gall; teaching Gods children to believe that God afflicts them to content his justice, not chastising them as a father doth his children, but punishing them as a Judge doth felons to get satisfaction from them. It is but a poor glory for one to pay his debts by torments. It is a cold comfort to yield to necessity, saying, *God justly torments me, for he executeth his judgements against me, and his Justice takes satisfaction from me.* But alas! *when shall I have satisfied enough? When shall his justice be fully satisfied? What do I know how much I owe? or what God will allow me for every lash, and every fast?* Truly it is hard to know that, seeing that Bellarmine in his Book *De gemitu columba*, saith that Pope Innocent the III. is condemned to be in Purgatory till the day of judgement, although he be reckoned among the most excellent Popes, who made more Decrees then any, and deprest the Crowns of Kings under the Papal See, more then any other Pope. Masses are still said at Saint Denis for the soul of King Dagobert, dead above a thousand years ago, although he was a very devout King, and he that made the greatest gathering of relicks. What may then the condition be of a Gentleman or a Merchant, who in his life-time contented himself to believe in Christ, and never troubled himself to buy the satisfactions of other men; and obeying Gods Commandments to his power, never pretended to works of supererrogation? For the relief of such a mans soul, perhaps his surviving friends may think it their best course to go to some priviledged Altar, to which

which the Pope hath granted, that whoso gets a Mass to be sung upon it, fetcheth a soul out of Purgatory, such as he will call for; and where the Pope hath given seven or eight hundred thousand years of true pardon, that there may be enough to spare, and more then one needs. For to hope that Christ sitting at the right hand of God, and there interceding for us, will without help deliver a soul out of Purgatory, these Gentlemen hold it an ill-grounded hope, and a self-flattery. There is (belike) in his Holinesses power a more certain relief, which may be had with a little money.

XIII. I add, that as sins were voluntary, the satisfactions for sins must also be voluntary. Now the satisfaction that souls are said to make in Hell, is not voluntary, for there is none but would exempt himself from Purgatory if it were in his power, and chuse rather to be in Paradise. Thus these souls pay unto God a satisfaction, which though they endure with patience, yet they are not come to it with their good will. God receiveth no such payments, or compensations, or satisfactions to his justice. The propitiatory offerings under the Law were to be voluntary, *Deut.* 16. 10. Christ laid down his life willingly for us, *John* 10. 17, 18. Gods people is a willing people, *Psalms* 110. 3. A forced punishment, though born with patience, is not a satisfaction to Gods justice. For willing faults, God will have willing satisfactions, and none shall be found such, but that of the Son of God.

XIV. Gods most perfect justice receiveth none but a most perfect satisfaction. Now in our sufferings there is alwayes some infirmity of faith, and some impatience. Wherefore we repose our consciences altogether upon that satisfaction which Christ hath paid for us, because it is that only that hath no imperfection, and in which God finds matter enough to satisfy his justice. We then relying altogether upon Christs satisfaction, who satisfied for all our sins, and for all the pain, both eternal and temporal, bear the afflictions which God sends us, not as satisfactions to his justice (for we should sink under that burthen, God being infinitely great, and infinitely just, and we small, weak, guilty, and defective in our best works) but as Fatherly chastenings, tryals of our faith, and bridles to our worldly desires.

XV. Truly the pardons which the Pope giveth, whereby a man is exempted from satisfying, shew sufficiently that in the Roman Church satisfactions are not held necessary, but that they hold rather, that without satisfying Gods justice with torments, a man may be saved.

XVI. And the profit that the Clergy gets thereby, by particular Masses, which are sung to deliver those souls from Purgatory, that have given to the Church (for they are never sung for one that hath given nothing) and the traffick of Indulgences, so lucrative to his Holiness, make us sufficiently know the end of their so eager fighting for humane satisfactions. God having received from his beloved Son Jesus Christ a full payment for our sins, these Gentlemen will give him a second payment, that themselves may have the third payment.

XVII. Here the injury offered unto God is notorious, for they are not contented to add unto the satisfaction of the eternal Son of God other satisfactions, of which the Word of God saith nothing, but they present unto God satisfactions, of which some are vain, as self-whipping, wearing a rope for a girdle, going bare-foot to visit relicks, mumbling up seven *Psalms* in Latine, not knowing the language; some are wicked and unjust.

XVIII. I call that an unjust satisfaction, when a sinner gets another to whip himself for him, or to fast in his room. For it is charging God with blindness, and making him an unreasonable Judge, that will relate a felon because his neighbour whipt himself for him. A goodly excuse for a sinner, endited before Gods judgement of several crimes, to say, *Lord all that is true, but I have made satisfaction for it, for such a friend of mine hath whipt himself for me, and hath fasted so many dayes for me, which I pretend to be allowed for me, though all that while I was feasting. And Saint Dominick whom I have chosen for my Patron, suffered much*

more

more then he needed for his own sins, and whipt himself three times a day, almost every day, with an iron chain, till the blood came, to expiate the sins of others. But the language of Gods Spirit agreeth not with that. For the Apostle saith, *Gal. 6. 5.* that every man shall bear his own burden; and *2 Cor. 5. 10.* We must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. And David, *Psalms 49. 7.* None can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him. That Royal Prophet had not learned this doctrine, that the Saints are in some sort our Redeemers, as (1) Bellarmine saith, since by the Law it was forbidden (m) to put the fathers to death for the children, or the children for the fathers, should God do a thing which himself declareth to be unjust? Should the great and just Judge accept in his judgement my pain for the sin of another? If one saith, Such a man indeed hath whipt himself for me, and fasted for me, but I have paid him for it, and he hath taken my money in the nature of Alms to satisfy for me; he abuseth God two wayes, 1. The one by supposing, that for the pain which Charles should pay in Purgatory, God be contented that Philip whip himself. 2. The other, by thinking that God will accept money instead of whipping. No Judge in the world is such an idiot, as to behave himself so. And after all, we must return to the Word of God, and see what declaration God hath made of his will upon that subject, and what assurance we have that he will accept of the sufferings and fasts of another man, for satisfaction for our sins.

XIX. I call also those satisfactions unjust, whereby a sinner is enjoined to do those things which he is bound to do without that injunction, and to which he is obliged, though there were no satisfaction for him to make. A man that hath committed murder or adultery, will come to a Priest and confess himself, and receive absolution; But upon condition that he shall say so many prayers, and give so much in alms, and that is called satisfaction or recompence for the pain due to that sin. It is well done, to enjoin good works to the sinner, but the sinner must do those good works, though he had committed neither murder nor adultery. It is an ordinary duty which we owe unto God, and we shall never do so much as we owe. Wherefore these good works cannot be instead of satisfactory pains for sins past; both because we owe them without that, and because good works are not punishments or satisfactory pains. Yea, I would hold it a great punishment, if I were hindred to do them. (n) A work must be troublesome and full of pain, that it may be satisfactory, saith *Gregorius de Valentia*. So that by his reckoning, it is a trouble to serve God. It is a foul art of Satan to put good works among pains, and satisfactory fines, to make them odious, and that men may do them against their heart. As if one said to a sinner, To punish thee for thy sin, I condemn thee to be a good man. When such a man shall give alms, he will say in his heart, This is a penance which I must bear for the pain of my sin. As when the Court of Parliament (that is, the high Court of Justice) besides other punishments of a felon, (o) fines him in so much alms to the poor, such an alms must not be put among good works, it is a punishment. Likewise prayers cease to be good works, when one is punished with praying. As indeed those to whom that punishment is imposed, to read the seven Penitential *Psalms* many times over, make as much haste as they can, biting their nails as they read, and when they begin, they wish they had done. In the same manner as they that are whipt while the *Psalms* is read, wish that the *Psalms* were shorter, and the favourable Reader makes haste to come quickly to *versulos*.

XX. Hence ariseth another absurdity, in which God is manifestly derided. For if one fast for another, the Doctors hold that in respect of him that fasteth, that work is meritorious of salvation, but in respect of him for whom he fasteth, the work is satisfactory. Truly, if he that fasteth purchaseth eternal life by the merit of his fast, I must think that his fast is sufficiently recompensed, and yet they will have the same work to serve to pay for another, and to satisfy before God for his neighbour, and that the work be meritorious in one regard, and satisfactory

(1) Bellar.
lib. 1. Indul-
g. cap. 4.
(m) Deut.
24. 16.

(n) Gregor.
de Valentia,
lib. de satisf-
fact. cap. 4.
§. Porro.
Ex parte
operum, per
quæ satisfieri
debet Deo,
asserendum
est duo debere
in esse illis;
Alterum ut
placeant &
sint grate
Deo; Alter-
rum ut habe-
ant quandam
difficultatem
seu molestiam.
(o) An
usual course
in the Court
of Parlia-
ment of
Paris.

factory in another. As if one would have a thousand pounds which he bestoweth upon the buying of an house, to serve also to acquit another of the debt of a thousand pounds; so dividing the money, that *cross* should purchase the house, and *pyle* should pay the debt. A Judge that should pronounce such a sentence would be accounted mad: And yet these Doctors will have God to judge so. But if this being done by men, be unreasonable, and unjust, why shall the same be thought just and equitable for God to do, in that high matter of doing justice unto men? And if the same work can be meritorious for one that doth it, and satisfactory for another that doth it not, much more shall it be satisfactory for him that doth it: And so the same fast may serve unto the same man, to satisfy for Purgatory, and to deserve eternal life. For these men have prescribed that Law unto God, without knowing his will.

XXI. The like may be said of the exchange of corporal into pecuniary Laws: For besides the foulness of the traffick, it is selling Gods right, and imposing a Law upon God himself; as if they told him, We have condemned such a man to satisfy thee with fasting and beating of himself, but now our mind is that thou content thy self with a little money, which shall not be for thee, but for the Church, that is, for our selves.

The VI. Roman Council held under Pope *Symmachus* in the year, 504. sheweth, that even then the Roman Church did already exercise that foul traffick, and got money from the people for the remission of sins. For there we find these words. (p) *Some being mindful of themselves, have left unto the Churches by their writings [or deeds] some of their goods, both moveable and unmoveable for the remission of their sins, and to buy eternal life, and have given them unto God their Creator to have and to hold for ever.* These men speak, as if those that have given money for the remission of their sins, and to buy eternal life, had enriched God. But these false Priests have enriched themselves with that which was given to God. For upon further consideration they have found that God had no need of it.

XXII. Those penances are little better, whereby a Penitent is condemned to say the same Prayer many times over by a precise number, in a tongue which he understands not. The Lord Jesus condemneth the Pharisees for using vain repetitions in their Prayers, *Matth. 6. 7.* And yet they understood what they said, and did not tye the vertue of the prayer unto the number. The Spaniards while they are speaking of other things, will say their beads. In *France* the good wives say them as they go to Market. The Italians as they go to the bawdy-house: These are the satisfactions. They satisfy God while they offend him. If God demanded of us satisfactions, they should use other satisfactions to expiate such a satisfaction.

XXIII. But the most unjust satisfactions are those that oblige a sinner to be wicked, pretending to satisfy for a sin, by a greater sin, and to expiate theft by murder or treason. As when the Pope commands a Prince to invade his neighbours Countrey to obtain the remission of his sins. And when he sets forth indulgences, whereby absolution is given to all that will rebell against their King. Of which we have brought several examples, and will bring more in this work. Thus salvation and remission of sins are propounded as rewards of cruelty and disloyaltie. And after all, as if they had purposed to disgrace the doctrine of the Gospel, they say, that the blood of Christ gives vertue to these satisfactions, that is, that by wicked actions the merit of the Son of God is applied to a mans conscience.

XXIV. Of all these satisfactions, so much in general. If they be evil, they must not be enjoined: If they be good, the Pope ought not to dispense from them, nor to exempt men from the obedience to this Commandment, *Do penitence*, since our Adversaries hold that by that command men are enjoined to bear satisfactory pains for their sins.

CHAP. 7.

Causes why we especially reject the Satisfactions of the pretended Sacrament of Penitence.

THe Sacramental satisfactions, imposed by Priests, require a chapter by themselves.

I. Here we demand of the Priests Confessors, who hath given them that authority to impose corporal or pecuniary punishments upon sinners, for thereby they take upon themselves a dominion over the bodies and goods of persons? Their answer is that Christ gave them that power when he said to his Disciples, *Whatsoever you shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.* As the Pope thereby pretends to have the power of dissolving contracts, marriages and obligations of vowes and oaths, and to loose subjects from the bonds of allegiance due to their Sovereign Prince, and children from their subjection to their parents, and to deliver souls out of Purgatory; So the Priests extend the power of binding so far as to impose corporal and pecuniary pains, which is indeed a bold interpretation, very advantageous and lucrative for them. Now the interpretations of Scripture must be taken from Scripture it self, not from the Glosses of them that interpret Scripture for their profit, and assign to it a sense which is lucrative unto the interpreters.

II. I say then that our Adversaries acknowledge with us that the power of binding and loosing given to the Apostles, *Matth. 18. 18.* is the same as that of remitting and retaining sinnes, given them, *John. 20. 23.* Thus we expound Scripture by Scripture, when by binding and loosing we understand retaining or remitting sins, not imposing corporal or pecuniary pains to satisfy Gods justice; For of that power Scripture speaks not at all. Nothing of that is found in the Old Testament, for our Adversaries say that then the power of forgiving sins was not in the Church. Nothing of that is found in the New Testament, where we find that Christ sending back the woman taken in adultery told her only, *Go and sin no more,* without imposing any satisfactory pain upon her. And Christ in the 5. of *John* speaks thus to the sick man whom he had healed, *Behold thou hast been made whole, sin no more lest a worse thing come unto thee.* Of corporal pain, pecuniary fine, reading of the *seven Psalms*, self-whipping, or pilgrimage; he speaks never a word to him. And *St. Paul*, *2 Cor. 2. 7, 10.* adviseth the Church of *Corinth* to forgive the incestuous man, and himself forgives him for his part, that is, he will have him released from the Ecclesiastical Censures and pains. But he imposeth no penance or satisfactory pains upon the man, which he ought to perform after the pardon and reconciliation to the Church.

III. It is true that in the fifth ch. of the first Epistle he delivereth that incestuous man unto Satan to afflict his body, but that was done before the pardon; not as the Roman Church doth, in which satisfactions are fulfilled after the absolution. Besides they are deceived if they think that the incestuous man bore that pain to satisfy Gods justice after the remission of the fault, or that he paid any recompence unto God for his sin. For that punishment served to amend him, to heal him of that vice, and to give example unto others. The same Apostle teacheth us this doctrine, *1 Tim. 1. 20.* where he brings the example of *Hymenæus* and *Alexander*, whom (saith he) *I have delivered unto Satan that they may learn not to blaspheme*: It was a chastisement not a satisfaction. A chastisement which served to make them hate blasphemy, not to pay unto God any recompence or satisfaction.

IV. The antient Church did the same. Then the Pastors imposed austere penances of many years upon sinners. But these penances were fulfilled before the absolution. And as these penitences were publick, so the reconciliation of the sinner

sinner was done in publick. And these penitences were neither pilgrimages, nor whipping, nor making another to fast for the sinner, nor any pecuniary fine. All the pain consisted in being kept from the communion, in fasting, and in publick shame. All that, not to satisfy Gods justice, or to pay him any recompence or expiation: but to humble the sinner, and mend him, and make his penitence an example to others. Also to shew to them that were none of the Church, that vices were not approved or tolerated in the Church of God. And the pardon and absolution of the sinner was only as for Ecclesiastical pains, for the Pastors took not upon them to absolve in Gods judicial seat.

V. When the Priest imposeth satisfactions upon sinners, as fasting whipping and pilgrimages, we would fain know how he is sure that God will accept of that payment, and hold himself satisfied with that kind of satisfaction. Do they know the counsel of God about that? Do they know how much satisfaction he requireth for every sin? Who hath given them the power to dispose of Gods right? Who told them that God would submit himself unto their laws, and do even as they prescribe? Is it not a rash presumption to impose such pains as they list, and persuade themselves that God will be content with that satisfaction? For as for the exercise of abstinence and other exercises, which are used only to mortifie the flesh, and humble the sinner, there is no need of equality between those exercises of humiliation, and the greatness of the sin, because they are not intended as payments to Gods Justice. But whoso either of his own motion, or by the Priests injunction undertakes to satisfy Gods justice by penal works, must exactly know what number and measure of them is requisite to satisfy Gods justice, and how far, and with what, and how great payment he will be paid.

VI. If then for theft, murder, or sacrilege a Confessor imposeth on a penitent for a penance to receive two hundred lashes of a whip, singing psalms melodiously; or to say a thousand *Ave's* interlaced with *Pater's*, turning his beads; or to say seventy seven times the seven Psalms in a tongue unknown to the Penitent; or to contribute so much towards the building of a Monastery; or to go in pilgrimage to St. James in Gallicia: all which are humane inventions and rather sins then satisfactions for sin, must the sinner repose his conscience upon these? must he without any declaration of Gods word, hold himself fully discharged before God? But what if of the thousand *Ave's* ten be wanting? What if while he is reading the seven Psalms he runs over them somewhat too fast, or skips over a page because he is prest with businesses? What if of the two hundred lashes he hath mist some, or if the last hit not so hard as the first, shall he lose his labour, or shall God notwithstanding these defects receive that satisfaction? (a) *Dominicus à Soto*, and after him (b) *Gregorius de Valentia* acknowledge the weakness and uncertainty of those satisfactions, when they say that it happens sometimes that the penitent is obliged to satisfy in Purgatory for the same sins for which the Confessor hath imposed satisfactions upon him, although he hath fulfilled them.

VII. Herein appeareth besides the uncertainty of those payments, the rashness of those that impose them. For not only a Priest after he hath enjoined these satisfactions, may diminish or exchange them, but also a second Confessor may change that which the first hath done, and clip or alter the penances which the first hath enjoined, as (c) the Jesuits *Gregory de Valentia* and *Emanuel Sa* affirm. A second Confessor may for a reasonable cause change the penance imposed by the first confessor into another, although he heard not the precedents sins, yea though the first Confessor were a Bishop, yea though it were the Pope. Between these two

isidem peccatis maneat obnoxius alicui poene, solvenda postea in Purgatorio, si videlicet spectata imbecillitate penitentis & aliis circumstantiis oportuit illi leniorem penitentiam imponere, quam ut per eam tota pena devinctus alioqui pro peccatis illis constituta redimi possit. (c) Eman. Sa. Aphorif. in verbo Satisfactio. Secundus Confessor ex rationabili causa potest à priori impositam penitentiam in aliam commutare, etiamsi priora peccata non audiat, & etiamsi prior fuisset Episcopus aut Papa. Gregor. de Valentia lib. de Satisf. c. 5. §. Alterum quod.

(a) Dominicus à Soto
In 4 Dist. 20.
qu. 2. Sect. 3.
(b) Greg. de Valent. lib. de Satisf. cap. 5.
§ Duoramen.
Etiam qui injunctam à Confessario penitentiam adimpleat, quandoque tamen continere, ut pro

divers judgements, whereof the one altereth the other, the penitent must guess which of the two is the most pleasant unto God. For if the second think himself grounded in a reasonable cause, the first thought the same.

(d) Tolet. de instruct. Sacerd. l. 3. cap. 11. *Quamvis autem, quantum fieri potest, satisfactio iusta et equalis imponi debet.*
(e) Eman. Sa, Aphorif. in verbo Satisfactio. *Cajetanus qu. 2. de Satisfactione dicit, neque suscipere neque susceptam persolvere teneri penitentem ex precepto.*
Ibid. Scot. 4. d. 18. Gabr. dist. 16. q. 2. Navar. c. 26. num. 20. Johan. Medina 41. de poenit. *Improbabiliter dicunt penitentem posse recusare poenitentiam, si velit in Purgatorii igne satisfacere.*

VIII. That which increaseth the uncertainty is, that (d) Cardinal *Tolet* saith that the Confessor must, as much as it lyeth in him, impose an equal penance, that is, such as may equal the grievousness of the sin. A thing not only impossible to fulfil, for the causes represented in the precedent chapter, but also impossible to know. For how could the Priest or the sinner know what and how great the pain must be to equal the grievousness of the sin?

IX. Such considerations made Cardinal (e) *Cajetan* to say, that the penitent is not obliged by Gods commandment to receive the penance, or to accomplish it after he hath received it. And it is like that *Scorus*, *Gabriel Biel*, *Navarrus*, and *John de Medina* alleadged by the Jesuit *Emanuel Sa*, slighted penitential satisfaction, when they said that the penitent may say to the Priest, I will have none of thy penance, for I will satisfy in Purgatory. Besides, I find no reason why a sinner, without danger, and without obliging himself to go into Purgatory, may not dispense himself from fulfilling the penance imposed upon him by the Priest. For he may go to a privileged Altar, where he may gain a hundred thousand years of pardon, and easily obtain plenary indulgences, whereby he shall be exempted from all satisfaction. *Belharmin* goeth far beyond that, For he told us before that a man to whom God would fully remit the temporal pain, such as is the fire of Purgatory, can send back unto God his present, and not accept of that liberality; chusing rather to satisfy God with his own Torment.

CHAP. 8.

Reasons of the Adversaries for humane satisfactions. Of the application of the merit of Christ. And of humane merits.

AGAINST the light of such an evident truth our Adversaries cover themselves with darkness. Their custom is to alleadge texts out of the question, and prove things which we deny not. They maintain against us that we must do works of repentance. That we must suffer with Christ, and be conformable to him. That we must mortifie our flesh. That fasting and prayer are acceptable unto God. Things which we willingly grant, and he must be altogether prophane that doubts of these things. But these are not the points in question between us. The question about which we differ is, whether our sufferings be satisfactory to Gods justice, and whether besides Christs satisfaction we need another satisfaction? They finding themselves prest with our reasons, instead of answering, propound their opinion, as if their bare saying was a proof. And when they find themselves gravelled and short of reason, they fall to invectives, taxing us to be enemies of satisfactions, to reject prayers, fasting, and alms, and to shake off all yoke of discipline.

I. The most ordinary defense, and principal refuge of our Adversaries, is, to say that Christs satisfaction is sufficient, but that it hath need to be applyed unto us. As if one said that although a medicine be sufficient, yet one must drink it. And although a plaister be sufficient to heal a wound, yet it must be applyed: Which is true, but nothing to the purpose, as we shall see.

The question then is, to know how this application is done, and by what means Christs merit must be applyed or appropriated unto us?

1. The holy Writt which sets forth Christs merit, teacheth us also the means of applying the same unto us, and we cannot learn it from any other. The first means is the Spirit of God, which sealeth and printeth the promises of God through Christ in our hearts. That seal is nothing else but a strong impression and firm application of the promise of God, whereby the faithful Christian applyeth and appropriates unto himself the grace of God in Jesus Christ. Also holy Scripture saith that Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith, *Ephes. 3. 17.* for faith apprehendeth Christ, and makes the faithful Christian to repose his conscience upon Christs death. The same I say of the preaching of the Gospel, in which Christ is announced unto us, that we may have fellowship with him, *1 John 1. 3.* Baptism also is a means to apply Christ unto us, *Gal. 3. 27.* *As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ,* where that term of putting on, implyeth an application. And so of the Lords Supper St. Paul saith, *1 Cor. 10. 15.* *The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?* These are the ways to apply or appropriate the satisfaction of Christ unto us, and to make us feel the vertue of the same. No other wayes do we find in the word of God.

2. But our Adversaries have devised another way, of which the word of God saith nothing, and that way is our own satisfactions, of which the chief and the hardest is the fire of Purgatory. Scripture indeed exhorts us to suffer with Christ and for Christ, but saith not that these sufferings are payments and satisfactions to Gods justice, or that Christs merit is applied unto us by a burning fire. Besides, the exhortations to suffer for Christ, and to subdue our lusts by abstinence, are of no use but in this life, not after. God exhorts us to amend, not to be burnt. If God exhorted us to be burnt; such an exhortation would rather be a condemnation.

3. Note also that here the question is of the payment which Christ hath laid down for us. That payment cannot be applied by making us pay. If any bring to a prisoner his rancome, enough to make full satisfaction, there needs no other application, but to receive it, and take it. Christ is he that hath fully satisfied for us by his death; And that ransom is presented unto us by the Gospel, and we take hold of it by faith; not by whipping our selves, or by giving money to the Church, or by a torment of some thousands of years in a fire.

4. It is evident, that as a plaister is not applied by another plaister, nor a medicine by a medicine, likewise a payment is not applied by another payment, nor Christs satisfaction by another satisfaction. Is it not in derision that they will have the torments which Christ hath suffered to be applied to us by our torments in a fire, seeing that he suffered those torments for that very end, that we might not be tormented? Must the pain which he suffered be applied to us by punishing us, seeing that for that very end he bore, a satisfactory pain for us, to exempt us from satisfying for our selves?

5. We must take heed above all things, that the means of applying the grace of God unto us, be not contrary to that grace. For that would be the overthrowing of the nature of things, to seek to apply the Suns light unto us by putting out our eyes, or to apply a medicine unto us by poyson. Yet it is the doctrine of these Doctors, who will have our pardon in Christ to be applied to us by punishing us, and his grace by burning us, and Gods mercy by the execution of his justice. As if God spake thus to his faithful ones, whom to redeem he hath delivered his own son to the death of the Crosse. *Come, my dear children; I will apply my grace unto you by burning you so many ages, and applying the pardon unto you by punishing you in a burning fire; not to mend you, but to content my self, and to fetch a recompence and satisfaction from you, although I have received at Christs hands, a most entire and full satisfaction for you.* This doctrine is prodigious; This application is an implication of contradictions, whereby God is manifestly mocked.

6. The example which our Adversaries bring to give some colour to that doctrine, is clearly against them, and helpeth to set forth the truth. They bring the example

example of Kings, who when they will shew grace to a felon, will change the pain of death into fines, and pecuniary pains. For can one deny that these pecuniary pains are a diminution of the Royal pardon? and that the Kings grace would have been far greater, if he had exempted the felon from fines, and paid with his own money all that might be due by the felon, as Christ did, who paid all our debt, having satisfied both for the fault and the pain? If upon that they bring reasons why it is useful and honourable to a man to be burnt, and to satisfy in his own person by his torment, they do no more thereby, but to shew why it was expedient that Christs satisfaction should be applied unto us by means contrary to the perfection of that satisfaction.

7. One thing seems to me very considerable. That of the other means of applying to us Christs satisfaction, the Pope gives no dispensation by his Indulgences. With satisfactory pains only he dispenseth. Scripture teacheth us the wayes whereby Christ is applied unto us: Which are the holy Ghost, the Preaching of the Word, Faith, &c. From these means the Pope exempteth not, and his Indulgences go not so far: For this were saying to a man, *I exempt thee from having the holy Ghost: I dispense thee from believing in Christ.* The Pope and his Clergy would be ashamed to speak so. But as for the satisfactions, and the torment of Purgatory, the Pope exempteth whom he will by his Indulgences. Whence cometh that difference? Is it not because he acknowledgeth these means contained in Gods Word to be necessary, but the Penitential satisfactions to be unnecessary, and that one may be without them? Why do these subtille Doctors go about to establish their satisfactions by the Word of God, to dispense with them afterwards, and pull down what they have built up? The cause is not hard to know. It is because to dispense men from having the holy Ghost, and believing in Christ, would yield little profit to the Pope and the Clergy, and but few men would buy such Indulgences. But as for exempting the souls from satisfying in Purgatory, the people are crowding to get a share of that grace. To obtain it, many run a great way after pardons, many strip their children to enrich Fryars.

8. Note, that towards the souls of Purgatory, the Pope hath left the power of binding, and retained only the power of loosing and delivering from torment, because no body would give money to be bound. Thus he looseth those whom he cannot bind, and for the dead he hath cut off one half of his Keyes.

II. That application being thus examined, let us see by what reasons the Doctors of the Roman Church defend humane satisfactions. *Bellarmino* alleadgeth the first Chapter of *Isaiah*, where God promiseth the remission of sins to them, that make themselves clean, that cease to do evil, and give themselves to works of mercy. Whereby they justifie what I said before, that they labour to prove that which we deny not. We know that God forgiveth none but those that repent, and ceasing to do evil, by a serious conversion apply themselves to the study of good works. But the question is, Whether that conversion be satisfactory before God? That is, Whether God will receive it for a recompence and payment to his justice, for the punishment of sins after the fault is remitted. The Text alleadged toucheth that question, neither far nor near. And although they had proved, that by such an abstinence from evil, the merit of Christ is applied unto us, yet they should not prove thereby that it is satisfactory.

III. *Bellarmino* alleadgeth also *Dan. 4. 27.* where *Daniel* speaks thus unto King *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy unto the poor, if it may be a lengthening of thy prosperity.* And *Prov. 16. 6.* *By mercy and truth iniquity is purged, and by the fear of the Lord men depart from evil;* or according to the vulgar version, *By mercy and truth sin is redeemed.* That Jesuite brings these texts to prove what he had said, that a man is the Redeemer and Saviour of his own self.

But I wonder how *Bellarmino* did not perceive, that this example of *Nebuchadnezzar* a Pagan King, is contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Church, which maintains only the satisfactions of the faithful for the temporal pain, and after the remission of the fault. The Roman Church holds that one must be in the state

state of grace to satisfie, and believes not that the Pagans and they that are out of the Church can satisfie at all, because their fault is not remitted. In vain should they satisfie for the temporal pain, seeing that they are obliged to the eternal. For it is as if one that is doomed to go to Hell, should trouble himself to satisfie for the pain of Purgatory. That King then being out of the Church, in vain *Daniel* had exhorted him to redeem the temporal pain, instead of exhorting him to avoid the eternal punishment, by coming into the fold of the Church. Besides the Roman Church believeth that we cannot satisfie for sins, but only for the pain of sins. Now *Daniel* saith, *Redeem thy sins*; not, *Redeem the pain of thy sins*.

Had this Cardinal known in what sense the word *redeeming* is commonly taken in Scripture, he might have discerned that this Text is not to his purpose. That word *redeeming* in Scripture, doth not signifie alwayes paying, nor satisfying, nor giving a ransom. As when God saith so often, That God hath redeemed his people out of *Egypt*, he understands not that he hath paid a ransom to deliver them, but only he understands that he hath delivered them out of *Egypt*. And when he saith, *Isa. 52. 3. Ye have sold your selves for nought, and you shall be redeemed without money*. There the word *redeeming* signifieth not paying any price, seeing that the Text saith expressly, that nothing shall be paid for their redemption. Thus *Ephes. 5. 16. Redeem the time, because the dayes are evil*; where the word *redeeming* signifyeth, better employing. And so in many places of Scripture, this word *redeeming* signifieth only delivering from evil, either a mans self or another, and putting things in better order. *Daniel* then adviseth that King to redeem his sins, that is, to get out of them, and deliver himself from them. To that the word *perak*, the word of the Text, is proper, for it signifieth also *breaking and correcting*; and this serveth to understand the fore-alledged text of *Prov. 16*.

The prudent Reader will consider, that since the way to satisfie Gods justice is far more evidently delivered in the New Testament then in the Old, our Adversaries ought to have taken their expressions in that matter out of the New, not out of the words spoken under the Old Testament to a Pagan King. And whereas that King was out of the Church, our Adversaries must presuppose, that he had nevertheless true faith and repentance, and that the *culpa* or fault of his sins, and together eternal pains were remitted to him, if they will have that text to be of any force: For they hold that without that, a man is incapable of making any satisfaction. I might say also, that Alms are neither pains nor penial satisfactions, but pleasant works. Unto a wealthy King especially, Alms cannot be a punishment, nor a penal work serving for redemption.

I V. The same Doctor proveth the necessity of satisfactions, by these words of *John the Baptist*, *Luke 3. 8. Bring forth fruits worthy of repentance*; who also said, *Matth. 3. 2. Repent ye, for the Kingdom of heaven is at hand*. But these words of *John the Baptist* are exhortations to conversion, and to the exercise of good works, not to satisfie Gods justice with penal works. I wonder how the Papists can hope to defend Sacramental satisfactions with that Text, seeing that they hold that the Sacrament of Penitence was not yet instituted at that time. The Greek word *μετανοια*, signifieth *recalling of ones mind*, or a *turning of ones spirit*, not a *satisfaction*. *John the Baptist* said not, *Whip your selves: Make Pilgrimages: Lye upon the hard ground: Eat nothing but fish for some dayes, that you may satisfie Gods justice by the payment of the pain, after the fault remitted*. But he exhorts us to repentance and amendment of life. *Bellarmino* replyeth, that he that doth penitence, must make restitution of that he hath taken from others, and brings some Doctors that say, that for abstaining more easily from unlawful things, it is expedient to abstain sometimes from the lawful. All that is true, but is nothing to the purpose. For to render to every one that which belongs to him, and to use abstinence, are things conducing to amendment of life, but are not satisfactions unto God, nor satisfactory pains to pay any recompence to him, or to content his justice, which hath received in Christs death a full satisfaction. It is

is ill apprehending the nature of true repentance, to think that restoring stoln goods is a satisfactory pain, and to put works of righteousness among satisfactory pains. Rather he that seriously repents will take a great delight in that restitution. He will put ill-gotten goods out of his house, as if he turned the plague out of it, or pucked out a smarting thorn from his conscience. He will be so far from putting that restitution among pains, that he would take it as an heavy punishment, if he were kept from it. This is then the same thing that we said, and which our Adversaries return to alwayes, that they make medicines to be payments, amendment of life a punishment, and the study of vertues a kind of penalty and satisfaction.

(a) Non
bove mactato
caelestia nu-
mina gaudent.

V. The same Cardinal alleadgeth, that the sacrifices of beasts under the Law, were propitiatory, or satisfactory for the guilt of the temporal pain, and that this was the cause why they offered sacrifices of greater or lesser price, according to the greatness of the sin. I answer, that it is for one that understands little in Religion, to think that the death of a beast can be a propitiation for sins, or for the pain due to sins, whether temporal or eternal. The Apostle, *Heb. 10. 4.* saith expressly, that it is not possible that the blood of Bulls and of Goats should take away sins. (a) The very Pagans acknowledged so much. But these sacrifices were called propitiatory, in a figurate speech usual in Scripture, where signs and Sacraments commonly take the name of things signified. Thus the Ark is called the Lord, *Psalms 24. 7, 8.* And circumcision is called Gods Covenant, *Gen. 17. 10.* And the stone that yielded water in the Wilderness is called Christ, *1 Cor. 10. 4.* And Christ himself calls bread his body, *Luke 22. 19.* And the cup his Covenant, in the same place. For the same reason the sacrifices of beasts are called propitiations for sins, because they were figures of the sacrifice which the Redeemer was to offer on the Cross. In that sense sacrifices were not only propitiatory for the temporal pain, as Bellarmine saith, but also for the fault and for the eternal pain. And it is a beastly imagination of his, that sacrifices of great beasts were more propitiatory then sacrifices of small beasts, and that to expiate great sins, an Ox had more vertue then a Lamb. In such offerings the Law regardeth more the ability of the person, then the greatness of the sin.

(b) Opera
iustorum eam
viam habent,
ut vere ac
proprie mere-
antur.

VI. He concludeth all the proofs by this argument, (b) That since good works truly and properly deserve eternal life, it cannot be denied that they are effectual to satisfy for the guilt of temporal pain. For (saith he) eternal life is greater then the remission of the temporal pain.

Disputing so, is proving one error by another, building a doubt upon an uncertainty, or rather defending an error with an impiety. For we reject merits as well as satisfactions, and they are much of the same kind; for satisfactions are a kind of merits, if by them we merit that the pain be remitted to us. And both merits and satisfactions derogate from the perfection of Christs merit, which serveth alike to purchase salvation for us, and to satisfy for the pain which we have deserved: And no need of contributing our merits, and paying another price of that satisfaction unto God. Since then we are saved by grace, it is no more by works, saith the Apostle, *Rom. 11. 6.* For by grace are we saved through faith, and that not of your selves, it is the gift of God: Not of works, lest any man should boast. The like we have, *Rom. 6. 23.* The gift of God is eternal life. If it be the gift of God, it is not a Purchase made by our merits. Gods election being free, as Saint Paul teacheth, the salvation also is free to which God hath predestinated us by his election, as Saint Paul teacheth us. (c) How should we merit before God, seeing that though we should do all that we are commanded, yet we should be but unprofitable servants? *Luke 17. 20.* Neither can we do any good, but by his Grace, being incapable of our selves so much as to think any thing that is good, *2 Cor. 3. 5.* Our good works bring no profit to God. Our goodness extendeth not unto him, *Psalms 16. 2.* In our best works there is alwayes defect, infirmity, and matter to ask pardon. And though it were otherwise, yet between our best works and the Kingdom of heaven, there is neither equality nor proportion. Such a great good is not bought so cheap. The sufferings of this present

(c) Rom. 9.
15, 16.
Rom. 11. 5.

time

time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us, Rom. 8. 18. And though our works should be merits of condignity, as our Adversaries speak, and an equipollent payment for eternal life, yet in vain should we go about to pay the price of a purchase ready made, the right price thereof being sufficiently paid by Jesus Christ our Lord.

In the Word of God we are called children and heirs, not buyers or purchasers by our merits. Who so pretends to get Paradise by his merits, falls into three inconveniencies: For he seeks to defraud God of his glory, and to get by the merit of his vertue, that which God giveth of his free liberality. He renounceth the title of son and heir of God, to become a buyer and purchaser: And casteth his conscience into doubts and insoluble perplexities. For when shall he know that he hath merited enough? Doth he know what value is put upon each of his works in Gods counsel? Besides he will often present unto God under the notion of merits, things whereby he is offended. And God will sooner bear with sins followed with repentance, then with righteoussnesses presented with pride and opinion of merit. Wherefore also these Preachers of merits make profession to doubt of their salvation; and die uncertain whether they be children of God or of the Devil. A just payment for their pride, and for trusting in their merits.

Was there no way to make good works necessary, but to raise their price so high, as to make them causes of salvation, and the price of the purchase of the Kingdom of heaven? Are they not necessary enough, when they are set forth as ways to salvation, means to strengthen our faith, to glorifie God, and to edifie our neighbours, and when we are taught that without them it is impossible to be saved.

It is true that in the Parable of the labourers, *Matth. 20. 8.* The Lord of the Vineyard said to his Steward, Call the labourers and give them their hire. And Saint Paul saith, *2 Tim. 4. 8.* Henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that day. Suppose that in the Parable of the labourers, by the hire eternal life must be understood: Yet that reward is a free, not a deserved reward, given in consideration of the person, not gotten by the merit of the work. As Ambrose saith, (d) The reward which is given by grace and liberality is one thing, and that reward which is given as a stipend of vertue, and a reward of labour is another thing. And Austin, (e) God imputeth the reward as a grace, not as a debt. Now to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt, saith the Apostle, *Rom. 4. 4.* It is so, that a loving father rewards his child's labour, giving him a fine garment for learning a sentence by heart, or for writing a line with a trembling hand. He would not do the like to another child that is none of his, for he regards the person, not the merit of the work. Wherefore in the same parable of the labourers, they that had wrought but an hour receive as great a reward, as they that had born the burden of the day. They receive then an undeserved reward. And *Hos. 10. 12.* God saith, Sow to your selves in righteousness, reap in mercy; shewing that to a just labour, God giveth a free, not a deserved reward.

Now that reward is just, and called by the Apostle, the crown of righteousness, because it is just with God to give what he hath promised, and to give life unto the Believer for whom Christ dyed.

For these reasons, when it is questioned of the purchase of salvation, we reject that arrogant term of *merits*, which a Prince would not suffer in a subject, though his services be never so great. Why should we fear to give too much praise unto God, or to attribute too much unto his grace, or to humble our selves too much before him? Why should we make man to divide praise with God, attributing part of Gods praise unto mans merit? True Religion is that which giveth the whole praise unto God, and to man the whole benefit; humbling man that God may be glorified; emptying man of all trust in his own vertue, that he may rely altogether upon Gods promise. Planting in mans heart an humble trust, not a trembling pride. For as pride is growing, diffidence groweth

K k k k

together.

(d) Ambros.
Epist. 1.
l. 1. Alia est
merces libe-
ralitatis et
gratie, alia
virtutis sti-
pendium,
laboris re-
muneratio.
(e) August.
de Civit.
Dei, lib. 21.
cap. 27.
Imputans
mercedem
secundum
gratiam, non
secundum
debitum.

together. And whosoever will seek in his own vertue a resting place for his conscience before God, shall find but confusion in the end of his race.

These then are Cardinal *Bellarmines* proofs in the eighth ch. of the first book of Penitence. In other places he brings other proofs which deserve not to be represented, and are common to all our Adversaries.

VII. They say that God having threatned the Ninivites, withheld his judgements because they satisfied by penitence. They should have said what the Ninivites satisfied with. For they hold that to satisfy, a man must be in the state of grace, and that satisfactions serve only to satisfy for the pain after the remission of the fault. Now we find not that before their penitence God had declared to them that their fault was remitted, or that they were in the state of grace. That which said Gods judgement was the amendment of their life, not the merit of any satisfactory pain, Fasting and mourning with sackcloth and ashes, both in them, and in *David* and others that have afflicted their soul with a penitent sorrow, were not satisfactions but effects of their grief, and helps to repentance.

VIII. The Council of *Trent* to prove satisfactions, saith that (f) we must be conformable unto Christ. Whence they infer that as Christ satisfied for us, so we must satisfy for our selves. To make the conformity with Christ compleat, these Fathers should have said that as Christ satisfied for us, we must also satisfy for Christ. But the truth is, that it is impious to affect to be conformable unto Christ in all things. He is God, he is the Wisdom of the Father, he is the Redeemer of the world; In these things we cannot be conformable unto him. Only we must endeavour to make our selves conformable unto his sufferings, by suffering for his cause, and imitating his righteousness and holiness to our power. But our sufferings may be conformities with Christ, though they be not satisfactory and employed to make our selves to be our Redeemers, and to satisfy Gods justice. We are made conformable unto Christ by sufferings, when we suffer for righteousness, and for the cause of Christ, and God makes us pass through shame to bring us to glory. As *St. Paul* said *Rom. 8. 17. We suffer with him that we may be also glorified together.* We deny not but that the death and intercession of Christ makes our sufferings to be of some value, and that for his sake the death of the godly is of great price before God. But hence it followeth not that God makes them worth so much as to be payments and reconpences and satisfactions unto Gods justice. That would be on the one side adding unto Christs satisfaction another satisfaction, and on the other side infinitely aggravating the afflictions of Gods children, and making them intolerable, if they must believe that their sufferings are punishments whereby they satisfy Gods justice, and that God useth them as a Judge useth felons, not as a father his children.

IX. The same Council reasoneth thus. (g) *The reason of divine justice seems to require that they that have sinned out of ignorance before Baptisme be otherwise received into grace, then they that once having been delivered from the servitude of sin and the Devil, that is, who having been baptized, had no fear to violate the temple of God.* These Fathers hold it convenient unto Gods justice to use those more gently that have sinned out of ignorance before Baptisme, then those who purposely, and by a profane Spirit have sinned since Baptisme. And they say only that it seems to them, not daring to define any thing about it. By speaking thus they say nothing against us, who acknowledge that the profanation of Baptisme aggravates the sin very much, and that sins of ignorance are far less then those that are knowingly, and wittully committed. But what doth that to establish that general rule, That we must satisfy for sins committed after Baptisme, not for those that were committed before? For how many sins are committed out of ignorance after Baptisme? and how many sins have been committed out of malice and profanels before Baptisme?

In old time Emperors and great part of the Christians would defer Baptisme till they saw themselves neer their end. So did the Emperor *Constantine* and his son *Constantinus*. No doubt but these men committed many wilfull sins in their life.

How

(f) Conc.
Trid. Sess. 14.
c. 8. *Dum*
satisfaciendo
patimur pro
peccatis, Chri-
sto Jesu qui
pro peccatis
nostris satis-
fecit, ex quo
omnis nostra
sufficiencia
est, conformes
efficiuntur.

(g) Concil.
Trid. Sess. 14.
c. 8. *Sane &*
divine justi-
tiae ratio exi-
gere videtur,
ut aliter ab
eo in gratiam
recipiantur,
qui ante Bap-
tismum per
ignorantiam
deliquerint,
aliter vero
qui semel à
peccati &
demonis ser-
vitute libera-
ti, & accepto
Spiritus san-
cti dono, sci-
entes Templum
Dei violare,
& Spiritum
sanctum
contristare
presumunt.

How many Marranes and Jews impostors cause themselves to be baptized for gain, and to avoid the hand of justice? Is it reasonable that the impudence, the blasphemies, and the hypocrisie which they have used before Baptisme be remitted to them by baptisme, and that God exact no satisfaction from them, but that if after Baptisme they become true converts and new men, for the sins which they shall commit out of inadvertence and infirmity, they make satisfaction in a fire?

X. But in what text of Scripture have they found, that by Baptisme the sins committed before Baptisme be otherwise remitted unto us, then the sins committed after? Who gave these Gentlemen power thus to cut and clip the benefit of Christs merit by their own authority? We must not doubt but that by Baptisme the benefit of Christs merit by their own authority? We must not doubt but that by Baptisme the benefit of Christs merit is offered unto us, such as is offered in the Gospel, for Baptisme is a Sacrament and a seal of the doctrine of the Gospel. Now the Gospel tells us that the blood of Christ cleanse us from all sin. And it is certain that by Baptisme Christ is offered unto us, as he by whom all our sins are forgiven us. *As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ, Gal. 3. 27.* Where the Apostle useth the word *put on*, to shew that Baptisme applyeth Christ unto us for the time after our Baptisme, for garments are made to serve in the time to come.

XI. The same Council in the same place saith (h) that it becometh well the divine clemency not to forgive our sins without satisfaction. And he adds a reason, that if God should forgive us without satisfaction, thereby we might take an occasion to fall into greater sins, accounting sins to be but light things. And that satisfactions serve to turn us away from sin. These Doctors will teach God, what it becomes him to do, not remembring that the Pope by his Indulgences dispenseth with these satisfactions, and by consequent that such indulgences are ill becoming divine clemency, and ill agreeing with it. Neither did they consider that this reason will not serve to establish the satisfactions of Purgatory, which are the Principal. For Purgatory doth not serve to turn from sin, those that are tormented in it. Had God exempted those souls from that torment and received them into Paradise presently after their death, there had been no reason to fear that impunity had made them fall into greater sins. The Reader may observe also, that by that reason these Fathers make the satisfactory pains to become castigatory, and serving to turn men from sin; They are then remedies, not satisfactions. Medicines are no payments. Chastening is warnings for the future, not satisfactions for the time past, as *Chrysostom* saith (i). These Fathers of Trent found no other way to defend satisfactory pains, but by making them to change nature and become castigatory. It is hard to comprehend how it suits with Gods clemency, to burn his children for many ages in a fire as hot as that of hell, and that for faults remitted, and for sins pardoned. This is repugnant to Gods clemency, and more yet to his justice.

Among satisfactions Cardinal *Bellarmino* approveth beating and whipping of ones self, and maintains that *Paul* whipt himself, because he said, *1 Cor. 9. 27. I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection*, and according to the vulgar version, *I chastise my body*. There is in the Greek *καταμαρτύρω*, which signifieth *mortifying and bruising with blows*. I answer that though it should appear that *Paul* had whipt himself, it would not follow that he did it to satisfy Gods justice. He might have done it to beat down his lust, and exercise himself to patience and humility. Which appears by the example of wrestlers which he brings in the same place, who hardened their bodies with pains and abstinences, not to satisfy any offended person, but to inure themselves to labour. And the Greek word signifieth not whipping ones self, but giving hard usage to ones own body, after the manner of wrestlers that used themselves to hardness, as the same Apostle saith in the 25. verse.

XII. In vain they alleadge *Hierome*, whose pictures represent him beating his naked brest with stones, for which there is no testimony. *Hierome*

John. i.

(h) Conc. Trid. ibid. Et divinam clementiam decet, ne ita nobis absque ulla satisfactione peccata dimittantur, ut occasione accepta peccata leviora putantes, &c. Procul dubio enim magnopere à peccato revocant.

(i) Chrysost. Hom. de Poenitentia & confess. Propter hoc imponit nobis penam, non de peccatis sumens supplicium, sed ad futura nos corrigens. (k) Bellarm. l. 4. de Poenit. c. 6. §. de flagellatione.

Hieron. ad Eustoch. de custod. Virgin. nec à pectoris cessasse verberibus.

said only that he did beat his own breast, as men use to do when they are in deep sorrow; Of satisfying Gods justice he speaks never a word.

XIII. To no better purpose the austere life of *John* the Baptist is alledged by *Bellarmino* (1) of whom he saith that he had little or no need of repentance and newness of life, (m) and that he gave more to God then he needed to expiate his sins. So he will have that austerity to have been satisfactory, if not for him, at least for another. This doctrine belongs not to the Gospel, it is a new Article of faith. *John* the Baptist, and *Anna* of which *St. Luke* speaks in the second ch. by their sobriety and austere life, satisfied neither for themselves nor others. That satisfaction is sufficiently found in Christ. But they did it out of a contempt of the world which made them neglect the care of their body. A man whose spirit is altogether bent upon Gods service little cares how he is fed and clad. It is enough for him to live, and he avoids all things that can either tickle his flesh or divert him from holy employment. But thereby he doth not presume to satisfy Gods justice, or to pay him any recompence either for his sins, or for the sins of others.

XIV. They use another reason. (n) *Bellarmino* speaks thus. *God would have every one of us to get a crown of life unto himself by his own merits.* And he gives a reason why Saints make satisfactions, even because it is more honourable unto God, and more profitable for us that the second causes be acting, and be not idle; but that they concur with the first cause to bring forth effects. This Cardinal will have frying in Purgatory to be profitable for a soul, and that it is honourable for us to satisfy God, and contribute to our own redemption. By that Doctrine they are most honoured that stay longest in Purgatory. And the Pope doth wrong to those souls to fetch them out of that place, and to deprive them of that honour. Yet in my opinion it would have been more honourable for them to go into Paradise presently, then to be tormented two or three thousand years in a fire (o) equal in vehemency to that of hell, where Devils are tormented, and to be for many ages deprived of Gods sight.

XV. For these and the like considerations the Jesuite *Gregorius de Valentia*, being prest in his conscience acknowledgeth, that it is not much necessary to labour for these satisfactions. (p) Seeing (saith he) that no man knoweth how much obligation remains to the temporal pain after contrition and other means, whereby the said obligation is lessened, there is no command that necessarily obligeth us to labour much about satisfactions. And in the same place he disputeth against *Scorus*, *Soto*, *Cajetan*, and others that hold that there is no commandment of God that obligeth us to satisfy in this life: although he dissents little from them in the main matter.

XVI. If the penance imposed by the Confessor seem unjust unto the penitent, the same Jesuit (g) holds that the penitent may reject it, and exempt himself from it. So that this depends from the judgement of the penitent. Whereby, as it appeareth to me, he fills those satisfactions with much uncertainty.

(p) Idem. c. 5. §. Quod autem. Cum nemo sciat, quantus pene temporalis reatus post contritionem & alia media, quibus ille minuitur, maneat, non est ex praecepto quidem necesse admodum anxie incumbere in magnum studium satisfactionis. (q) Ibid. §. Quod si. Si manifeste videatur poenitentia esse injusta, extra controversiam est posse illam à poenitente repudiari.

CHAP. 9.

That none can satisfie Gods justice for another.

TO defend borrowed satisfactions whereby one man satisfieth for another, they reason thus. (a) *That to the same work a double reward is due, the one according to commutative justice, the other according distributive. And that to the same work the remission of the pain is due as it is satisfactory, and the reward as it is meritorious.* As if one said that the payment of thirty pounds, served to pay a debt of thirty pounds, and together to buy a horse of that price. For (say they) a work cannot be applied unto another man as it is meritorious, but as it is satisfactory. Satisfaction is a compensation of the pain and a payment of the debt. Now a man may pay another mans debt. Then contradicting themselves, they ask in the Mass the grace of God by the merits of the Saints, which is asking that their merits be imputed and applyed unto us.

These grounds being laid, they build upon them, and say that (b) *Saints and Monks have suffered more then they needed to expiate their own sins, and that they needed but a very small satisfaction for their faults, and yet they suffered so many sorrows that by them they might expiate a multitude of most heavy sins. And martyrdom is such a full satisfaction that it may expiate the guilt got by sins, though never so great or so many.*

One might think that these Doctors intended only to teach, that God in consideration of the pains which a Saint hath suffered remitteth the pain unto others, and receiveth their afflictions as payments for others. But this is not their chief bent. For they leave not the dispensation of these satisfactions performed by others unto Gods counsel, but send us back to the Pope, (c) who is the distributor of the same, having a treasure where he layeth up all the superabounding satisfactions, and dispenfeth them by his Indulgences, giving twenty thousand, or thirty thousand, or a hundred thousand years of true pardon, and sometimes full, more full, and most full indulgence, as they speak that write of this matter. So that when St. Dominick whipt himself with an iron chain for other mens sins, it must not be imagined that God presently received that satisfaction for such and such men according to his good pleasure; But that the Pope hath gathered that overplus into his treasure, and distributes it to them that come to get pardons at Rome and other places where it pleased his Holiness to place remission of sins. There the contributions are made, and a great treasure of money laid up. For it is not just that pilgrims get so many spiritual graces for nought.

According to the same doctrine Priests will injoin satisfactions to a penitent which he must performe either by himself or by another; so that if he may find one that will fast or whip himself for him (which is not done without money) they believe that this is allowed and reckoned in Gods counsel.

I suppose that setting forth this doctrine is confuting it; And that it is of those wares that are spoiled, and smell ill as soon as they are brought to the open air. We should go beyond the terms of the present question if we examined the impiety of these expressions, that *God oweth a reward unto man by the rule of justice*, making God a debtor unto man. Also I pass by that impiety that a man payeth

(a) Bell. l. 1. de Indulg. cap. 2. Sect. Postremo. Potest uni eidemque operi duplex merces deberi, altera ex justitia commutativa, altera ex distributiva. Atqui operi satisfactorio debetur premium ex justitia distributiva secundum substantiam. Thom. 1. p. q. 21. Art. 1. &c. & Sect. Secunda. Opus bonum, quia parte meritorio est, non potest alii applicari: potest tamen, quia satisfactorium est &c. Nam satisfactio est compensatio pœnæ, vel solutio debiti, potest autem unus ita pro alio pœnam compensare.

(b) Bellarm. ibid. In dubium revocari non potest, quin ingens omnino cu-

mulus passionum Johanni superfuert, quo ipse ad expianda propria peccata non eguit &c. Prophete fuerunt viri sanctissimi, ita ut modica omnino pro suis culpis satisfactione opus habuerint, & tamen tot angustiis & afflictionibus oppressi fuerint, ut plurima & maxima peccata expiare potuerint &c. Constat enim martyrismum tam plenam satisfactionem esse, ut expiare possit reatum contrarium ex quantitate ingenti numero & magnitudine peccatorum.

(c) Clemens V l. Extravag. Unigenitus Tit. de pœnit. & remiss.

more

more satisfactions to God then he needs, to expiate his own sins. And that treasure of the Church, unknown to the Church of the Old Testament, under which the high Priests did not gather the supererogatory labours of *Noah* and *Abraham*, to convert them to payment for others. Of this also the Apostles say nothing, nor of that overplus of satisfactions, nor of that distribution committed to the Roman Prelate. As also, we have heard before the confession of two Cardinals, *Cajetan* and *Roffensis*, and of *Navarrus*, and *Gabriel Biel*, and many more, acknowledging that in all Antiquity, no mention is made of that doctrine. For Christs satisfaction being sufficient, what need to add more satisfactions to it, and such satisfactions as God did not promise to accept, and which are infinitely under the merit of Christ? As if to the light of the Sun shining in its strength, one should add the light of a candle. And what need to add to that which is infinite? Experience sheweth, that under that borrowing of other mens satisfactions, a traffick of Indulgences is set up; and that they that have money, are thereby made more negligent in good works. For with their money they may buy Masses and Suffrages, and have part in all the penal works of the brotherhood, to which they have contributed.

But what? all that is a deep sink of error. It will be enough for the present Question, to understand what reasons they bring to defend those borrowed satisfactions.

I. They bring the Article of the Creed, *I believe the Communion of Saints*. We answer, that the Articles of the Symbol are taken out of the doctrine of the Gospel. Now the Gospel speaks indeed of the Communion of Saints, whereby the godly keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. For in the Church (saith the Apostle) *there is one body and one spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling. One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, One God and Father of all*. We are brethren in Christ, fellow-members of the same spiritual body, fellow-souldiers in the warfare of Christs cause, fellow-travellers in this world, fellow-heirs of Gods Kingdom. So many bonds must make us sensible of our Brethrens afflictions, and breed in us a mutual fellow-feeling. This is the communion of Saints which we find in the Gospel. But that our labours and pains can be satisfactions for the sins of others, it is more then God teacheth us, and of that there is not one word in his Word. But there we learn that *every man shall bear his own burden*. And that *every man shall receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad*. And that *none can redeem the soul of his brother*. And that *God will render to every one according to his deeds*, not according to the works or sufferings of others. As in the Civil society, the communion of fellow-Citizens goes not so far, as that one can eat or sleep for another; likewise the communion among Saints goeth not so far, as that one may satisfy for another, and expiate his neighbours sins, and believe in God for his brother, and answer for him in Gods judgement: For so it might happen that one should be saved for the other, and that *Philip* should enter into Paradise for his neighbour. The Spirit of God saith, *Rev. 14. 13. that blessed are they which die in the Lord*, and that *their works follow them*. If their works follow them, they enter not into the Popes treasure, and are not converted into payment for others. (d) *Austin* agreeth to this, *We find (saith he) that Christ saith, Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole. Thou seest then, that without the help of any one, every one is saved by his faith*. Wherefore the wise Virgins had no oyl to supply the want of the foolish: And the fore-alleadged Text, *Psal. 49. 7. is very positive to this purpose, None can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him*. We see (e) in *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, that in their time it was the custom, to shorten the penitence prescribed unto the Penitent, at the request of Martyrs detained in Prisons. Against which custom these Fathers are declaiming, saying, that the righteousness of the one, cannot be a satisfaction for the other.

II If God hath sufficiently rewarded the sufferings of the Saints, yea infinitely more then they can deserve, though they were meritorious; with what reason can

Ephes. 4.
3 & 4 & 5.

Gal. 6. 5.
2 Cor. 5. 10.
Psal. 49. 7.
Rom. 2. 6.

(d) Aug.
lib. quest.
de Veteri &
Novo Test.
qu. 102.
Ipse invenitur dixisse, Filia, fides tua te salvam fecit. Vides itaque nullius adjutorio sed unumquemque fide sua salvari.

(e) Tertul.
lib. de Pudicitia,
cap. ult.
Cyprian. de lapsis.

can they be made after that; pay-masters of debts, and making satisfaction by those very works, for which they have been more then sufficiently rewarded? As if those Saints said to God, *Thou hast most amply rewarded us for those works whereby we have deserved salvation, but it is just that these same works serve yet for a payment for many others.* If God answered them, *Your works are not meritorious, but as for those for whom you will satisfie, and take upon you to pay their debts, Christ who hath satisfied for you, hath also fully satisfied for them:* I know not what their answer might be.

III. In vain do they reply, that we are members of the same body, which ought to help one another. For the faithful Christians may very well help one another, without taking upon them to do impossible things the one for the other, and such as God doth not require, and that are useles besides. For it is to no purpose to undertake the paying of a mans debts for whom Christ hath fully satisfied. Here the question is of the communication of superabounding satisfactions, when one hath done more then he needs to expiate his own sins. Now among the members of the body of the Church, none shall be found that have paid unto God more then he owes, and given him any thing above the reckoning.

IV. Cardinal Bellarmine in the first Book of Indulgences, chap. 3. alleadgeth these texts, 2 Cor. 12. 15. *I will very gladly spend and be spent for your souls.* And 1 Tim. 2. 10. *I endure all things for the elects sake.* But in these texts Saint Paul understands not that he will suffer death, to satisfie the justice of God for the Corinthians, and to be in some sort their Redeemer, as the same Cardinal saith; or that he suffers afflictions for the elect to satisfie for them. Nay, he suffered to encourage and strengthen them by his example. He chose rather to suffer all things, then to be wanting to them by fainting in his labour, and bowing under the affliction. But to pay for them, it is that he never thought on.

V. The text most insisted upon by these Gentlemen is, Col. 1. 24. *I rejoyce in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his bodies sake, which is the Church, whereof I am made a Minister.*

But there the Apostle speaks not of the satisfactory afflictions of Christ, for to those there is nothing wanting, and no part of them behind. But he speaks of the afflictions and combates that Christ suffereth yet every day in his body, when his Church is oppressed. For the holy Scripture saith, that the afflictions of the Church, are the afflictions of Christ, because the Church is one body with him. When faithful Christians who are his members are persecuted, his hands and feet are pierced with nails again: When they are stript of their goods, the lot is cast upon his coat again. As on the other side, when the head is crowned, the whole body hath a share in that honour. When Saul persecuted the Church, Christ cryed unto him from heaven, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* although he was in his glory. And in the last day he will say to them that have not clad his poor members, *In as much as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me.* And what shall he say then to them that stript them? Wherefore 1 Cor. 12. 12. Saint Paul by this word *Christ*, understands the whole body of the Church, which comprehends both the head and the members. These are the afflictions of Christ that are behind, and some part of them shall be behind still, and all his sufferings not filled up, till the last day, when the combate shall be ended. And these afflictions are not satisfactions to Gods justice, but combates and tryals, wholesom exercises, Liveries of our war, and conformities of the members with their head, yea in their suffering for righteousness, not in satisfiying Gods justice as he did.

For Saint Paul saying that he suffers for the Church, meaneth not that he suffers to satisfie Gods justice for the Church, or that he will be the Redeemer of the Church in any sort, or that he intends that after his death Christians shall ask salvation of God by his merits, as it is sung (f) in the Mass every day. But he suffered for the Church, that is, to edifie the Church by his constancy, and encourage

Acts 9. 4.

Marth. 25.

43.

(f) *Quorum precibus & meritis rogamus, ut in omnibus protectionis tue muniamur auxilio.*

courage others by the example of his fidelity and perseverance, as himself saith, Phil. 1. 12, 14. that the things which happened unto him, (meaning his sufferings) fell out unto the furtherance of the Gospel: So that many of the Brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by his bonds, were much more bold to speak the word without fear.

It is so, that the Antients understood that Text. *Austin* upon *Psalm 61.* expounding that text, by the sufferings of Christ, (g) understands those that he suffered in his body, and by Christ he understands, the head and the body together. Then he addeth, *If the sufferings of Christ be in Christ alone, yea in the head only, why doth one of his members, Paul the Apostle, say, that I may fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh?*

And *Aquinas* in his Comment upon that place: The Apostle saith, (h) *I fill up that which is wanting to the sufferings of Christ, that is, of the whole Church, whose head Christ is.* And a little after, expounding in what sense Saint Paul said, that he suffered for the Church. (i) *This was wanting, that as Christ had suffered in his body, so he should suffer in Paul his member, and likewise in other members; and that for the body which is the Church, that was to be redeemed by Christ.* Thus also all the Saints suffer for the Church, which is confirmed by their example. Note that the sufferings of the Saints serve for examples, not for satisfactions.

Lombard in his Comment upon that Epistle of Saint Paul expounding the same text, (k) *The afflictions which I bear to confirm you in the truth of the Gospel: And I fill up that which is wanting in the sufferings of Christ, because we are his members.* Of superabounding satisfactions, to satisfy for the Church, he speaks not one word, in the exposition of that text.

Anselmus in his Comment upon that text, personates Paul speaking thus, *I rejoice in sufferings, to confirm you in the truth of the Gospel: And I fill up that which is wanting of the sufferings of Christ in my flesh, that is, the things that Christ hath not suffered in his flesh, I suffer in my flesh, for the increase of his body, which is the Church, for the sufferings of Christ are not in Christ alone.*

Then having copyed out *Austins* words, he makes the Apostle speak thus, *There is still part of Christs sufferings behind, which I suffer every day, for his universal body, which is the Church.* (m) *For if I gave over teaching the faithful ones, I should not bear these sufferings by the infidels; but because I study to be useful to the Church alwayes, I am constrained to bear adversities alwayes.* This was the end of the Apostles sufferings for the Church, the increase and instruction of the Church.

What more? Our Adversaries prest by the truth, begin to reject the interpretation of *Bellarmino* and other Advocates of humane satisfactions. *Estius*, a Doctor and Professor of *Doway*, in his Comment upon this text, expounds thus these words of the Apostle, *I suffer for his body, which is the Church, that is, that the mystical body which is the Church may be gathered and perfected.* He means that not only his sufferings are fruitful to the Church, but also that he aims at this in suffering, that his sufferings may be profitable to the Church. (n) Hence some Divines hold, that it may be inferred, that the sufferings of the Saints serve to the faithful

(g) *Passiones Christi non in solo Christo, immo passionibus Christi non nisi in Christo, si enim Christum intelligas, caput & corpus passionibus Christi non nisi in Christo, &c. Si enim passionibus Christi in solo Christo, immo in solo capite, unde dicit quoddam membrum ejus, Paulus Apostolus, ut suppleam quae desunt passionum Christi in carne mea.*

(h) *Et ideo dicit, adimpleo ea quae desunt, passionum Christi, quod est totius Ecclesiae cuius caput est Christus.*

(i) *Hoc enim deerat, quod sicut Christus passus erat in corpore suo, ita patere in Paulo mem-*

bro suo, & similiter in aliis; & pro corpore quod est Ecclesia, quae redimenda per Christum. Sic etiam omnes Sancti patiuntur propter Ecclesiam, quae eorum exemplo roboratur. (k) Passionibus quas sustineo pro vobis confirmandis in veritate Evangelii; & adimpleo ea passionum Christi quae desunt. Suas passionibus dicit esse Christi, quia nostrae passionibus, qui sumus Christi membra, Christi sunt. (l) Gaudeo in passionibus pro vobis confirmandis in veritate Evangelii, & adimpleo ea quae desunt passionum Christi in carne mea, id est, ea quae Christus in carne sua minus pertulit, ego in carne mea perfero pro multiplicando corpore ejus quod est Ecclesia. (m) Si enim ab eruditione fidelium cessarem, has passionibus ab infidelibus non sustinerem. Sed quia semper Ecclesiae studio fidelibus prodesse ad remissionem peccatorum, quae vocatur in a diligentia. Quae quidem doctrina etsi Catholica & Apostolica sit atque aliunde satis probetur, ex hoc tamen Apostoli loco nobis non videtur admodum solide statui posse. Non enim sermo iste quo Apostolus dicit se pati pro Ecclesia, necessarius sic accipiendus est, quod pro redimendis peccatorum poenis quas fideles debent parari. Quod forte nonnulli haberet arrogantiæ.

ones for the remission of the pains, which is called indulgence. Which doctrine, though it be Catholick and Apostolick, and be sufficiently confirmed by other proofs, yet it seems not to me to be solidly established by this text of the Apostle. For this speech whereby the Apostle saith that he suffers for the Church, must not be of necessity so understood, as if he suffered to redeem the pains of sins, which the faithful ones owe. Which perhaps could not be said without some arrogance. Note that this Doctor affirms, that this Doctrine is Catholick and Apostolick, and that nevertheless one cannot speak so without some arrogance.

CHAP. 10.

Answer to the invectives of our Adversaries upon this matter. And of their reproach to this Author, that he is a Fryars son.

WHEN our Adversaries see their weapons broken and made useles, their manner is to make amplifications of scolding and railing; as they that have no more stones to throw, will cast dirt.

They reproach us, that by abolishing satisfactions, we make men negligent in good works, and make them sink in the mire of vices. That we reject all kinds of abstinences. That we open the gate to licentiousness. That we teach Votaries to break the vow of Celibat, to wallow in carnal delights. That of that number was *Du Moulin's* father, whom they affirm to have been a Celestine Fryar, who chose rather to lead a licentious life, then to keep his vow. (a) Wherefore they advise *Du Moulin* not to speak ill of a Monastical life, and to say no more that Fryars have put vices and idleness under the shadow of the Altar, and to spare his fathers memory. They attend that exhortation with a hail of foul words, calling him an Atheist, a Seducer, a profane Buffoon, &c.

(a) The Author of the Buckler of the Catholick Faith.

I answer, that though we were as black as they make us, and our life as odious as they would have it, their cause would be never the better for that, nor humane satisfactions established, nor the merit of Christ made less effectual. While the perfection of that precious merit remains firm by proofs out of the Word of God, all their invectives against our persons do not touch the cause, and change not the Word of God. Yea many honourable persons in the Roman Church, to whom our life and conversation is known, will give a better testimony of us. But they that belch out such foul reproaches, are some scolding Writers, disciples to father *Veron*, men whom the Pope keeps tyed by the belly, whose pride and ignorant impetuosity is worthy of compassion, and whose Miter is so deep about their head, and over their eyes, that they cannot see the light.

We acknowledge indeed, that among us too many persons have a life repugnant unto their profession. Yet we may affirm, that vices among us are not approved, and that we have a great number of vertuous persons, who although they whip not themselves, yet will mortifie their lust. They observe not distinction of meats, but live in perpetual sobriety. They make no vow of Celibat, but live chastly, and their Conjugal bond is more holy then the Monachall vow. They undertake no Pilgrimage to visit relicks, but they live as strangers and pilgrims in the earth. They read not seven Latine *Psalms* to punish themselves, but their delight is continually to meditate the Word of God, and their civil employments are sweetly interrupted with perpetual prayers. Their Pastors impose not upon them for a penance to give unto the Church, but themselves are freely charitable to the afflicted. And by these good works they pretend not to satisfie God, knowing that Christ hath fully satisfied for all. But all the good works which they do, and all the afflictions which they bear for the Word of God, are free-will offerings, thanksgivings to God, exercises of Piety, and helps to salvation, their bruises are glorious, and their reproach honourable. It is enough for them to

glorifie God, and serve him according to his Word, without pretending to pay him by torments, and to satisfie his justice.

As for the vices that are among us, herein they differ from the vices of the Roman Church, that among us vices are infirmities, but in the Roman Church they are Laws, and go for vertues. (b) In no Church but the Roman, whoredom is permitted, but there Brothel-houses are established, even by the Popes authority. Infomuch that the Jesuite *Emanuel Sa*, makes no difficulty to say, that the trade of whoredom is permitted by right. (c) No Church but the Roman, teacheth that an Oath taken against the profit of the Clergy, obligeth not. (d) That a Prince is not obliged to keep faith (though sealed with an Oath) unto an Heretick. And that it is lawful to use equivocations before Courts of Justice. It is proper to the Roman Church to dispense subjects from the Oath of Allegiance sworn to their King, and to give remission of sins, upon condition of committing treason and murder; of which we have brought many examples, and will bring more. No Church but the Roman, puts alms and prayers among satisfactory pains, whereby a man is punished with serving God. No Church but the Roman, makes a publick traffick of Indulgences, Benefices, Dispensations, &c. No Church but the Roman, bestoweth Bishopricks upon little children, and Abbies upon Captains. There in the reception of Bishops, an Oath of fidelity to the Pope is exacted of them, without any mention of God, or Obligation laid upon them to preach, and to teach, according to the doctrine of the Gospel. I pass by the sale of the remission of sins, which we have represented, and shall represent again in this work. The maintaining of the rebellion of children to their parents, when they shut up themselves in a Monastery, to avoid their authority. The reading of fabulous Books, and amorous tales tolerated, whilst the reading of Scripture is forbidden. (e) The Cross put upon the Popes slipper which he giveth to kifs. The Holy Scripture set at the Popes feet at the entry of Councils, as it were to testify that the Word of God is subject to him: And many the like things infinite to number. All these things are not vices of private men, but publick Laws and Rules of the Church, or customs past into nature, which have the strength of a Law.

(b) *Eman. Sa, Aphor. in verbo Episcopus, cap. 20. Episcopus potest concedere contra quemcunque ob peccatum mortale, nisi esset iure permissum ut meretricium.*

(c) *Innoc. III. Decret. lib. 2. Tit. 24. c. Sicut nostris. Juramentum contra utilitatem Ecclesiasticam prestitum non tenet.*

(d) *Conc. Constant. Sess. 19.*

(e) *Conc. Lateran. ult. Sess. 1. Officiales ad pedes Sanctissimi Domini nostri tactis sacrosanctis scripturis preliterant corporale juramentum.*

It is true, that in the Roman Church they enjoyn satisfactions and abstinences. But *Rome*, whence these rules came, is the sink of prophaneness. There vices against nature, are turned into nature and custome; and all the pomp of publick devotions, is matched with contrary actions, which make the whole to appear a collusion fit to be laughed at. There on the one side, you may see the nastiness of Capucins; on the other side, the gorgeous pomp of Cardinals. In the place whence the Law for Celibat cometh, Brothel-houses are open, and whoredom is permitted. There, while Comedies are acted in houses, bands of Penitents whip themselves in the street, which is another kind of Comedy. There out of zeal to the Catholick Religion, on the one side they burn Hereticks for believing in Christ alone, on the other side the Synagogues of Jews are tolerated, which maintain that the Lord Jesus was an impostor. There you have the Jesuites, which take upon them to be learned, and together the ignorant Fryars which profess ignorance. There is the liberal alms of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, and together the traffick of Benefices, and the sale of Dispensations and Absolutions. There the humility of his Holiness, washing the feet of the poor, and giving his feet to Emperors and Kings to kifs. And while he calls himself the servant of servants, he gives and takes away Kingdoms. So that it seems that devotion there serveth to give a colour and a shelter unto vices. If any coming from that center of corruption, comes into a place where our Religion is established, he thinks himself transported into a new world, and either laughs at our simplicity for not knowing the rules of, living at ease, or gives glory to God, acknowledging that nothing roots out vices, but the doctrine of the Gospel.

Read the Authors that have let out their pen unto the Pope to lye in his favour, and the Popes domestick servants, as *Baronius, Genebrardus, Platina, Trithemius, Theodoricus a Niem, Fasciculus temporum*, and the like; you shall find that the

the most prodigious Heathen Emperors were sober and just in comparison of the Popes. And that for eightscore years, from the year 883. to the year 1049. none sat on the Papal See but creatures of harlots, perjured men, thieves, adulterers, and Necromancers. As the Devil taking the outward figure of a mans body is short in one point, that he cannot imitate the brightness and the life of the eye: So superstition is an Ape of true Religion, but cannot attain the purity of conscience, and the light of the truth. Wherefore these Gentlemen shall do wisely when they deal with us, to be sparing of reproaches, lest they oblige us to speak of their lives, and to turn over the skirts of the party mentioned in the seventeenth Chapter of the *Revelation*.

In all this discourse against the Roman Church, I mean not the people, among whom I know that many lead a civil honest life, and approve not these rules. I speak of those only, who by an express profession corrupt Religion, and hide the holy Scripture from the eyes of the people, and being tyed with a vow unto the Papal See, confine all Religion to the establishing of the Empire of the same.

As for their reproaches, that we intice Votaries to break their vow, and that Monks coming out of Convents, take Sanctuary among us to live licentious, and shake off the yoke: I do freely acknowledge, that I have known many that are come out of Monasteries, who being of ill conditions when they were Monks, did not cast off their ill conditions with their Frock. Being bred in idleness, and loving licentiousness, they come to us to bring vices among us. Hardly of an hundred that come out of Convents, five prove good. If the character of Priesthood be indelible, sure that of Monkhood is far more indelible. Those few that take honest and godly courses after they are come out of Monasteries, are those that have stayed there but little, or that were especially moved with the Spirit of Gods fear, and enlightened by him with a greater measure of his knowledge. If such men for their domestick businesses, or to avoid temptations, take wives, living honestly and with conjugal chastity, herein they follow the Apostles counsel, and obey Gods Word, which they are more obliged to obey then unjust laws, and a rash vow which ensnareth consciences, and is not approved by the Word of God.

Had my Father been of that number, I would think it no disgrace to me, or to the honour of my Ministry. But the coyners of that untruth ought at least to have stayed for my death, that they might lye with more liberty. They should have specified also of what Monasterie my Father was Monk, and when he came out of it. Which shall not be found. For he being called to Gods knowledge from his tender years, he consecrated himself to the holy Ministry, in which he served God with great fidelity for the space of three-score years, and to his lives end, His holy life, his honourable conversation, his brave mind in his continual afflictions, which he bore cheerfully for the Gospel, his fervent zeal, his vigilance in his calling, his pleasing and affable behaviour, which he seasoned with a meek gravity: These, I say, were as far from the air of the Cloyster, as heaven is from earth, and the Mass from the Gospel. His extraction and his life known at *Orleans* where he was born, sufficiently confute that fable, of his ever being a Monk. No wonder if they dare tell lyes of a dead man, seeing that while I lived in *Paris*, serving in the Ministry of the Gospel, Preaching and writing for the cause of Christ, the news of my conversion to the Roman Religion were publicly preached in *Paris* in many pulpits, already they provided Benefices for me: Already (as it was preached) I prepared my journey to ride Poste to *Rome*. Already in a certain Church, the people stayed expecting to hear me make my declaration. Such tricks will astonish the people for a season, and an untruth that was believed for three dayes, hath done some effect. But the prudent will say, That a lying doctrine cannot be defended but with other lyes: And that if we must not preach the Truth to please men, much less ought we to say untruths to please God.

Leaving the persons, let us return to the doctrine, and affirm that the doctrine which rejecteth satisfactions, is so far from corrupting manners, that there is no

shorter way to vertue. Nothing obligeth us more to love God, then the knowledge of the love which he hath born to us, forgiving us freely by Christ, requiring of us no satisfactory pains, and no torments in a fire to satisfie his justice. The true motives that stir up piety, are not the fear of a fire, nor the opinion that we pay a recompence unto God, nor the ambition of being our own Redeemers, but filial love kindled by free redemption, and the infinite love which God hath born to us in Christ. Wherefore from the commemoration of Gods grace and mercy, the holy Scripture useth to infer exhortations to an holy life. Thus the Apostle, *Rom. 12. 1. Exhorts us by the mercies of God, that we present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is our reasonable service.* And Saint Peter teacheth us, that *Christ his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sin, should live to righteousness,* 1 Pet. 2. 24. The Law it self by the consideration of Gods mercy, calls upon us to love him, shewing that God sheweth mercy unto them that love him. The most tender and the most powerful provocation to love God, is the sense of his love. That man corrupts Gods graces, that turneth them into occasions of deboistness, and changeth Christian liberty into licentiousness, and the peace of conscience into a carnal Lethargy, and the remission of sins into a permission to sin.

Many times indeed, it is useful to fear Gods judgements, and tremble under his hand, to turn us away from vices. But it is but a step to go higher, that after we have been retained by fear, we may use our selves by little and little to serve him out of love, and with a willing obedience. As when needles make the thred to enter into the cloth, they pass, but the thred remains; so fear of punishment serveth to bring free obedience, and filial love into the heart: Fear passeth, and love succeeding, casteth out fear, as Saint John teacheth us; but love remains, whereby we *serve God without fear, in holiness and righteousness, before him all the days of our life.*

1 John 4. 18.
Luke 1. 74.
75.

And when the question is of keeping men from sin by the fear of punishment (as there is need of it many times) is not the fear of Hell far more sufficient for that, then the fear of Purgatory? Our Saviour Jesus made use of that fear, when he said to his Disciples, *Luke 12. 5. I will forewarn you whom you shall fear; Fear him which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell, yea I say unto you fear him;* but of Purgatory and Satisfaction, he saith never a word unto them. We ought also to represent unto men the evident judgements whereby God in this very life punisheth the contemners of his Word. And these instructions are no less effectual to awake sinners, although the pains of Gods children be not reckoned for recompences, and satisfactions to Gods justice. God forbid that ever we come to that presumption, to produce our works or our sufferings before Gods judgement, as a payment to his justice, saying, *Lord it is true that I have offended thee, but I have paid thee for it; I have made a Pilgrimage to Saint James in Galicia; I have eaten nothing but fish so many dayes; I have given so much money to the reformed Austin-Fryars, or to the Recollect Fryars; I have whipt my self so many dayes, and when I was not in the humour to whip my self, I have got another to do so much for me. O abuse, abuse! Deplorable seduction!* Let us return to Christ, and repose our selves altogether upon his satisfaction, if we will both give glory to God, and find rest for our consciences. And let us not bend our minds obstinately to pay God in spite of his heart, and to satisfie his justice, lest that he make us pay the whole debt in spite of our heart, and exact from us an entire satisfaction to his terrible justice.

CHAP. II.

What tyranny the Popes have exercised over England for some Ages under colour of absolution and satisfaction. And from what horrible bondage England was delivered by the light of the Gospel.

Since the end of Cardinal *du Perron's* book was to shake the constancy of his Majesty of great *Britain*, and to induce him to submit his Crown to the Papal See, I think it expedient, yea and necessary to shew what was the condition of the English, and what the ignominy and bondage of the Royal Crown under the Empire of the Roman Prelat. This matter of satisfactions leads us to that discourse. For it was a principal engine of the Pope to bring Kings under his feet, for him to tread upon their necks, and to prey upon *England* with the highest insolency.

The Dispute about Investitures and Collation of Benefices, is that for which most blood hath been spilt in *Europe*, since Christian Religion was planted in it. Upon that quarrel above an hundred battles were fought since *Gregory* the VII. besides sieges of towns, and wasting and ransacking of Provinces. As in the fourth and fifth Ages, the word *consubstantial* was the mark of the Orthodox, and in our days *going to mass* is the mark of Roman Catholics; so in the eleventh and twelfth Ages, to maintain that the right of Investitures and collation of Bishopricks and Abbeyes belonged not unto Kings and Princes, but to the Pope, went for the mark of a true Christian, and they that suffered for the defense of the Popes claim, were called Martyrs, and put in the list of Saints, and were sure to do miracles after their death.

In old time Popes were created by the authority of the Emperors, who also punished and deposed Popes. They employed them sometimes about Embassies and other services, as a Sovereign Prince will send his subjects and servants on his errand.

The Kings of *Italy* took of the Bishops of *Rome* three thousand crowns for their investiture; as of the Arch-bishop of *Milan*, and that of *Ravenna*, two thousand for theirs, according to the expresse law of King *Arthalaricus* in (a) *Cassiodorus*. That law was made about the year of Christ, 533.

The Emperor *Justinian* having shortly after recovered *Rome* and *Italy*, continued the same Law, commanding that the Patriarches should pay (and the Roman as well as the others) to the Emperors coffer, twenty pounds weight of gold which come to about three thousand French crowns. This is to be seen in the (b) one hundred twenty third Novel of *Justinian*, in the third ch.

But the Roman Empire being pulled down in the West, and *Italy* being fallen into the hands of the French, the Pope was enriched by the immense liberalities of *Pepin*, and *Charlemagne*, and *Lewis* the Meek, and from a Bishop was suddenly made a temporal Prince. Being thus raised he took advantage, after the death of *Lewis*, of the dulness of his successors, distracted with great wars, to make his keyes to clink with a great noise, and to terrifie the Princes and nations on this side of the Alps, with the thunder of his excommunications (For as for the Grecians his neighbours, who at that time held still part of *Italy*, they never cared for the roaring of his Bulls) By little and little the Papal empire did so increase, that in the end the Popes made bold to strike at the Crowns of Emperors and Kings, and shoot anathema's against them, giving and taking away Kingdoms, putting interdicts upon their Provinces, and exposing them for a prey to the next Conqueror. Yea they came to (c) bear themselves for Lords of the whole temporal of the world no less then of the spiritual, because it is written *Behold two swords* &c, that is, the spiritual and the temporal sword.

The height of the Popes power and glory, and together the depth, and as it were the midnight of the darkest ignorance, was from the year 1073. upon which

Gregory

(a) *Cassiod.*
var. l. 9.

ep. 13.

(b) Novel. 1

123. c. 3.

Subemus be-

tissimos Ar-

chiepiscopos

& Patriar-

chas, hoc est,

seniores Ro-

me & Con-

stantinopoleos

& Alexan-

drie & The-

opoleos &

Jerusalem-

rum, siquidem

consuetudo

habet Episco-

pis aut Cleri-

cis non minus

quam 20.

libras auri

dari, &c.

(c) Extra

Unam San-

ctam de Ma-

joritate &

obedientia,

Gregory the VII. entred into the Papal See, and the year 1517. when *Leo* the X. having publisht great Pardons over all the Papal Empire began to sell heaven for ready money and put to sale remission of sins and deliverance of souls from Purgatory. This moved the people to search the Scriptures to know what ground such an infamous traffick might pretend in the word of God. In all that interval which was of 444. years, Holy Scripture was a book shut up unto the Princes and nations of the West, and their whole Religion consisted in adoration of relicks and new Saints doing miracles in pilgrimages, in service of images, in visions of souls returning from Purgatory, in running to get pardons, in founding Abbeys for satisfaction and redemption of the sins of the founders, in making Croisades for expedition into the Holy Land, and in trembling under the Popes thunderbolts. Hardly was Christ acknowledged among the Saints. Till in the end they bethought themselves to give him his Feast which they call Gods Feast, that Christ might not be alone without a holy day.

(d) It was in
the year.
1075.

That Gregory the VII. was the first Pope that made bold (d) to pronounce a sentence of deposition from the Empire against *Henry* the IV. a wise and valorous Emperor, transporting the Empire to *Rodolphus* Duke of *Suaben*. But that bold attempt turned to the confusion both of Gregory and of his creature *Rodolphus*: For *Rodolphus* was defeated and wounded to death by *Henry*, who also degraded Gregory as guilty of high treason, making him flee to *Salerno*, where soon after he died for grief. Also *Henry* besieged *Rome* and took it. (e) *Sigebert* who lived then, and *Matthew Paris*, almost his contemporary, and Cardinal *Benno* a domestick of that Pope, write that when he saw himself near his death he called a Cardinal, the most confiding of all his friends, to whom he confest that he had greatly offended in the pastoral charge committed unto him, and had drawne the wrath of God upon mankind by the Devils instigation.

(c) *Sigebert*.
An. 1085.
Confessus est
Deo & Sancto
Petro &
1011 Eccle-
sia, se valde
peccasse in
pastoralicura,
que ei ad
regendum
commissa erat,
& suadente
Diabolo con-
tra humanum
genus odium
& iram con-
citasse.

This quarrel began, because the Emperors after the Canonical election of the Bishops and Abbots of their Empire, used to invest them with the lands and lordships belonging unto the Bishoprick or Abbey, putting a ring and a staffe in their hand, and to receive the oath of allegiance from them. For the said Prelates holding many noble lands in the Empire by the concession of the Emperors, and having a vote in their election and in the greatest business of the Empire, the Emperors thought it just and necessary that the said Prelates should make some acknowledgment of it, and should not be received into a degree so important to the State, without the states consent, and without acknowledging the Emperor to be their Lord and Master. Besides, the Emperors according to the custom of the antient Emperors which I represented before, would take some present in money from the said Prelates (which yet was a small thing in comparison of that which the Popes took since, and take still for the Annat, now that they have deprived the Emperor of his right) And herein the Emperors thought themselves grounded in right. For besides that the Churches, Abbeys, and Priories were founded by the liberality of Emperors and Princes of the Empire, the Emperor maintained armies for the defence and security of the said Prelates, wherefore it was reasonable that they should contribute towards the charges.

The Kings of England had the same right in their Kingdome. So at the same time that Popes disputed those investitures against Emperors, they laboured also in England to pluck that flower from the Kings Crown, and to draw the profit to themselves. The first that stirred that quarrel in England was *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; for when the Kings of England needy and greedy of money borrowed of the Clergy great loans never to pay again, he to exempt himself from the subjection of Kings, laboured to make his Arch-bishoprick to depend meerly on the Pope, not on the King, although he had got it by the free gift and concession of the King.

That *Anselme* then being promoted in the year 1092. to the Arch-bishoprick by King *William Rufus*, the King having given him freely that great and rich place, soon after would extort from him a great sum of money for the exigence of his businesses, as claiming a recompence for his gift. *Anselm* refused to give it,

it, and stealing privately out of *England*, went to Pope *Urban* the II. who at that time was violently prosecuting, against the Emperor *Henry* the IV. the quarrel of investiture, begun by his predecessor *Gregory* the VII. This *Urban* liking the prudence and dexterity of *Anselm* made use of his counsel, and gave him the Arch-bishops pall, thereby voiding the investiture which he had received from King *William*, and obliging him thereafter to depend on him; As also he did, so behaving himself ever since, as holding his Arch-bishoprick by the Popes ordination, not by the Kings concession. Whereby the King incensed, interdicted to *Anselm* the entry into his Kingdom, confiscated the lands and estate of the Arch-bishoprick, and declared by an expresse Edict that his Bishops held their places and estates meerly from him, and were not subject unto the Pope for the same; And that he had the same rights in his Kingdom, as the Emperor had in the Empire. To which all the Bishops of *England* subscribed. Neither did any of them contradict it, but the only Bishop of *Rocheſter* as a Suffragant to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.

By the intervention of friends *Anselm* made his peace; But being returned from *Rome*, and keeping a strict league with the Pope, he began again soon after to dissuade the Clergy from receiving investitures from the King, wherefore he was constrained to flye the second time out of the Kingdom, and his estate was again seized upon and confiscated, of which he had obtained restitution at his return.

He came then to Pope *Urban*, who received him with honour as a confessor suffering for the cause of Christ. The year after, *Urban* kept a Council at *Clermont* in *Anvergne*, where he granted full pardon of all sins to all that should contribute for the expedition into the Holy land, (f) and to them that should go in person, he promised a particular degree of glory and a preeminence in Paradise above the vulgar sort of Saints. In the same Council he decreed that thenceforth it should not be lawfull, for any Prelat or Ecclesiastical person to receive the investiture or collation of a benefice or Church-dignity from the hand of any Lay-person. But the Princes laught at these Decrees and retained the possession of these investitures.

(f) Matth. Paris in Guilielmo Rufo, Baronius.

In the year 1099. King *William* and Pope *Urban* dyed. *Henry* the I. succeeded *William*, and *Paschal* the II. succeeded *Urban*. This King *Henry* finding his conscience charged with many crimes, among other things, with taking the Kingdome from his elder brother *Robert*, vowed unto God for satisfaction for his sins to found an Abbey, and together sought to be reconciled with *Anselm*, and called him again. But *Anselm* being obliged with an oath to the Pope prevailed with the King that a Council should be gathered at *London*, Where he declared the order he had from the Pope that no Lay-man should have the power to confer any investiture, and began to degrade the Bishops promoted by the Kings nomination, and refused to consecrate some Bishops named by the King. The King angry banisht him out of his Kingdome presently, and confiscated his estate.

(g) The letters of that Emperor *Henry* the IV. to Philip King of France are found in *Sigebert* in the year 1106. This history is related at large by *Helmodus* Priest of *La-bee* in the book intitled *Chonica Sclavorum*. See also *Baronius* in the life of *Paschal*.

While these things past in England, Pope *Paschal* prosecuted the quarrel of his predecessors against the Emperor (g) *Henry* the IV. and seeing that all the enemies whom the Pope had raised against him had been overcome ad defeated, he did so work upon the Emperors own son, that he made him rebell against his father, and that son coming upon his Father at unawares, with an army surprised him at Confluence, took the Crown, the Scepter, and Imperial robe from him, and degraded him from the Empire. This broke the heart of the venerable old man charged with so many victories, who dyed soon after with grief, so forsaken, that Pope *Paschal* would not suffer him so much as to be buried.

That new Emperor *Henry* the V. having slain his father past presently into *Italy*, where the Pope hoping to be recompensed for helping him in his conspiracy against his Father, found himself deceived; For when he prest him to renounce the rights of investiture which his ancestors (as *Sigebert* saith) had enjoyed

enjoyed above three hundred years, the Emperour grew very angry, and laying hold of this Pope *Paschal*, committed him to a close prison: Neither would he release him, till he had renounced his claim to the Investitures and Collations of Benefices, saying to him in scorn, that which *Jacob* said to the Angel wrestling with him, *I will not let thee go, before thou hast given me thy blessing.* *Paschal* then to redeem himself out of captivity, granted to *Henry*, that both he and the Popes after him, should leave unto the Emperours the peaceable enjoying of the Investitures of Ecclesiastical dignities, by the ring and the staff. Also that none could be consecrated Bishop, without an investiture by the Emperour. And to make this agreement more authentical, the Emperour and the Pope mutually obliged themselves by Oath upon the host of the Mass, which they received together. But because that Oath was extorted, the Pope did not think himself obliged to keep it. So he broke that agreement, and excommunicated *Henry*, and all Princes usurping Investitures.

That accident confirmed *Henry* the I. King of *England* in a resolution, to retain the Investitures of his Kingdom. And that order was kept in *England* for a long time. Only the Popes, that they might not wrong their pretences by a long prescription, would send the Pall to some Prelates invested by the King, confirming that which they could not alter, and giving an approbation which was not desired of them.

In the year 1142. Pope *Eugenius* came to *Paris*, where that he might usurp the right of investiture, and deprive the King of it, he gave the Archbishoprick of *Bourges* to one of his domesticks, Chancellor of the Apostolical Chancery, named *Peter Aimery*, without the consent of King *Lewis*, a Prince very much given to obedience unto the Papal See. (h) Yet the King was so angry at it, that he swore upon the holy relicks, that never so long as he lived, *Aimery* should set his foot in *Bourges*. But the Pope knowing the Kings timorous nature, excommunicated him, put his person in interdict, and gave order that in *France*, in all places where the King came, divine service should cease, and all his Court was deprived of the Communion. This lasted three whole years, till the famous *Bernard* Abbot of *Cleruaux* come to the King, and perswaded him to receive the said Archbishop. But because by so doing, the King brake his Oath made upon the holy relicks, he was enjoined for satisfaction to take a journey to the holy Sepulchre in *Syria*, to fight against the *Saracens*. In which journey, the King miserably lost the flower of his Nobility, and returned afflicted and full of confusion.

(i) About that time dyed *Henry* Archbishop of *York*, being poisoned in the Chalice of the Sacrament. And it was no small question, Whether the blood of Christ might be poisoned.

After *Henry* the I. of *England*, came *Stephen*, and after *Stephen*, *Henry* the II. a potent Prince, who besides *England*, held *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Saintonge*, and *Guienne*: That King so potent, was weakened with an inward combate of contrary desires; for being very superstitious and scrupulous, yet he was very ambitious, and extraordinarily eager to maintain his rights, that of investitures especially.

(k) In the year 1155. (the year in which *Frederick Barbarossa* held the Popes stirrup, the left instead of the right, to abuse him, but the next day was forced to hold the right) King *Henry* the II. desirous to invade *Ireland*, and having no just title to it, writ to Pope *Adrian* to desire his leave to subdue *Ireland*, to reduce it into the way of salvation. Not but that the Irish were Christians, but they yielded little obedience to the Pope, who got no money from that Island. The Popes letters in answer to *Henry*, are related by *Matthew Paris*, whereby that Pope giveth him leave to make that conquest, upon condition that he should impose a Tax of a penny a year upon every house of *Ireland*, to the profit of the Papal See; and that he should hold that Kingdom by the Popes grant, as a fee of the Roman Church. (m) For (saith he) there is no doubt but that the Islands upon which Christ the Son of righteousness is risen, and that have received the instructions of the Christian faith, belong to Saint Peters right, and to the holy Roman

(h) Matth.
Paris in
Henrico I.

(i) Matth.
Paris, an.
1154. p. 83.
Cum Archiepiscopus divina celebraret mysteria, hausto in ipso Calice, ut aiunt, veneno obiit.

(k) Hel-
moldi Chro-
nicon.

(l) Matth.
Paris, in
Henrico II.
p. 91.

(m) Savè
omnes insulas,
quibus Sol
justitie Chris-
tus illuxit &
que docu-
menta fidei
Christiane
susceperunt,
ad jus sancti
Petri & sa-
cro sanctae
Romane Ec-
clesiae non est
dubium per-
tinere. Ba-
ron.

man

man Church. And upon that he exhorteth *Henry* to instruct that Nation in good manners, and in obedience to the Church.

In the same year at *Argentueil* near *Paris*, was found our Saviours coat without seams, made for him by his mother in his infancy, and grown with him. There was found some writing upon it, which made that to be known which had not been perceived in 1154. years.

Then also was burnt at *Rome*, one *Arnould*, who preached with great applause that the Pope had nothing to do to meddle with temporal things. And he was burnt by the command of Pope *Adrian*, who soon after was suffocated by a flie which he swallowed with his drink. A wonder, that he that was God on earth, and whom Kings worshipped, could be (n) suffocated by a flie. *Alexander* the (n) uspergensis. III. succeeded him, who Sainted King *Edward* the Confessor, dead above a hundred years before.

(o) In the year 1162. King *Henry* the II. of *England* preferred his Chancellor *Thomas Becket* to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*; a prudent and industrious man, and learned, as the time was, but sufficiently stored with ambition. He received that preferment from the King, without any investiture or consent from the Pope. Yet the Pope not long after sent him the Archbishops Pall. This displeased the King, who soon after assembled a Council at *Clarence*, where all appeals to *Rome* were forbidden, and all the Prelates declared that they held their Offices and Benefices from the King, and from none else; to which orders the said Archbishop *Thomas* was also consenting.

(o) Matth. Paris, Baronius.

But a while after this Prelate changed his opinion, and protested that he was sorry to have consented to the Kings Ordinances, and to the Conclusions of the Council, and to shew his repentance, he cut off himself from the Communion. Then he stole away into *Flanders*, and from thence to *Rome* to Pope *Alexander* the III. Whereupon the King renewed the same Laws, and decreed that every person, whether of the Clergy or Laity, that should appeal to the Pope, should be committed to prison, and proceeded against: The goods of *Thomas* he caused to be seized, and banished both him and his kindred. Clergy-men were forbidden to go beyond the Seas without leave, and surety for their return. A strict order was made that no Mandate from the Pope, should be received into the Kingdom of *England*: And that *Peters* pence, which the Pope raised by the Poll in *England* every year, should be seized into the hands of his Majesties Officers.

But *Thomas* being come into *France*, excommunicated with burning Candles and ring of Bells, all that under pretence of maintaining the Kings right, did hinder the profits of his Holiness; then he retired to Saint *Colomb* of *Sens*, where King *Lewis* did liberally entertain him. But King *Henry* angry that Pope *Alexander* maintained *Thomas*, whom he called his rebellious subject, (p) forbad all his subjects to yield any subjection to the Pope.

(p) Matth. Paris, pag. 103.

In the year 1170. King *Henry* caused his eldest Son *Henry* to be crowned King of *England* by the hands of the Archbishop of *York*. Which *Thomas*, though banished, took very heavily, and excommunicated the said Archbishop and all his adherents in that action, for he pretended that the right of crowning Kings belonged to him.

(q) Matth. Paris in Henr. II.

King *Henry* after the Crowning of his Son, passed into *Normandy*, where King *Lewis* by his intervention so prevailed, that King *Henry* and *Thomas* met and spake together. And when it was required that *Thomas* should kiss King *Henry* in sign of reconciliation, *Thomas* coming near the King, said to him, I kiss you for the honour of God, or for Gods sake. At which the King offended, would not receive the kiss, as if *Thomas* had given him to understand, that he kissed him not for his own sake. So nothing was done for that time. But soon after, King *Henry* (q) perswaded by some Prelates, met again with *Thomas* at *Froncevaux*, and did that which no man would have believed. For twice he held the bridle of *Thomas* his horse. For that Prelate was not contented to have received that honour once, but he alighted again, that the King should do him

pag. 117. Cum autem Rex & Archiepiscopus in partem secessissent, bisque descendissent & bis ascendissent, bis habenam Archiepiscopi Rex tenuit, cum equum ascendisset.

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that

that submission once more, as also he did. Thus that Priest practised Apostolick humility.

After this triumph, *Thomas* returned into *England* full of glory. Where instead of bringing and keeping peace, he was the bearer and proclaimer of an excommunication and sentence of deposition against the Archbishop of *York* and his Adherents, who had taken upon them to Crown the young King in his absence. But the King hindred the execution of that sentence. Such was then the power of the Keyes, such was the abominable pride of the Popes slaves.

The next year after, the same *Thomas* excommunicated solemnly the Lord *Sackvill*, appointed by the King Vicar of the Church at *Canterbury*; because he did derogate from the rights of the Church to please the King. (r) He excommunicated also one *Robert Brook* for curtailing a horse that carried victuals to the Archbishop's house. For which reason the King being then in *Normandy*, sent over four of his servants to the Archbishop, to command him to absolve those whom he had unjustly excommunicated, and take off his suspensions from others. Which command when the Archbishop despised to obey, the King began to grieve very sore before his servants, and to lament his condition. This moved the same four men whom the King had sent before, to return into *England* to the same Archbishop, whom they found in the Church of *Canterbury* at three a clock in the after-noon, and calling him Traytor to the King, they slew him, and dashed his brains upon the floore. His last words when he dyed were, *I commend myself and Gods cause unto God, and to the blessed Mary, and to the Saints, Patrons of this Church, and to Saint Denis.*

Here the lightness of the peoples minds appeared. For the same men that detested the pride of that *Thomas*, began to worship him after his death, compassion moving them to devotion. King *Henry* himself shewed a deep sorrow for it, and though he protested himself innocent of that fact, yet he sent Embassadors to the Pope to make satisfaction about it, and to undergo such a penance as the Pope would impose. But the Pope would not so much as receive his Embassadors to kiss his feet, and would not see them: And in great wrath spake of excommunicating the whole Kingdom of *England*, and putting an Interdict upon it, which (in his account) was sending all the English into hell. As long as that King made Edicts, whereby he forbad his subjects to yield any obedience to the Pope, or to receive any Bulls or Mandates from *Rome*, the Pope did not trouble him, and used no threatening. But as soon as he began to humble himself, the Pope trod under his feet, the Majesty of such a great King. And he made the King to buy his absolution at a dear rate. He enjoined him to suffer appeals from *England* to *Rome*. To quit his rights and claim against the liberties of the Church, that is, to the Investitures. To keep two hundred men of arms in pay for the Holy War: Of which pay, the Popes Assigns were to be the Receivers. And that in *England* they should celebrate the Feast of the glorious Martyr Saint *Thomas* of *Canterbury*. The words of the Bull are these. (f) *We strictly charge you, that you solemnly celebrate every year the birth-day of the glorious Martyr Thomas sometimes Archbishop of Canterbury, that is, the day of his Passion; and that by devout Prayers to him, you endeavour to merit the remission of your sins.*

To make the satisfaction compleat, King *Henry* passeth from *Normandy* into *England*, stayeth at *Canterbury*, strips himself naked, and is whipt by a great company of Monks, of whom some gave him five lashes, some three. Of which satisfactions imposed on *Henry* by the Pope, *Machiavel* speaks thus in the first Book of the History of *Florence*. (t) *These things were accepted by Henry, and so great a King submitted himself to that judgement, to which a private man in our dayes, would be ashamed to submit himself.* Then he exclaimeth, *So much things that have some shew are more feared afar off, then near hand!* Which he saith, because at the same time the Citizens of *Rome* expelled the Pope out of the City with disgrace, scorning his excommunication.

Then began the relicks of Saint *Thomas* to do miracles: Insomuch that King *Lewis*,

(r) *March. Paris, p. 19. Robertum quoque Brook, qui equum quendam ipsius Archiepiscopi vitulalia deferentem ad dedecus ejus & ignominiam decurraverat, sollemniter excommunicavit.*

(f) *Discretè precipimus, ut natalem Thomæ Martyris gloriosissimi Cantuariensis olim Archiepiscopi, diem videlicet passionis ejus, sollemniter sub annis singulis celebretis, & apud eum votivis orationibus satagatis peccatorum veniam promereri.*

(t) *Le quali cose furono da Enrico accettare, & sottostesse sì a quel giudicio un tanto Re, che hoggi un homo privato si vergognerebbe sottostetterfi, &c. Tanto le cose che paiono sono più da discolto che d'appresso temute.*

Lewis, who had entertained *Thomas* at *Sens*, passed over into *England* to worship him, and made his devotions to his relicks. That with the Canonization of that Saint, and the commandment made unto the world to pray to him, put this *Thomas* in very great credit. Yet it is hard to say for what Article of the Christian faith this Martyr suffered, seeing that his banishments were only for investitures, and collations of Benefices, and pecuniary matters. Thus by Gods permission the myserie of iniquity was growing. King (x) *Lewis* at his return fearing the storm, though his passage was from *Dover* to *Callice*, and saying that to cross the Seas was but a thing more then humane, prayed to *St. Thomas* the Martyr, that from that time none should suffer shipwrack in that passage.

(y) At that time Pope *Alexander* the III. held a Council at *St. John* of *Lateran* of *Rome* where they consulted about the extirpation of the *Albigensis*. And he gave order that the Arch-bishops visiting Churches, should content themselves to ride with an attendance of fifty horses.

In the year 1189. King *Henry* the second of *England* dyed. His son *Richard* surnamed *Coeur de Lyon* succeeded him. In the sixth year of his reign (z) *Walter* Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, displeased because the King was fortifying the Castle of *Andeli*, put whole *Normandy* in interdict, made divine service to cease over all the country, shut up Church-yards, and forbade all ringing of bells; and for a quarrel between the King and himself, excommunicated the whole people, so that no Norman entred into *Paradise* unless he would take part against the King. Then he ran away to *Rome*, where he was kindly received. (a) At the same time *William* Bishop of *Ely* the Popes Legat was making a progress through *England* with a train of fifteen hundred horse. (b) That interdict having lasted two years, the afflicted people were in great confusion, because they saw themselves deprived of the divine service; and cast out of the communion of the Church for a quarrel in which they had no hand, the burying places shut up, the dead bodies cast out in the streets, sending forth such a stink that the whole countrey was infected with it.

In the end King *Richard* was necessitated to send Embassadors to *Rome* to plead his cause against the Arch-bishop. The agreement was made with these conditions. That the King might fortifie the castle of *Andeli*, because it was a frontier near the French. But that to appease the Arch-bishop, and make him take off the interdict from the countrey, the King should give to the Arch-bishop all the mills of *Rouen*, to enjoy them as his own, both he and his successors; Also all the Kings demaines at *Diepe*, and at *Lowviers*, and the forrest of *Haliermont*, with all the appurtenances of the same. That being done, they began again to sing Mass in *Normandy*, and by the Popes order *Paradise* was opened again unto the Normans. Then also the order of the Dominicans first appeared, which was approved and confirmed by *Innocent* the III. With that order, and that of the *Franciscans*, *England* was presently filled.

The fear of the interdict in those dayes kept Princes and Nations in such fear, that there was nothing that the Pope could not obtain of the Sovereigns, as soon as he threatned their land with an interdict.

In the year 1199. King *Philip August* of *France* (c) imprisoned *Peter de Donay* elected Bishop of *Cambray*. And at the same time King *John* of *England* kept the Bishop of *Beauvais* prisoner, whom he had taken in battle armed cap à pe. But both these Kings were constrained to release their prisoners by the threatening of *Innocent* the III. to put *France* and *England* in interdict. Which if he had done, from the Mediterranean sea to the border of *Scotland* divine service had ceased, Churches & Church yards, had been shut up all, the people had been excommunicated. It was that same year that breasts of flesh grew upon an image of the Virgin *Mary* in *Damascus*, as (d) *Matthew Paris* relateth. In the same time one *Thurical* an Englishman was in a rapture carried in the night to *Purgatory*, of which *St. Nicolas* is Governor; Where also he saw the mouth of Hell, whence a stinking smoak issued out, which, as it was revealed to him, came out of tythes detained or ill paid, because there those men were horribly

(x) Westm. Anno 1179. Ludovicus consummato voto peregrinationis sue ad votum ad propria inter Doverium & Witsand navigando sine aliquo impedimento remeavit; & quia in mari nimis timidus erat & timeans pericula, dicens, esse plusquam humanum transfricare, petiit beatum Thomam ut in illo Transitu nullus pateretur ex illo tempore naufragium. (y) Matth. Paris, in Henrico I I. Westmon. (z) West. an. 1196. Matth. Paris, p. 175. (a) Matth. Paris p. 175. (b) Matth. Paris, an. 1197. p. 184. Archiepiscopus Rothomagensis in Normanniam sententiam tulit interdicti. Facebant corpora defunctorum insepulta per plateas civitatum & vicus, que viventibus factorem non minimum iniecerunt. (c) Matth. Paris, in Johanne Rege. p. 191. (d) 203. & 207.

(e) Matth. Paris, & Westmonast. in Johanne. (f) Westmon. An. 1214. Interdictum duravit sex annis quatuordecim septimanis & duobus diebus. (g) Matth. Paris, in Johanne, p. 217. Cessaverunt in Anglia omnia Ecclesiastica Sacramenta præter solummodo confessionem, & viaticum in ultima necessitate, & baptismum parvulorum. Corpora quoque defunctorum de civitatibus & villis efferebantur, & more canum in hircis & fossatis sine orationibus & sacerdotum ministerio sepeliebantur. (h) Westmonast. an. 1211. & 1213. Matth. Paris in Johanne. Ad hujus sententia executionem scripsit Dominus Papæ potentissimo Regi Francorum Philippo, quatenus in remissionem omnium suorum peccatorum hunc laborem assumeret, & Rege Anglorum a

punish't who had ill paid the tythes due to the Church. There also he saw the souls for which no Masses were sung, put to a longer and forer torment, and those poor souls were barefoot, and had their bellies flayed and raw. He saw also the souls that came out of that fire besprinkled by St. Michael with holy water. This is very exactly related by *Matthew Paris* a Monk of St. Albons, superstitious according to the age that he lived in. Then also came the Minorite Fryers into England, their Order being but lately instituted.

This King *John* was unfortunate in war, and ill beloved of his own subjects. King *Philip August* of France, took from him *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Touren*, *Poitou*, and part of *Guienne*. After these losses, being retired into England, he began to oppress the English, and tyrannically to rob the substance of the Nobles and the Clergy. Whereby he gave fair play to Pope *Innocent III.* a man as crafty and stirring as ever was any, for he brought that King upon his knees, and got his ends of him, at the first occasion of quarrel, which was this.

The Pope having chosen Cardinal *Stephen Langton* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* without the Kings consent, the King angry at it, sent some souldiers to *Canterbury* who used the Monks of *Canterbury* as traytors, and expelled them out of England. (e) He sent also reproachfull letters to the Pope, upbraiding him that the Popes got more money out of England then out of any Kingdom, & yet delighted to bring it into trouble, and to incroach upon the liberties of the Crown; threatening, that if the Pope continued in these courses, he would shut up all the passages out of his Kingdom, that no money should pass out of England to Rome, saying, that he had Prelates of sufficient capacity, and needed not to ask justice of those that were far from him.

Had a victorious King, well beloved of his subjects, spoken thus, the Pope would have given him fair words, and spoken like a father, that beareth with a fatherly meekness the infirmities of his dearest son. So had his predecessors born with all threatnings and ill words of *William Rufus*, *Henry the I.* and *Henry the II.* before *Thomas Becket's* death. But with this *John*, a weak and ill advised Prince, he behaved himself otherwise. For after Letters of admonition, he gave order to some of his most confiding Prelates in England, that if the King should continue that language, they should put an interdict upon all England. Which was speedily executed. And (f) England remained under the interdict six years, and three moneths and a halfe. Whereby not only the King and his Court but also all the people of England, who had nothing to do with that quarrel, were excommunicated. In that long time how many thousands of men died in the great Kingdom of England? who by the rules of the Roman Church, and by the Popes judgement, are eternally damned; and that not for heresie, nor for any crime of the People, but for a quarrel between the King and the Pope, about some investitures of Churches and collations of Benefices, and money-matters. (g) Then (saith *Matthew Paris*, who was an eye witness of all that disorder) all the Sacraments of the Church ceased in England, saving only the Confession and the Communion of the Host in the last necessity, and the Baptism of little children. And the dead bodies were carried out of the towns, and as if they had been the bodies of dogs, they were buried by the high wayes, and in ditches; without prayers and without service of Priests. By the same interdict (according to the custom of the interdict) Masses, Mattens, Vespers, all publick service and ringing of bells was forbidden, and the Kingdom was exposed to rapin and prey, and given to any that could conquer it. Only the King was not yet excommunicated by name, but that was done the next year after. Next, the same *Innocent* deposed *John* from the Kingdom of England, and absolved the English from the Oath of their allegiance, (h) and commanded *Phillip August*, King of France, that

seito expulso, ipse & successores sui regnum Anglia perpetuo jure possiderent, &c. Statuit præterea, ut quicumque ad expugnandum Regem illum contumacem opes impenderint vel auxilium, sicut illi qui sepulcrum Domini visitant, tam in rebus quam in personis & animarum suffragiis in pace Ecclesie secure permaneant. Westmonast. an. 1213. Matth. Paris in Johanne. Johannes Dei Gratia Rex Anglia, &c. volentes nos ipsos humiliare pro illo qui se pro nobis humiliavit usque ad mortem, gratia Spiritus inspirante, non vi interdicti nec timore coacti, sed nostra bona spontanea voluntate, ac communi consilio Baronum nostrorum, conferimus & libere concedimus Deo & sanctis ejus Aposto-

lis Petro & Paulo & sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ matri nostræ ac Domino Papæ Innocentio ejusque Catholicis successoribus totum regnum Angliæ & totum regnum Hiberniæ, cum omni jure ac pertinentiis suis pro remissione omnium peccatorum nostrorum & totius generis nostri tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, & à modo illa ab eo & ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ tanquam secundarius recipientes & tenentes, in præsentia prudentis viri Pandulphi Domini Papæ Subdiaconi & familiaris : Exinde prædicto Domino Papæ Innocentio ejusque Catholicis successoribus, & Ecclesiæ Romanæ secundum formam subscriptam fecimus & juravimus homagium ligium in præsentia Pandulphi. Si coram Domino Papæ esse poterimus, idem faciemus, &c. Ad indicium autem hujus nostræ perpetuæ obligationis & concessionis volumus & stabilimus, ut de propriis & specialibus redditibus nostris prædictorum regnorum pro omni servicio & consuetudine quæ pro ipsis facere debemus, salvo per omnia denariis beati Petri, Ecclesiâ Romanam ille marcas estrealingorum percipiat annuatim, &c.

that for the remission of his sins, he should invade the Kingdom of England with force of arms, giving to those that should follow the King in that conquest, the remission of all their sins, and the same graces and pardons, as to them that visit the Holy Sepulchre. Whereupon the said King Philip, partly to obtain the remission of his sins, partly to make himself master of England, raised a mighty Army whilest Innocent was labouring to make the English to rise against their King.

This moved King John to humble himself under the Pope, and to receive such conditions as were best pleasing to his holiness. The conditions were, that the King should yield unto the Pope the whole right of Patronage of all the Benefices of his Kingdom. That to obtain absolution of his sins, he should pay to the Clergy of Canterbury, and to other Prelates, the sum of eight thousand pounds sterling. That he should satisfy for the damages done to the Church, according to the judgement of the Popes Legat or Vicelegat. That the said John should resign his Crown into the Popes hands, with his Kingdoms of England and Ireland: for which letters were formed, and given to Pandulfus the Popes Legat. The words were these. *I John by the grace of God King, &c. freely grant unto God and to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to the holy Roman Church our mother, and to the Lord Pope Innocent, and to his Catholick successors, the whole Kingdome of England and the whole Kingdom of Ireland, with all the rights and all the appurtenances of the same, for the remission of our sins, and of all our generation, both for the living and the dead; that from this time forward we may receive and hold them of him, and of the Roman Church, as second after him, &c. We have sworn, and swear unto the said Lord Pope Innocent, and to his Catholick successors, and to the Roman Church, a liege homage in the presence of Pandulfus. If we can be in the presence of the Lord Pope we will do the same, and to this we oblige our successors and heirs for ever, &c. And for the sign of this our perpetual obligation and concession, we will and ordain, that out of our proper and especial revenues from the said Kingdoms, for all our service and custom which we ought to render, the Roman Church receive a thousand marks Sterling yearly, without diminution of St. Peters pence; That is, five hundred marks at the feast of St. Michael, and five hundred at Easter, &c. And if we or any of our successors presume to attempt against these things, let him forfeit his right to the Kingdom, &c.*

Although the King did this most unwillingly, and with a heart full of rage and anguish, yet he swore (and it is inserted in the Letters) that he did this with a good will, of his own motion, and by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. And at the same instant he did homage to the Pope, as a vassal to his Liege Lord in the person of Pandulfus the Legat, and put at the feet of that Legat a sum of money which

(i) Martti. Paris in Johanne p. 228. Pandulfus pecuniam, quam in arcam subjectionis Rex contulerat; sub pede suo conculcavit, Archiepiscopo dolente & reclamante. (k) Id. p. 227.

done juxta quod Roma fuerat sententiatum, as it had been ordained at Rome, (k) as Matthew Paris saith, that one may not think that King John did this with his own motion, and unconstrained, although they made him swear that he had done it of his good will, and by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

All that being done, yet the Legat went away without taking off the Interdict, and without absolving the King from his excommunication, which he might have removed with speaking one word. But he returned beyond the Sea, carrying with him a mass of treasure squeezed out of the purses of the poor English. And being come to the coast of Normandy, he found King Philip August with a

great

great Army, and a fleet of a thousand ships, staying only for the wind to pass into *England* to conquer it. To whom the Legate declared from the Pope, that he should not bring his Army over, nor undertake any thing against *England*, because it belonged to the Pope, the King of *England* being now become the Popes Vassal, and *England* the patrimony of Saint Peter. At which Philip exprest a great indignation, seeing himself thus affronted by the Pope, who had made him spend a vast sum of money, to raise a great Army to conquer *England*, promising him the remission of all his sins, and now disappointed him, and after he had given him *England*, forbad him to enter into it. Wherefore notwithstanding the Legates prohibitions, the King would have continued his design, had not the Earl of *Flanders* forsaken him, returning with his Troops into his Countrey, because he would not offend the Pope. Whence followed a bloody war between *France* and *Flanders*.

(1) Matth.
Paris, in
Johanne,
p. 229.

(1) But King *John* full of confusion and anguish, cast himself down on his knees before the Archbishop and other English Prelates, begging with tears to be absolved from the excommunication; which in the end, out of their fatherly compassion, they granted. Yet was not the Interdict taken off.

At the same time *Innocent* the III. published the *Croisada* against those that were reproachfully called *Albigensis* and *Vandois*, because they did not acknowledge the Pope, called upon none but God alone, had no images, did not go to Mass, denied Purgatory, and read the Scripture. The Pope gave the same graces to them that should spill the blood of these poor Christians, as to them that crossed themselves to go to the holy Sepulchre and fight against the Saracens. The chief promoter of that war was *Dominick*, the Author of the Order of *Dominicans*, who put above two hundred thousand of them to death.

(m) Matth.
Paris, an.
1213. p. 233.
(n) Noverat
& multiplices
didicerat ex-
perientias,
quod Papa
super omnes
mortales
ambitiosus
erat & su-
perbus pecu-
niæque futuri
insatiabilis,
& ad omnia
scelerata pro
premiis datis
aut promissis
cervus. &
proclivus.

(o) Matth.
Paris, pag.
236, 237.
Exalta est &
inopata illa
non formosa
sed famosa
subiectio, que
in manum
Domini Papa
diademate
cum regno
resignata
tam domini-
um Hibernie
quam regnum
subiicit An-
glicanum.

In the mean while, King *John* was storming and eating his own heart with sorrow, seeing his Crown thus miserably enslaved. And his Barons forsook him, being angry that he had subjected his Crown to a forrain power. (m) He then finding no help from any Christian, was brought to such a despair, that he sent Embassadors to a Mahometan Prince, *Amiral Muremelin* or *Miramolin* King of *Barbary* and *Granata*, offering him the Kingdom of *England*, and promising to be his Vassal, if he would deliver him from his subjection to the Pope. But that barbarous King would not accept of the gift, and despised King *John*, who now for his last refuge had recourse to the Pope. (n) King *John* (saith *Matthew Paris*) had learned by many experiences that the Pope was above all men of the world ambitious, and proud, and insatiably thirsty of money, flexible and prone to any wickedness for recompences either given or promised. He sent to him then a great sum of money, beseeching him to excommunicate the Archbishop and the Barons of his Kingdom. At his request, *Innocent* sent into *England* a Legate called *Nicolas* Bishop of *Thusculo*; into whose hands *John* resigned his Crown, and did homage to him, as representing the Popes person, whom he acknowledged his temporal Lord, and Sovereign of the Kingdom. This was done before the great Altar of *Pauls* Church at *London*. (o) And the Deed whereby that resignation of the Kingdom was made unto the Pope, was renewed and sealed with Gold; whereas the former was sealed with lead only. And the said Legate assumed then a full power to dispose of the Ecclesiastical Offices of *England*, without the consent either of the Archbishop, or the Bishops of the places. Whereby (saith *Matthew Paris*) he got the indignation and curse of many, instead of the blessing. And *Pandulfus* sent to *Rome*, to exalt King *Johns* goodness and humility to the Pope, and to aggravate the pride and insolency of the Archbishop, Bishops, and Barons of *England* that opposed him.

Finally, in the year 1214. the Interdict was taken off by the Legate, the Mass restored, the Churches and Church-yards opened, and the people reconciled by the Popes confession, upon condition that the King should give to the Archbishop and Bishops, that had the charge of taking off the Interdict, forty thousand marks.

But the Barons of *England*, sore grieved to see the Crown of *England* so debased,

based, asked of the King the enjoying of some liberties and priviledges which he had sworn unto them. These demands having caused a great dissention between the King and the Barons, the King referred the whole unto the Pope, as unto his Liege, of whom he held the Crown. (p) The Pope having heard the Kings complaints by his Embassadors, said with an angry countenance, *Will the Barons of England put down from the Royal seat a crossed King, who hath put himself under the protection of the Apostolick See? Will they transfer the demaين of the Roman Church to another? By Saint Peter I cannot leave that injury unpunished.* Wherefore by expresse Bulls, he took away all the priviledges of the English Nobility, and dispensed King John from keeping his promise unto them, and threatened the said Barons with an Anathema in case of disobedience: That dealing he grounded upon this reason, (q) *That to the Pope in the person of the Prophet God said, I have set thee over Nations and over Kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.* And by other Letters he commanded the Barons like a King, not to exact of King John the fulfilling of that he had sworn unto them.

But the Barons did not care for the Popes Mandate, wherefore they were all excommunicated by the Pope, and their Lands and Lordships put in Interdict. The Prelates of England were commanded to publish that sentence over all England with burning Candles, and ringing of Bells. At the same time, the Pope suspended Simon Langton Archbishop of York from his place, at the request of King John: And his brother Stephen Langton likewise. A worthy recompence for their helping of the Pope to make the King the Popes subject. The cause of their suspension was, that they had refused to publish the excommunication of the Barons of the Kingdom, but it was published by others appointed for that by Pandulfus, who was joyned in Commission with the Legate.

The next year, which was the year 1215. Pope Innocent the III. did gather a Council of the whole Papal Empire at Rome in the Church of Laterane in which there was neither deliberating, nor consulting with the Assembly, (r) but only reading of threescore and nine Chapters of Ordinances made by this Pope Innocent. By the third Chapter, power is given to the Pope to take away the lands of Princes and Lords, and to give them to others. (s) There also it was spoken of the voyage and conquest of the Holy Land, and a degree of glory in Paradise above others, was promised unto them that should perform that journey in their own person. To them that would not go, but only contribute to the journey, no more was given, but the remission of all their sins, and by consequent eternal life. These last having a smaller share, were to content themselves with the Kingdom of heaven. But as for those that would neither go, nor contribute, Innocent declared unto them, That they must answer him for it before God in the day of judgement.

Then also was the persecution doubled against the *Vaudois* and *Albigensis*. And the Clergy of York, named Walter de Gray Archbishop of York, who obtained his Investiture at Rome: Whence he parted, having first obliged himself (t) to pay unto the Pope ten thousand pounds sterling, which in those dayes was enough for a Kings ransom. That was the end for which the Pope had been so long debating about the right of Investitures. That was the fruit of the Martyrdom of Thomas Becket. By the same way the Pope extorted from the Prelates of England an incredible sum of money. The King obtained from the Pope, that the Barons of his Kingdom, who had been excommunicated only by the great, and in general, should be excommunicated by name, by a second excommunication. But the Barons and the Citizens of London laughed at that excommunication, saying, (u) *That it belonged not to the Pope to rule secular affairs, seeing that the Lord had left no more to Peter and his successors, but the disposition of Ecclesiastical things. Why doth the mad covetousness of the Romans extend to us? What have Apostolick Bishops to do with our Knighthood? These are the successors of Constantine, not of Peter, &c. O shame! effeminate ribalds, that know not what belongs to arms or honour, will domineer over all the world by their excommunications.*

(p) Idem p. 236.

(q) *Quia nobis à Domino dictum est in Prophetia, Constitui te super gentes & regna, ut evellas & destruas, & aedifices, & plantes.*

(r) Marth. Paris, p. 262.

Recitata sunt in pleno Concilio capitula 69. quæ aliis placabilia, alii videbantur onerosa.

(s) Bulla ad liberandam sub finem Conc. Lateran. An. 1215.

(t) Marth. Paris, in Johanne, pag. 263. Episcopus memoratus rediit in

Angliam, obligatus in furia Romanæ de decem millibus librarum legalium estrelingorum, &c. Extorsit Papa infinitam pecuniam de unoquoque prelato.

(u) Ibid. pag. 267. *Quod non pertinet ad Papam ordinationis rerum laicarum, &c. Proh pudor marci ribaldi qui de armis vel liberalitate minime norunt, toti mundo propter excommunicationes suas volunt dominari.*

But

But the Barons seeing the King too strong for them, sent to *Lewis* son to *Philip August* King of *France*, to beseech him to pass with an army into *England*, promising to put the Crown of *England* upon his head. And for assurance, they sent to King *Philip* four and twenty of the noblest of the land for hostages.

While that *Lewis* made himself ready to pass into *England*, a Legate called *Walo*, came from the Pope to King *Philip*, to beseech him from the Pope not to suffer his son to come into *England*, because *John* was a Vassal of the Roman Church, and *England* was the Popes demain. That crafty Pope spake to King *Philip* with respect, because he saw him beloved of his subjects, and because he knew his power and his courage. And although *Philip*, notwithstanding the Popes desire, sent his son over with an Army to take *England* from the Pope, and expell the Popes Vassal from his possession, yet the Pope shot no excommunication against him. Yea, when the Legate called *England* the patrimony of Saint

(x) Westmonast.

An. 1216.

Regnum

Anglie Patri-

monium Petri

vel Ecclesie

Romane

nunquam

fuit, nec est,

nec erit, &c.

Et si Papa

hunc errorem

tueri affectus

novæ domi-

nationis libi-

dine contu-

deraverit,

exemplum

omnibus

regibus dabit

periculosum.

(y) Ulfper-

gensis, Cuf-

pinianus.

Blondus.

Matth. Paris.

Collenutius.

Peter, *Philip* answered to the Legate in high scorn, (x) *That the Kingdom of England had never been, nor was, nor ever should be the patrimony of Saint Peter. And that if the Pope would arrogantly defend that error, being drawn to it by the greedy desire of a new domination, he should give a most pernicious example unto all Kingdoms.* To which all the French Lords there present added, That they would stand till death for the defence of that Article.

Yet when *Lewis* was come into *England*, and had taken from *John* the most part of his Kingdom, the Legate coming into *England*, excommunicated *Lewis* with Candles burning, and Bells ringing, and all his adherents. The death of King *John* having appeased the wrath of the Barons, and cooled their affections to *Lewis*, made *Lewis* to return into *France*.

John being dead, his son *Henry* the III. succeeded, and almost at the same time *Frederick* attained to the Empire, who (y) obliged himself by Oath unto the Pope to pass into *Syria* to conquer the Holy Land. Two years after his promise, he embarked himself at *Brindissi* in *Calabria* to go into *Syria*, but being constrained to return to Land, by reason of the indisposition of his body, *Gregory* the IX. excommunicated him, accusing him of perjury. Yet soon after he embarked himself again, and happily arrived into *Syria*, where he achieved many great exploits against the Saracens, and conquered *Jerusalem*. But the Pope did not for all that take off the excommunication. And in the very day of the triumph, when thanks were given to God for that glorious conquest, and the amplification of Christian Religion, the Clergy by the Popes order, would not admit him to the Communion, but turned their backs to him as to an execrable man. But the Pope made it soon known for what reason he had been so urgent to send him away. For, as soon as the Pope saw him engaged in a difficult war, far from home, he invaded the Lands of *Frederick* in *Puglia*, and went about to take *Lombardy* from him: Neither did he care to free him from the excommunication, although he had accomplished his vow. (z) Yea the Knights Templers, the Popes creatures that were sent by him into the *Levant*, knowing that the Emperour would go to *Jordan* to wash himself, advertised the *Soldan* of the Saracens of it, that he might take *Frederick*. But the *Soldan* abhorring that perfidiousness, sent the Letters of the Templers to *Frederick*, to warn him to look to himself. The Pope himself hindered the auxiliary forces of the *Croisada* that were going to help *Frederick*, and would not suffer them to advance. This forced *Frederick* to abandon the holy Land, and to return into *Italy* to reconquer his own Countrey, which the Pope had taken from him. The Pope frightened, took off the excommunication presently, yet upon condition that the Emperour should pay him two hundred thousand ounces of Gold.

Yet he continued to set on the Princes and Commons of *Germany* to rebell against *Frederick*: And so great was his hatred against *Frederick*, that *Cuspinian* and (a) *Cronzsius* write, that he sent Letters to the *Sultan* of the Saracens, to perswade that Mahumetan to make war against him. But God gave victory to *Frederick* every where, for he defeated in many combates, all the enemies which the Pope raised against him. So great was his animosity against that Emperour, that

(a) Cronzsius in An. Chr. 1249.

(z) Matth. Paris, in Henrico III. pap. 346.

that when forces of the *Croisada* came out of *France*, or *England*, or other parts, to sail into *Syria*, to defend *Jerusalem* and the Holy Sepulchre against the Saracens, (b) he stopt them, and gave them the same Graces and Indulgences, as if they had performed the journey into the Holy Land, upon condition that they should turn their arms against *Frederick*, whose power lay heavy upon him, because he stiffly maintained the rights of the Empire. The Pope came so far, as to give the Empire to *Robert* Brother of *Lewis* the IX. King of *France*, upon condition that he should conquer it. (c) But *Robert* sent back to the Pope his present, both because he sent him no money to furnish him for that conquest, and because he found it very strange, that the Pope would give that which was none of his: Also because he shewed himself an enemy to a great and vertuous Prince, who had done and suffered so much, bravely fighting for the cause of the Christians against the Infidels. Then he added, that the Popes are lavish of the blood of others, and that their end is to tread all the Princes of the world under their feet, and to put on the horns of pride.

In the mean while, persecution grew sore against those whom they called *Vandos* and *Albigensis*, against whom the Pope caused the *Croisada* to be preached, and an infinite number of them to be massacred. Then also *Saint Francis* and *Saint Dominick* were making miracles, and preaching obedience to the Papal See. (d) And as Pope *Innocent* the III. at *Rome*, was carrying in procession the face of Christ Printed in a linnen cloth, that face turned it self with the beard upwards, as *Matthew Paris* relateth. Which moved *Innocent* to compose a Prayer to the same image, and to give ten dayes of Indulgence to all that would adore the image, saying that Prayer. These are the words of it, (e) Haile thou holy face of the Redeemer; In which shineth the appearance of divine beauty; Printed upon a cloth of snowy whiteness, and given to *Veronica* as a token of love; Purge us from all spot of vices, and joyn us to the company of Saints. Haile thou face of the Lord, blessed image; Lead us to that which is thine, O happy figure! to see the pure face of Christ. The whole prayer speaks to the image, as if it heard the prayer.

But in *England* the Popes tyrannie grew sorer every day. For *Henry* the III. being come to the Crown, gave the homage of his Kingdom to the Pope, and renewed the Oath of fidelity and subjection, and the promise of paying a thousand marks yearly to the Pope.

Innocent the III. being dead, in the year 1219. *Honorius* the III. succeeded him, and (f) at his entry to the Papacy made an English Saint called *Hugh*, with a command to pray to him, and to celebrate his Feast.

In the year 1223. King *Henry* being yet very young, the Pope, as his Sovereign in temporal things, declared him *Major*, and capable to conduct his own businesses.

In the year 1225. the Pope sent *Otto* his Nuntio into *England*, who exacted of every Conventual Church two marks of silver. The next year after, a Council was held at *Westminster*, where the said Nuntio read in full Assembly the Popes Letters, in which the Pope said, (g) That a scandal was cast upon the Roman Church: And that the antient reproach and disgrace of the Court of *Rome*, was the covetousness of riches, which is the root of all evils. Especially because none could get any business done in the Roman Court, but with many presents, and with greasing the Officers with money. But because the poverty of the Romans was the cause of that evil, it was the duty of the English, as natural sons, to relieve the poverty of their mother, because without their liberality, the Roman Court could not preserve her dignity. That the way to remedy that reproach, was, that the Pope should have in every Cathedral Church, and in every Abbey and Monastery of *England*, two Prebends, of which he should enjoy the fruits. And in the same year, the same Pope called a Council at *Bourges*, where he made the same motion by his Legat. But he found contradiction from the Clergy of *France*, and could not compass it.

After *Honorius*, *Gregory* the IX. was Pope. It was he that compiled the De-

N n n n

cretals,

(b) Matth. Paris, in Henrico III.

(c) Idem, pag. 500.

(d) Id. Henric. III. pag. 279.

(e) Salve sancta facies nostri Redemptoris, in qua nitet species divini splendoris; Impressa pannaicula nivei splendoris; Dataque Veronica signum ob amoris, &c. Nos ab omni macula purga vitiorum; Atque nos consortio iunge beatorum. Salve vultus Domini imago beata, &c. Nos deduc ad propria, O felix figura! Ad videndum faciem que est Christi pura.

(f) Matth. Paris, An. 1220. pag. 299.

Sanctorum Catalogo ascriptimus, universitatem vestram monemus & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus ejus apud Deum patrocinia devote imploretis.

(g) Matth. Paris, pag. 314, 316.

cretals, and the same whom the Romans expelled out of *Rome*, for the Citizens of *Rome* never cared much for the Popes excommunications.

(h) Id.
pag 349.
Habuit ex
iisdem literis
authoritatem
contradictores
excommuni-
candi & Ec-
clesias inter-
dicendi.

This Pope needing money for his War against the Emperour *Frederick*, sent a Legate into *England* named *Stephen*, who exacted of the people of *England* the tenth part of all their moveable goods, that is, of all their flocks, rents, fruits, wares, offerings and gifts to the Church: (h) And the said Legate had power to excommunicate all that should refuse to pay, and to put the Churches in Interdict. The Prelates he enjoined upon pain of excommunication, to make that collection speedily and without delay. All that should cross such an holy work, he declared excommunicated, *ipso facto*. He would be paid in new coyn, and of good weight. He took the tythe, even of the corn in the first blade, that is, of the crop of the year after. In these exactions he was so urgent and so griping, that the Parishes were forced to engage the Chalices and Church plate, to satisfy his covetousness. And he had certain usurers with him, who lent money upon double use, to those that had no ready money. This caused a great clamor and lamentation over all the Countrey, but without effect. That money was employed by the Pope, to invade many Towns belonging to the Emperour in *Italy*. And the Emperour could not defend them, because he was engaged against the Saracens in the *Levant*, where he took *Jerusalem*, and put the affairs of the Christians in a flourishing state. And he had utterly destroyed the Saracens, if the injuries which he received from the Pope had not recalled him.

(i) Matth.
Paris, pag.
358, 359.

(i) Then the Benefices of *England* were possessed by Italians and other creatures of the Pope, to the great grief of the English. To the Bishop of *Rocheſter* it was revealed in vision, that King *Richard*, and *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with a Chaplain of his, were come out of Purgatory all in one day.

(k) p. 386.

Scarce was the collection ended, made by *Stephen* the Legate, when the Pope made peace with the Emperour, but the money was not restored. And another Nuntio came from Pope *Gregory*, who (as *Matth. Paris* saith) *argumentosas extorfiones excogitans, inventing extorfions grounded upon fair reasons*, sent Nuntio's with power of Legates, who by Sermons, Exhortations, and Excommunications, (l) brought an infinite number of English men to mendicity, and turned them out of their houses. This was done under a pretence of contributing to the expense of the Holy War, of which himself hindred the success, and yet he promised to them that should contribute money for it, the remission of all their sins, and to them that should go in person, an augmentation of glory.

(l) Ibid.
Per regnum
Anglie infi-
nitos reddi-
derunt ex-
torres &
mendicos.

(m) Ibid.
Si qui pro-
ficiſcentium
illuc ad pre-
standas usu-
ras juramen-
to tenentur
aſtricti, cre-
ditores eorum
per Ecclesia-
rum Prae-
latos ut remit-
tant iis pra-
ſtitum jura-
mentum, &
ab uſurarium
exactione
deſiſtant ea-
dem precipi-
mus diſtricti-
one compelli.

(n) Accin-
gantur ergo
omnes filii

(m) By the same Bulls, every man that was indebted, was exempted, and could not be arrested or sued by his Creditors, as long as he had a Cross upon his shoulders, which was the mark of those that were associated into the *Croisada*: And the reason given for that exemption, was, that such a man was become the Popes man, and had put himself in the protection of the Church. By the same Bulls also, power was given to the Nuntio's or Legates, to dispense with the vow for money. So that he that had crossed himself for the voyage to the Holy Land, might redeem himself from the vow, paying to the Legate, that which he should have spent in the journey, and so stay at home, and enjoy the same spiritual graces, as if he had performed the whole voyage. The Bull ended with this exhortation, (n) Come then, and let the children of divine Adoption prepare themselves to yield obedience unto Christ, changing their quarrels into bonds of love, believing that being truly confessed and contrite, by an happy traffick, and by their labours, which do but pass, they shall purchase eternal rest. Given at *Spoleto* the third of September, the eight year of our Pontificate.

The Exactors and Collectors of that money, were the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*, who would to day put the Cross upon a mans shoulder, and oblige him with an Oath to the voyage, (o) and to morrow release him from his Oath for money.

adoptionis divinae ad obsequium Jesu Christi, &c. Felici commercio laboribus suis, qui cito tranſeunt, eternam requiem mercabuntur. (o) Ibid. Quibus data fuit potestas cruce signandi & votum data pecunia relaxandi, &c. Signatos hodie etas data pecunia a crucis voto absoluebant. Westmonast. an. 1240. Absoluebantur per predicatores & minores pecunia interveniente multi cruce signati in scandalum Ecclesiae.

Reason and right did require, that these great summs of money should have been employed to defray the Princes that raised Armies for the deliverance of the Holy Land. Among whom, he that most freely exposed his life, and that of his subjects, with an incredible expense, was *Lewis* the IX. of *France*, who reigned then; A Prince worthy to have been born in a better age, being a rare example of meekness and justice, and one that partly discerned the errors, and sighed under the Popes tyrannie. That great Prince soon after undertook that voyage, but to his great ruine, confusion of the Christians, and destruction of his Kingdom. Yet the Pope never gave him any part of the money raised for that expedition, nor to the Emperour, nor to any Prince, that paid Armies, and fought for that quarrel. All was poured into the Popes coffers, as into a gulf, and by him employed to make war against *Frederick*, for he broke presently the Covenant sworn to him. So in effect, all the money contributed by devout souls, for the conquest of the Holy Land, was employed to hinder it, and to find other work for *Frederick*, who alone was more able to promote that conquest, then all the rest together.

While the Pope exercised that horrible tyrannie over *England*, (p) the Senate and Citizens of *Rome* were mastering the Pope, and were so far from giving him money, that they would have money from the Pope, pretending an old right for it. The difference was about some lands which the Roman Senate claimed, as belonging to the Roman County, but the Pope said that they belonged to his Bishoprick; alleading for himself Christs words, who had promised, that *the gates of hell should not prevail against the Church*; Whence he inferred, that in that quarrel, the Senate and the Roman people, might not hope to prevail against him. For all his inferences, they turned him out, and burnt his houses, and called the Emperour *Frederick*. Who being one of the wisest and meekest Princes that ever were in the world, instead of helping them, corrected their insolence, and would resent none of the injuries which *Gregory* had done him. At the same time that good Emperour demanded the sister of *Henry* the III. of *England* for his wife, and had her.

(q) At that time also certain usurers set up in *England*, called *Caurfins*, who by usuries and strange arts devised in *Italy*, are up the poor people and the Clergy. The King himself was most deeply in their debt. The Bishop of *London* would have repressed them, but because they were maintained by the Pope, he could not effect it. The Franciscans and Dominicans were preaching up the Popes power, and drawing all the confessions to themselves, and every day obtained privileges to the prejudice of the Parochial Priests, who became almost useles. The State of *England* was deplorable, for hungry Italians of the baser sort, with Bulls and Warrants from the Pope, came daily to fleece the people, and to raise such summs of money as they would demand upon the Clergy. If any denied what they demanded, he was presently excommunicated. And they that held the great Benefices, were strangers that were but the Popes Farmers. This made *Matthew Paris*, that lived then and beheld these things, to lament (r) that *the daughter of Sion was become like a shameless harlot that could not blush, by the just judgement (saith he) of him that made an Hypocrite to reign, and a Tyrant to domineer.*

The above-mentioned Legate *Otho* came again into *England*, (f) King *Henry* went to meet him, even to the Sea-side, and as the Popes Vassal, cast himself down before the Legate, touching the Legates knees with his head.

In the year 1238. the Archbishop of *Antioch* would not acknowledge the Pope his superiour, and preferring himself before him, (t) excommunicated the Pope, and the Papal Court, and the Roman Church, being set on to do that by German Archbishop of *Constantinople*, who called himself Universal Bishop. The same year the persecution was very fore against the true Christians, which were opprobriously called *Albigensis*, *Vandois*, *Paterins*, *Buggerars*, in the same manner as they call us now *Hugonots* and *Calvinists*. Great number of them were burnt in *Flanders*, at the instigation of a Dominican called *Robert Buggerar*.

(p) Matth.
Paris, pag.
394.

(q) Id.
P. 403, 404,
405.

(r) Matth.
Paris, p. 424.
*Facta est filia
Sion quasi
meretrix ef-
frons non
habens rubo-
rem. Quo-
tidiè vilissi-
me persone
& illiterate
bullis Roma-
nis armate
in minas
statim erum-
pentes, &c.*

(f) Idem,
pag. 425.
*Rex ei usque
ad confinium
maris occurrit,
& inclinatio
ad genua ejus
capite usque
ad interiora
regni deduxit
officiose.*
(t) Idem,
pag. 465.

The oppression and extorsions of *Rome* growing every day in *England*, the Bishops met at *London*, and the Legate with him, who propounded new devices to get money, and a new way of exaction. The Bishops answered him, that the Roman Court had quite exhausted *England*, and that it was impossible for them to furnish any more. So the Assembly was broken without concluding any thing.

(u) Idem. in
Henr. 111.
pag. 481.
Aniequam
Legatus reg-
nium Scotie
intrasset, oc-
curret ei Rex
Scotie non
acceptans in-
gressum suum.
Dixit enim,
quod nun-
quam aliquis
Legatus ex-
cepto illo solo
in Scotiam
intravit.
Non enim,
ut asseruit,
opus erat.
Christianitas
ibi floruit,
Ecclesia pro-
spere se ha-
bebat.
(*) Ibid.
Rebus Eccle-
siasticis pro-
libito ordina-
tis pecuniam
non minimam
cogendo.
(x) Id. ib.
pag. 495.

The Legate putting off his plot till another time, took his way towards *Scotland*, to rake all the money out of it, as he had done in *England*. (u) The King of *Scotland* hearing of it, came to meet him upon the borders, and forbad him to come further into his Kingdom, saying that he was the first Legate that ever entred into *Scotland*, and that *Scotland* had no need of any, since without that Christian Religion flourished, and the Church prospered in the Kingdom. The Legate then went back, and returning through (*) *England*, did so order the businesses of the Church, that he got no small sum of money.

Then was brought into *England* a Mandate of the Pope, to publish in all the Churches, with Bells ringing and Candles burning, the excommunication of the Emperour *Frederick*. Which was executed, though with the Kings great grief, because the Emperour had married his sister. And the people of *Milan* rebelled against the Emperour, and sacked the neighbouring Cities belonging to him with cruelty almost unparallel'd, having for their head a Legate whom the Pope had sent to them. Upon which *Matthew Paris* expresth, what the sense of the world was at that time. *Fear and horrour filled the hearts of men, because the Papal party cared neither for Prayers, nor for Masses, nor for Processions, &c. But put all their hope in treasures of money, and in rapine, and with shameless impudence ran to the sword and revenge.*

The best Benefices of *England* being possessed by Italians, and Romans especially, base in birth and conditions, and promoted to those places by the Popes Agents, that were sent thither with a full power to do all things at their pleasure, and to take from the English Prelates the power of conferring livings, the said Prelates (x) writ to Pope *Gregory*, Letters full of lamentations; being justly punished. For having helped the Popes to bring down the power of their Kings, under a pretence of maintaining the liberties of the Church, they had put the Popes fetters about their own legs, and drawn a hard bondage upon themselves. While Kings were in power, the Pope called them Simoniacks that gave some little present to the King, when they received the Investiture. But after that the Pope had taken that power from the King, he took an hundred times more from them then ever the King did.

(y) Matth.
Paris, pag.
497.

This Pope by his Bulls full of fervent exhortations, had published the *Croisada* over all *France*, *Germany*, and *England*, exhorting by the compassions of God, and by the zeal of Christian Religion, and by the hope of salvation, all good Christians, to go to the help of Christians oppressed in *Syria*, and to deliver *Jerusalem*, and the place of the Cross, and the holy Sepulchre, out of the hand of the Infidel Saracens, promising the remission of all sins, and an augmentation of glory in Paradise, to all that should die in that voyage. Upon these exhortations a great number of Pilgrims crossed themselves, (y) and having appointed their randevouze at *Lions*, met there well armed, and furnished, and full of courage. As they were ready to march, a Legate came from the Pope, who forbad them to go further, and commanded them to return every one to their own home. At which they grew so angry, that much ado there was to keep them from killing the Legate and his men. For (said they) to obey the Pope, and for the cause of the Crucifix, we have undertaken this voyage: We have sold or pawned our lands, we have borrowed money upon great use, and now we are sent back to our houses. This happened in the year 1242.

In the mean while, *England* was sore troubled with new exactions; and the Pope sent Letters to all the subjects of the Empire, to absolve them from the Oath of Fidelity and Obedience, sworn to *Frederick* their Lord, commanding them to be faithful in unfaithfulness, and obedient by disobedience,

as (z) *Matthew Paris* saith. But (saith the same Author) the wickedness of the Roman Church execrable unto all was the cause that none or few cared to obey the Papal authority. The Emperor writ to the King of England, his brother in law to expostulate with him because he suffered him to be excommunicated, and with such disgrace in his Kingdom, and that moneys should be raised in England continually by the Pope, to make war against him. The Kings answer was, that being the Popes vassal and homager, necessity did lye upon him to yield all obedience to his Holiness.

Yet upon these letters from the Emperor, King Henry desired the Legat *Otho* to go out of England, but the Legat would not do it, and found new wayes to get money for his Master. The English Lords and Gentlemen were selling their Lands and Mannors to the Clergy to perform that voyage to the Holy Land, to which they had bound themselves by vow, upon the Popes command. (a) But the Dominicans and Franciscans received power from the Pope to dispence those that had crossed themselves from their vow, taking so much money from them as they should have spent in their journey. And at the same time the Pope who had crammed many Italians and Romans with the best benefices of England, began to squeeze these sponges, and got from them the fifth part of their revenue, towards the charges of his war against the Emperor. Then some English seeing so much money go out of England continually, came to the King, and told him, (b) *Most Illustrious Prince, why do you suffer England to be brought to desolation, and to become the prey of them that go by, like a vine without wall, exposed to travellers, and left to be destroyed by the wild boars? &c.* To whom the King answered. I will not, I dare not contradict My Lord the Pope in any thing. Whence the people was brought to a most deplorable despair. But the Legat having got the fifth part of all the revenues of strangers, did the same to the English, and the Arch-bishop led the dance, paying eight hundred marks to the Legat for the first payment; the rest was exacted from him, and from all others with all violence.

Scarce was that exaction done, when one *Peter de la Rouse* came from Rome.

(c) Of him *Matthew Paris* an eye witness speaks thus. In those dayes came into England a new exaction of money unheard of in all ages and execrable. For our holy Father the Pope sent a certain exactor into England called *Petrus Rubens* [or *Peter of the Bryar*] who having invented a certain kind of mousetrap did learnedly catch an infinite summe of money from the miserable Englishmen. He would come into the Chapters of Monks and Prebends, and made them believe that such and such a Prelat had secretly promised such a summe of money, and by promises and threatnings extorted money from them, making them swear that in six moneths they would not tell it to any body: Without saying to them the cause why the Pope had such a suddain need of money, but leaving them to presume that there was some great business concealed from them. Upon that the Prelats and Abbots came to the King and told him, (d) *Sir, We are beaten, and we are not suffered to cry; They cut our throats, and we cannot lament. A thing impossible is enjoined us by the Pope, and an exaction detestable unto all the world, &c.* But the King turning himself to the Legat there present, told him, *My Lord, these miserable seducers reveal the Popes secrets; They detract and will not obey your will. Do with them what you think good. I give you one of my best castles to put them in a sure hold. So they were forced to pay all, that the Legat was pleased to demand of them.*

The same year Earle Richard the King of Englands brother, as valiant and generous as his brother was base and low spirited, went out of England, carrying with him the flower of the English Nobility, and made the more halt because news was come of the miserable case of the Christians in the Levant where

(z) p. 499. Persuadens ut essent in infidelitate fideles, in inobedientia obedientes. Sed tantum promeruit Romana Ecclesia improbitas omnibus execranda, quod à nullis vel à paucis meruit Papalis auctoritas exaudiri. (a) Id. p. 507. Inciperunt ipsi Predicatores Fratres & Minores Cruce signatos absolvere à voto suo, accepta tantum pecunia, quanta sufficere videbatur unicuique ad viaticum ultramarinum. Et factum est in populo scandalum cum schismate. (b) Domine Princeps nominatissime quare permittis Angliam fieri in predam & desolationem transfugatum, quasi vineam sine macerie, omni communem viatori, ab apris exterminandam? &c. Quibus talia persuadentibus ait, Nec volo, nec audeo Domino Papae in aliquibus contradicere. Et

facta est in populo desperatio nimis deploranda. (c) Id. p. 515. Per eodem dies venit in Angliam nova quaedam pecunie exactio omnibus seculis inaudita & execrabilis. Misit enim Papa, Pater noster Sanctus, quendam exactorem in Angliam, Petrum Rubenum qui excogitata muscipulatione infinitam pecuniam à miseris Anglis edolus erat emungere. (d) Ibid. Domine Rex sugillamus, nec licet nobis clamitare, jugulamur, nec possumus ejulare.

the Christian party was sinking apace. Being come to *St. Giles* in low *Langue-dock* to go to *Marsaille*, a Legat met him, who forbid him from the Pope to go further, dispensing the said Earle from his vow. The Earl highly discontented answered, *I have taken leave of my friends, I sent my money and my arms before; Now that I am ready to take ship, I am forbidden to go.* He resolved then, notwithstanding the Popes prohibition, to perform his voyage, and imbar-ked himself (e) detesting the double and treacherous dealing of the Roman Church, with a great bitterness of spirit.

(e) Id. p. 518. *Detestans Romane Ecclesie duplici-
tatem cum magna
mentis amari-
tudine.*

That *Peter de la Ronsse* having not the title of Legat got into *Scotland*, and did that which none ever did before him, for he carryed away three thousand pounds out of *Scotland* to put into the coffers of his Holiness.

While the Pope was plundering *England*, he was raising an immense sum of money in *France* by a Legat sent purposely. Which sum exceeding the Popes expectation, he repented to have made truce with the Emperor *Frederick*, seeing that he had got so much of the sinew of War, and commanded Cardinal *John Colonna* to bring word to the Emperor that he would not keep the truce. Which when that Cardinal, whose family was potent in *Italy*, refused to do, and exchanged some injurious words with the Pope upon that subject, (f) King *Lewis* the IX. hearing of that passage, prohibited that the money (which was yet in *France*) should be delivered to the Popes Assigns or transported out of the Kingdom.

(f) Idem. p. 522. *Quod cum Regi Franco-
rum innotu-
isset, precepit
pecuniam to-
tam quam in
terra sua
mellitis ser-
mocinationi-
bus & fellitis
comminationi-
bus melle-
rat, ab eodem
Legato extortam
reservari.*

The same Pope perceiving that whensoever he demanded money of the body of the English Clergy oppositions were formed against it, (g) writ to his Legat that he should deal with the Clergy-men one by one, and fleece them one after another. And he sped that way.

(g) *Matth. Paris* p. 522. *Papa de pecu-
nia congre-
ganda vigil
contemplator
significavit
Legato, ut non
sicut prius
omnem Cle-
rum conve-
nire attem-
peret, &c.
Imo potius
singulatum
quemlibet
eorum, &c.*

It was about this time, namely in the year 1240. that *Baldwin*, keeping by force the Empire of *Constantinople* which the French and other pilgrims of *Syria* had surprized, and held it by right of conveniency, (h) being in great want of money, writ to the King of *France Lewis* the IX. that the holy Crown of thorns of our Saviour was found, and that if he would help him with a sum of money, he would send it to him. This meek King, and of easie belief treated with the said Emperor for a great sum of money, and bought that Crown which was put in the Holy Chappel of *Paris* with great solemnity. Shortly after the Venetians having bought a piece of the true Cross for two thousand and five hundred pounds, sold it again to the same King *Lewis* for double the price. The King himself carryed it bare head and barefoot to our Lady of *Paris*. And the Pope gave to it forty days of true pardon.

(h) *Ibid.* p. 527. *Necessitate
ingruente &
thesauri ca-
rentis, &c.
sensit. Ut
Regi Fran-
corum pfe*

(i) In the year 1241. King *Henry* the III. of *England* made a great feast in *Westminster hall* upon *Christmas* day. In the midst of the table was the Kings chair under the Canopy of State, according to the custome. It was a thing without example that any but the King durst sit in that Royal Chaire, especially upon a day of extraordinary solemnity. Yet the King acknowledging himself the Popes vassal, and no Sovereigne, yielded that place to the Legat *Orbo*, to the great heart-breaking of all that were present, and to the disgrace of the English Nation.

Shortly after, the Legat returned to *Rome*, *Matthew Paris* beareth him this testimony, that excepting the Church plates, and ornaments of the Churches, there remained not so much money in *England* as *Otho* had extorted. And that he had conferred partly by his own, partly by the Popes will, above three hundred of the best *Prebends* and *Rectories* of the Kingdom. Whereby the Kingdom was left languishing and desolate as a Vine exposed to those that pass by, and destroyed by the wild boar of the woods.

The same year, the Convent of *Burg* in *England* received an Apostolick mandate from Pope *Gregory* the IX. that they should give to a certain man whom

Imperator Bildeuinus, quod si ipsum pecunia destitutum vellet de thesauro efficaciter juvare ipsi Regi pro antiquo dilectionis & consanguinitatis fœdere conferret coronam Domini. (i) *Ibid.* p. 532. & 530. *Rex in ampliori Regia Westmonasterii prænurus Legatum, quem ad prandium invitaverat, in eminentiori loco mensa, scilicet in sede Regali, quæ in medio mensæ est, non sine multorum obliquantibus oculis collocavit.*

the Pope would recompense a Benefice of a hundred marks a year, a great revenue in those dayes. And certain sharkes coming from Rome, went from Church to Church, and from Convent to Convent, and taking the several Monks apart told them, (k) *Brethren and friends, you have power in your hand to receive a great benefit from the Pope, For now he asketh of you that which you should ask of him with bended knees and joined hands in all humility.* The summary of the motion was, that he asked them some money as an offering of sweet favour. Upon which *Matthew Paris*, an eye witness of these doings, speaks thus; (l) *In this time by the permission and procurement of Pope Gregory, the insatiable greediness of the Roman Church, got such strength, confounding right and wrong, that putting off all shame, she became a common and impudent strumpet, selling and prostituting her self unto all, holding usury to be a small thing, and simony to be no inconvenience.* (m) At the same time the bones of *Edmund Arch-bishop of Canterbury* were working abundance of miracles. The Emperor had six mighty armies to resist the enemies which the Pope by his practices raised against him in several places

New *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* came from Rome into England in great numbers, to preach the *Croisada*, which they did so effectually that many crossed themselves for the voyage of the Holy Land; And the same preachers granted to them the remission of all their sins. But three dayes after they released them from their vow and gave them leave not to stir out of England. So they changed the corporal satisfaction into a pecuniary punishment. By which means even women and children, that they might have remission of all their sins, took the cross and the vow of the *Croisada*, and then redeemed their vow with money. Thus the Fryers collected vast sums of money. And what became of it, *Matthew Paris* saith that it was not known.

This Legat *Orho* (n) had left two Vice Legats with power of exacting, interdicting, and excommunicating, who daily committed a thousand extortions. One of them named *Petrus de Supino* took a turn into Ireland. Out of which (though money was thin sown there) he raked in few dayes fifteen hundred marks. Then returning with a mandate from the Pope, he exacted the twentieth part of the goods of the whole Island, and his fellow *Petrus Rubens* did the same in Scotland. Then hearing that Pope Gregory was very sick, they coast the sea in hast, and went towards Rome loaden with wealth. But in their journey they were taken by the Emperor, (o) who made use of their money, and committed them to close prison, and besieged a place in *Campania* where the Pope had put his Money and his Nephews. The Emperor having made himself master of the place, hanged the Popes Nephews as rebels to his Majesty. The Pope hearing of it, was oppressd with such grief that he dyed. The Emperor kept many Cardinals prisoners, among others *Orho* the plague of England, because they would have assembled themselves in Council by the Popes authority without his leave.

After many quarrels among the Cardinals, *Galfriad* Arch-bishop of *Milan* was chosen Pope, who did not last long, and dyed having been Pope but sixteen dayes. The Cardinals were 21. moneths before they could agree about the election of a successor. The Emperor angry at it, besieged them at Rome, and the King of France sent them Embassadors to declare to them, that (p) *if they did not choose a Pope, the French would elect one for them, grounded upon their ancient privilege granted by St. Clement unto St. Denis, whom he established Apostle over the Western people.* The Cardinals frighted, in the end chose one Cardinal *Sinebald*, who leaving his name of Baptisme called himself *Innocent* the IV.

The orders of *Dominicans* and mendicant Fryars had been but 24. years in England, and already had built magnificent Convents over all the Kingdom, and governed all the houses of great persons, got great legacies, drew to themselves all the confessions, and many believed that salvation could not be had without them. They were factors, sollicitors, and executors of Apostolick Mandate

(k) Matth. Paris. p. 536. Vocatusque Monachis dixerunt, Ecce fratres & amici, imminet vobis ad manum magnum Pale benefici-um; Postulat enim a vobis quod vos deberetis flexis genibus & junctis manibus ab eo humillime postulare. (l) Ibid. P. 535. Advo inva- luit Romana Ecclesia in- satabilis cupiditas confundens fas nefasque, quod deposita rubore velut meretrix vul- garis & ef- frons omnia venalia & exposita usa- ram pro par- vo simoniam pro nullo inconuenienti reputavit. (m) Ibid. (n) Matth. Paris in Henr. II L. p. 547. & 554. (o) Id. p. 555. (p) Ibid. p. 582. Hoc audacter significabant confisi de an- tiquo privile- gio suo per sanctum Cle- mentem beato Dionysio con- cesso & ob- tento, qui con- cessit Aposto- latum eidem Dionysio su- per gentem Occidentalem.

dates, and bearers of pardons; they had the Kings care, and debased the orders of St. *Benedict* and St. *Austin*; Doing to other orders, and to Parochial Priests that which the Jesuits do now unto them. Yet between these two new Orders there was a great deal of envy, the Franciscans calling themselves *Minors*, and by consequent more holy; and the Dominicans calling themselves *Majors* and therefore preferrable.

In the year 1244. one *Martin* came into *England* with full power from his Holiness to exact money, to suspend, to interdict, and to excommunicate all that should any way oppose him. He would command this Abbot or that Prior

(q) that they would send him horses such as were fit for an especial Clark of the Lord Pope to ride on. If they alleaged any excuse, he suspended them from their benefices. The Churches and Prebends that fell void, he kept in his own hands, till he was pleased to bestow them upon his Nephews and Cofins.

And whereas *David* Prince of Northwales was vassal to the King of *England* (r) Pope *Innocent* the IV. debaishd him from the allegiance sworn to *Henry* the III. his Lord, and made him his vassal, obliging him to pay five hundred marks a year to the Apostolick See in sign of subjection. So *David* by the Popes instigation shooke of the Kings yoke, and put his countrey under the Popes subjection, promising to hold his whole countrey from the Pope. Whence long wars followed.

The miracles of *Edmund* of *Canterbury* being daily multiplied, Commissioners were deputed by the Pope to enquire of those miracles, and to inform his Holiness about them, to know whether he ought to be canonized and listed among the Saints: but the Commissioners made a relation to the disadvantage of the said *Edmund* as unworthy to be Sainted. Wherefore it was concluded that he should not be canonized, and the request of the Monks of *Pontigny*, where the the said *Edmund* lay buryed, was rejected as unjust.

The forementioned *Martin* (whom the English called *Maffy*, (s) because of his insatiable greediness) (t) received an unheard of power from the Pope, and more ample then any before, of which he had several letters, and produced sometimes one, sometimes another, according to the exigence of the case, and many scroles of parchment sealed with lead, in which nothing was written, and those blanks he filled according to his own pleasure. He made his address unto the King, beseeching him in the Popes name to help him to get ten thousand marks before hand of the English Clergy. And he brought forth letters of Pope *Innocent* to the Clergy of *England*, where these words are found. *Being constrained by necessity, we have recourse to you confidently, and by the counsel of our brethren, we desire and expressly admonish your generality, and by Apostolick writings we exhorting command and commanding exhort you, that you relieve the Roman Church with such quantity and summe of money as our dear son Martin, Clark of our Chamber, shall declare unto you, &c. And that you so accomplish that which we desire of you, that we may commend your devotion, and that we be not constrained to proceed otherwise against you about that matter.* Thus in case of denyal he threatened to force them to it by excommunication. And that *Martin* was grown so insolent, and such a severe exactor that he would send, now to an Abbot, now to a Prior, commanding him to send him so many great horses, so much provision for his house, such a quantity of curious stufes for his train.

(u) And when he had received what they sent, he would send it back with contempt, saying that it was not good enough, and commanded them to send better upon pain of suspension and excommunication. And he suspended all the Prelats from the collation of livings of thirty marks a year and above, till they had satisfied his greediness. Wherefore the miserable English complained that they were under a harder bondage then ever the Israelites in *Egypt*.

(r) Matth. Paris libro supradicto p. 622.
(u) Martinus remisit eis que ei missa fuerunt, assensu in sufficientia, & praecepit eis ut meliora sibi sub pana suspensionis, & anathematis transmitterent. Suspendit autem omnes à collatione beneficiorum, 30. marcas valentium & supra, donec sua satisfactum foret cupiditati. unde miseri Angli acerbiorem, quam olim subierunt filii Israel, se doluerunt in Aegypto Britannica volere servitutem.

War being happened between the English and the Scots, they made peace upon certain conditions. But because a Vassal ought not to conclude peace or war without the consent of his liege Lord, peace could not be made without the approbation and ratification of Pope *Innocent* the I V.

The same year the Prince of North-Wales continuing in his rebellion against *Henry* the III. King of *England*, obtained of the Pope with money, and with the renewing of his promise, of paying five hundred marks a year unto the Pope, to be absolved and dispensed from the Oath of Allegiance which he had made unto *Henry*, saying, that it was an extorted Oath.

In the year 1245. the Pope caused the excommunication of the Emperor *Frederick* to be published again in all the Churches of *France*. That excommunication being given to a Parochial Priest of *Paris* to publish it, he pronounced it in these terms. *Hearken all of you, I am commanded to pronounce an excommunication with Candles burning and Bells ringing against the Emperor Frederick. Not knowing the cause why, I know only that there is an irreconcilable quarrel and hatred between him and the Pope. I know also, that the one doth wrong to the other, yet which of the two is in the wrong, I cannot tell. But him that doth wrong to the other, I excommunicate as far as my power extends.* The poor Priest was punished by the Pope, but the Emperor sent him presents.

The Pope had a desire to come into *England*, and pass through *France*, but the passage through *France* was denied him. And the King of *England* was advised not to let him come into his Kingdom. In the mean while, *Martin* was continuing to waste poor *England*, sucking the substance of the people and the Clergy, and most part of the Benefices of *England* were held by Italians. In the end, the Nobles of the Land were forced by the heavy oppression to assemble themselves, and to give order that all the Papal letters which daily came into *England* with new tricks to catch money should be stopt. A bearer of those trumperies was taken, and all his Bulls and leaden Seals were taken from him, and he laid up in close prison. About the same time, in Rogation week, the Popes Wardrobe at *Lions* was burnt with an accidental fire, & there the letters of homage and submission made to the Pope by King *John*, were consumed, as *Marth. Paris* (x) (x) pag. 638. relateth.

In the end, the King seeing his Kingdom exhausted by the extortions of the Roman Court, although he trembled under the Papal power, yet he commanded *Martin* to depart out of the Kingdom, and for a farewell told him, (y) *The Devil lead thee, and bring thee into hell.* But *Martin* going away, left one Mr. *Philip*, to whom he resigned the power he had from the Pope. Being come to the Popes presence, who was then at the Council of *Lions*, he complained of the King of *England*. The Pope then remembering, that both the King of *France* and the King of *England* had denied him the entry into their Kingdoms, said in great wrath, and with an angry countenance, (z) *It is expedient that we compound with your Prince Frederick, that we may crush these petty Kings that kick against us; for when the Dragon is once bruised or appeased, we shall soon tread upon these small Serpents.* (z) pag. 640. Expedi- dit ut componamus cum Principe vestro, ut hos Regulas conteramus recalcitrantes. Contrito enim vel pacificato dracone, cito serpentuli concalcabuntur.

In that Council, the canonization of *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was moved again with great instance, but was rejected the second time by the Pope, and that Saint wanting the Popes favour, lost his cause for this time also, and was judged unworthy to be a Saint.

The fourth day, an unusual thing happened: The Pope himself preached in a Church of *Lions*. His text was *Lam. 1. 12. All ye that pass by, behold and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me;* then he compared his sorrows to the five wounds of Christ; The first was the inundation of the Tartars; the second the Schism of the Grecians; the third the heresie of those that were called Patterins, Buggerars, Jovinians, and Vaudojs. The fourth, the desolation of the holy Land. The fifth and the most smarting, the Emperor *Frederick*, the Churches enemy and persecutor, whose heresies and sacriledges he set out at large.

In that Council the people and Clergy of *England*, complained by Deputies of the extortions and robberies of the Roman Court; but their complaints were not regarded.

There a sentence of deposition against the Emperor *Frederick* was pronounced by the Pope, whereby he was declared fallen from the Imperial power, and all the subjects of the Empire, as well in *Germany*, as in *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Province*, were absolved from the Oath of Allegiance sworn unto the said Emperor, with a prohibition by Apostolical authority, to yield any obedience unto him, or to lend him any assistance, upon pain of excommunication. The Electors also were commanded to elect another Emperor; the Pope keeping the power to himself to provide for the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, pretending that the disposition of that Kingdom did particularly belong to him.

There also an order was taken for the voyage of the Holy Land, the Pope taxing himself to pay the tenth part of his revenue, and condemning the whole Clergy to pay the twentieth part of theirs, for three years. He appointed the Apostolick Officers to be receivers of that contribution. He made an order, that all that should enter into the *Croisada*, should be exempted from all tributes, taxes, and subjection due to secular Lords, because by crossing themselves, they put themselves under the protection of the Apostolick See. By this means the Kings lost as many subjects, as there were men that would put a Cross upon their shoulder, for then they claimed themselves to be the Popes subjects. Creditors were prohibited to exact any thing of those that were crossed, because they were under the protection of the Church. (a) And to those crossed men was promised, besides the remission of all their sins, an augmentation of glory in Paradise. To those that should not go in person, but contribute with their means, defraying others that would go for them, no more was promised but the remission of all their sins. Those that should go in person defrayed by others, if they dyed in that voyage, that Order assured them that they should not go into Purgatory, but they were to content themselves with eternal life, and might not pretend to a degree of glory in Paradise above the common sort.

Many other Laws were made and published by the Pope sitting in that Council. For since *Gregory* the VII. it was no more the Popes custom to assemble Councils to deliberate with the Bishops, but only that the Bishops should receive laws from the Pope, and approve them by their silence. Wherefore also *Matthew Paris* saith, that of the things decreed, (b) Some were decreed before the Council, some during the Council, some after the Council. Upon the dissolution of the Council, a Prelate made a Sermon for a farewell to the City of *Lions*, wherein he told the people that the Council had made a great reformation in the City, for whereas there were many Brothel-houses in the Town before the sitting of the Council, now (said he) we leave but one, reaching from one end of the Town to the other. (c) That the Popes Officers were appointed Collectors of the money to be raised for the voyage of the Holy Land, was displeasing unto many, who knew that it was usual with the Popes Officers, to put all such contributions into the Popes Coffers, who converted them to another use, and indeed to his own. The Pope sent into *England* a Copy of the Letters Patent of King *John*, whereby he subjected the Crown of *England* to the Papal See, and presented it to all the Prelates of *England* to sign; which they did all but the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who refused it.

The same year King *Lewis* the IX. gave the Pope leave to come into *France*, as far as *Clugni*, but no farther. The King greatly desired a reconciliation between the Pope and the Emperor, because himself was preparing for the expedition into the *Levant*, and had need of the help of *Frederick*, a warlike, prudent and meek Prince, as ever any was in the world, formidable to the Saracens, and one that might stop the passage of the French, because he held *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, and the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*; But (d) the good King could obtain nothing of Pope *Innocent*. *Matth. Paris* saith, that *Innocent* laboured to induce *Lewis* to make war with *Henry* King of *England*, whom he called in contempt a petty King:

And

(a) Pag. 653. Nos ergo &c. omnibus qui laborem istum in propriis personis subierint, & expensis plenam suorum peccaminum, de quibus fuerunt veraciter corde contriti & ore confessi, veniam indulgemus, & in retributione justorum salutis eterne pollicemur augmentum. Eis autem qui non in personis propriis illuc accesserint, sed in suis duntaxat expensis juxta facultatem & qualitatem suam viros idoneos destinauerint, & illis similiter, qui licet in alienis expensis in propriis tamen personis accesserint, plenam suorum peccatorum concedimus veniam.

(b) p. 658. Quatenus eorum ante Concilium, quodam durante Concilio, quodam vero post Concilium, sunt statuta.

(c) Ibid.

(d) p. 662.

And though there was a sworn truce between the two Kings, yet the Pope would have King *Lewis* to break it. But *Lewis* would never condescend to it, being a Prince that religiously kept his word.

There was a second interview between the King and the Pope, being then at *Lions*, where the King used his utmost endeavour to appease the Pope, and reconcile him with the Emperor. The Emperor desirous of peace (although the deposition fulminated by the Pope was without effect, and had wrought no diminution of his power) offered unto the Pope to pass into *Syria*, and reconquer the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* with his own strength and cost, and never to return, but die there; asking no more but his absolution from the Pope. And the King represented unto the Pope the commandment of Christ, who will have us to forgive seventy times seven times, and saith that the sinner that converteth and humbleth himself, must not be rejected. He protested against the Pope, saying, that by this obstinacy he should be the cause of the ruines which Christian Religion should suffer. But the good King lost his labour, and (e) returned with great indignation, because he had not found in the servant of servants, the humility which he looks for.

(e) Matth. Paris, in Henric. III. pag. 676. Rex Francorum recessit iratus & indignans, eo quod humilitatem quam speraverat in servo servorum, minime reperisset. (f) Pag. 680.

The same year, which was 1245. a Parliament was assembled at *London*, where in the Kings presence some Articles were made, called *Gravamina regni Anglia*, The grievances of the Kingdom of England; where the oppressions of the Popes, and the grinding of the Kingdom by the Court of *Rome* were represented, and how Italians succeeded other Italians in Church-livings: And that by the new clause, *non obstante*, Scriptures were enervated, the obligation of Oaths broken, all Laws and Customs abrogated, and that the English were constrained to go plead in the Court of *Rome*, whence they returned ill handled, after they had a long time consumed themselves in expenses. (f) That Letters came from *Rome*, which not only taxed such and such men in so much money, but enjoined them also, to find and entertain constantly a certain number of men at arms to serve the Roman Church in the wars, with men and arms, according to the will of his Holiness. It was also represented, that once the Pope considering some rich stuffs of Church-Ornaments of some English Clergy-men, had a desire to have them: And that when he enquired where they were made, he was answered that they were made in *England*, and how upon that the Pope said, *England is the garden of our delights, a garden truly inexhaustible.*

The Pope writ to the Cistercian Monks, that they should buy for him some (g) cloth of curled gold; which was done at the charges of those Monks: Whence, saith *Matthew Paris*, (h) many had the covetousness of the Church of *Rome* in execration. The same Author relates, that three of the wealthiest Clergy-men of *England* being dead, without making a Will, and having left a great sum of money, and much pretious stuff, Pope *Innocent* sent Dominican and Franciscan-Fryars into *England*, to preach and make it pass for a Law, That the goods of every Clark dying intestate, belonged unto the Pope.

(g) Auri-frisa. (h) Pag. 683.

When the King was going to oppose both this, and the levies and impositions which the Pope had lately laid upon the Land, Letters came from the Pope, containing an absolute (i) command to raise a great sum of money out of *England*, and that within twenty dayes, without further delay; appointing certain English Prelates to be Collectors of the same, and giving them power to proceed against those that should refuse to pay, with Ecclesiastical censures. Such was then the use of Saint *Peter's* keyes.

(i) Pag. 686.

The King, though used to bondage, was nettled at this, and prohibited that extortion of his people. The Pope angry at it, misused the English that were in his Court, saying to them, (k) *The King of England kicks against us, and his Council hath a relish of Frederick, I also have my Council, which I will follow.* And he writ to the English Prelates, that upon pain of excommunication and suspension, they should before the Feast of the Assumption, bring the sum which he had prescribed unto his Nuntio resident at *London*. The King was frightened with this, and the Popes command was executed without delay. The Popes

(k) Pag. 687, 688, 689.

(1) Pag.

694.

(m) Matth.

Paris, pag.

690, 691.

Negotium

aperte se

gereve Ro-

mana Matris

Ecclesie præ-

dicant, ac

prædicte

mortis ac ex-

hereditationis

nostræ sum-

mum Pontifi-

cem sic accesserunt

incento-

rem. Hoc

ipsum captivi

præfati in

spontanea &

extrema con-

fessione sua,

quâdo mentiri

nesarium exi-

stimant, mo-

rientes coram

omnibus sunt

confessi.

(n) p. 693.

(o) West-

monast.

an. 1246.

Novum ma-

tris Ecclesie

gaudium,

novi Sancti

celebritate

jucunde le-

titia referi-

mus gaudio

à celesti col-

legio, de

collega novi

consortio agi-

festum exul-

tanti animo

nuntiamus,

&c. Latatur

nimirum se

tam clara

sobole illu-

stratam, que

digno ab

omnibus at-

tollenda præ-

conio, &

devota vene-

ratione co-

lenda, mani-

feste declarat

ad hereditatis

atempore par-

ticipium ad-

mittendos,

qui ipsam

matrem

Ecclesiam

sile ac opere proficiunt, & nullum in supernam posse gloriam, nisi per eam tanquam regni celorum clavigeram, introire.

Factors and Promoters were the Franciscans and Dominicans, who gave the remission of sins for money, released the excommunications for a certain rate, and made usurers and extortioners to bring to them all their ill gotten goods, instead of restoring them to the right owners. By their means also the Pope, besides the matrimonial causes, (1) drew to himself all Testamentary causes, and the cases of perjury, as nearly concerning the conscience. And still these Factors of Rome alleadged some specious cause; saying, that the money which they exacted was to defend the Emperor of *Constantinople*, or to resist the *Soldan* of *Damas*. But whatsoever it was for, still the Pope was the Receiver.

At the same time the Pope gave leave to King *Lewis* the IX. to take the tenth part of the Ecclesiastical revenue of *France*, the King in exchange gave him leave to take the twentyeth part of the same revenue, and that for three years.

The Pope seeing that he could not pull down the Emperor, and that the virtue and power of *Frederick* turned the edge of his spiritual sword, sought to make him away by treachery, and suborned four of *Frederick's* servants, *James de Morra*, *Theobald Francisco*, *Pandulph de Phasanelles*, and *William* of *Saint Severin*, to stab their Master. (m) Two of them, *Theobald* and *William*, being taken, confessed publicly when they were brought to the execution, that they were set on by Pope *Innocent* to do that deed. The whole story is related at large, in letters written by the Emperor himself to *Henry* the III. of *England* his Brother in law, and by other letters of *Walter d'Ocre* the Emperors Clerk, written to the same King.

Scarce was the last extortion ended, when a new one began: (n) And the King gave way that six thousand marks should be raised upon *England*, because the Pope had need of it. That money was sent to the *Langrave*, whom the Pope had named Emperor instead of *Frederick*: That Emperor admired the baseness of the English, who suffered the Popes to strip them; whereas the Popes (said he) *fugant fugientes & fugiunt fugantes*; the Popes oppress those that fear them, and tremble before them that resist them.

The King having made some demonstration, that he bore that yolk impatiently, and let fall some words of discontent which were related unto the Pope, the Pope was so incensed, that he would presently have put an Interdict upon the whole Nation of *England*. Upon which a grave remonstrance was made to him by Cardinal *John*, an English-man by birth, and a Cistercian Monk, who represented to him, That the Holy Land was in danger; That the Greek Church had made a Schism from the Roman Church; That the Tartars were pillaging *Hungary*; That the Emperor was an enemy to his holiness; That *France* had a grudge against him, as being impoverished by so many exactions, upon pretence of the Holy War; That the very people of *Rome* had expelled him out of *Rome*; Therefore that his holiness having enemies enough, he needed not to create more, lest he should see in a short time a general revolt; And that it was no wonder if *England*, like *Balaams* Ass, being fore laid on with blows, had spoken some words. But all this good counsel did not mitigate him. And to confirm him in his violent courses, presently Embassadors came to him out of *England* with deep submissions from the King, and a promise of greater obedience for the time to come. The Pope grown more arrogant with that humility, commanded all Prelates and benefited men of *England* residing in their livings, to send him the third part of their yearly revenue, and the non-resident the half: With the addition of the clause, *Non obstante*, which derogated from all customs, abrogated all promises and oaths, and revoked all sorts of privileges.

In the end, after many denyals about the Canonization of *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Pope to stroak the English, Canonized him, and made him a Saint, seven years after his death. The Bull of the Canonization is exprest in arrogant terms, and are worthy to be represented for their extravagant pride.

(o) We announce unto you the joy of our Mother the Church by the Celebrity of a

new Saint; and the Heavenly Colledge keeps Holy day for the society of a new companion. The Church rejoiceth to be illustrated with such a clear race, which ought to be exalted by all with condigne praises, and must be served with a devout veneration. And openly declareth, that those must be received to the participation of the eternal inheritance, that profess the Mother-Church by word and work, and that none can enter into the glory that is above, but by her, as the bearer of the keyes of the Kingdom of heaven. By that Mother-Church, he understands the Church of Rome, to distinguish her from the other Churches that are subject unto her. And he saith, that since the same Mother-Church beareth the keyes of the Kingdom of heaven, none can enter into Paradise, nor be made a Saint, but by her means. Of that new Saint, he speaks as if he had begun to be a Saint in his Canonization, although he was dead many years before. And to abuse the Christian world, he tells them that piece of good news, that the Saints of Paradise keep Holy-day, because a new companion is come to them. That monster believed that the Saints of Paradise took it kindly at his hands, that he had given them a new companion. Wherefore he exhorteth the Christian Nations in these words, *Rejoyce with great joy that a new Patron before God is accrewed unto you, one that stands before him to be a gracious intercessor for your salvation.* This was received as Gospel-truth; And it would have been abominable heresie, to make a question whether such a man was a Saint, and ought to be served and called upon, since the Pope who hath all power on earth had commanded that he should be. The English had this for their money, after so many extortions of the Court of Rome; That Court sent them a new English Saint for their comfort.

Soon after *Blanch* Queen Regent of France, came over to worship that Saint, representing to him that he had found refuge for his exile in France, and beseeching him not to be ungrateful. She said then, (p) *My Lord, most holy Father, Edmund Confessor, &c. I beseech thee to confirm that which thou hast mercifully done towards us: Confirm the Kingdom of France in a peaceable and triumphant solidity, and let not thy Holiness be ungrateful, but remember what we have done to thee, and to Thomas exiled and poor.*

(p) Westmonast. anno, 1147. Hoc recolat sanctitas tua non ingrata tibi hec & tuo Thome fecisse profugo & egent. Math. Paris, pag. 693.

In the year 1247. the French Nobility made a League against the oppression of the Pope and the Clergy to maintain their antient rights and privileges, which were daily usurped by them. The Pope brought to great fear, instead of punishing the Leaguers, greased the heads of them with fat Benefices, and gave them all kind of Indulgences.

He sped better in England, for at the same time two Franciscans *John* and *Alexander* being come into England with power of Legats, the King gave them leave to make a collection over all the Kingdom: They had power of excommunicating all that would refuse to pay. They were riding upon great horses, with gilded saddles and magnificent clothes, exacting money with extream rigor. The only Bishoprick of *Lincoln* they taxed in six thousand marks; the Abby of Saint *Albans* in the like sum.

To the same end, in the same year the Pope dispatched divers Nuntio's over all the Provinces of France, to gather money by way of loan. But (q) (saith *Matthew Paris*) the good King *Lewis* suspecting the avarice of the Roman Court, forbade that any Prelate of his Kingdom should thus impoverish his Land upon pain of confiscation of all his goods. Thus these Sophistical Legats returned empty, being hissed and mocked by all.

(q) Pag. 700. Quod cum Regi innotuisset suspectam habere

But England, though twice more fleeced then other Lands, durst not kick against the Pope, because the Pope pretended that England belonged to him, and that the King was his Vassal. The Pope sent into England another *Martin*, his Capellan, with authority of a Legat, though he was not dignified with that name, to glean the remnant of the money of the Kingdom, and one *John le Ronx* into Ireland, who returned from it with six thousand marks. To the same end, one called *Godfrey* a Roman, was sent into Scotland.

Romane Curie avaritiam prohibuit, nequis Prelatus regni sub pena amissionis omnium bonorum suorum taliter terram suam depauperaret. Et sic cum sibilo & derisione omnium Papales Legati sophistici inanes & vacui à regio recesserunt.

Et sic cum sibilo & derisione omnium Papales Legati sophistici inanes & vacui à regio recesserunt.

In the mean while *Lantgrave* whom the Pope had elected Emperor instead of *Frederick*, as he went with a mighty army to his Coronation, was met with *Conrad* son to *Frederick*, who defeated the said *Lantgrave* who dyed few dayes after out of sorrow of that overthrow. *Henry* another son of *Frederick* having

raken a nephew of the Pope in *Italy* hanged him, and was for it excommunicated by the Pope with the most horrible and direful execrations that his Holiness could devise. These rubs made the Pope send into *England* for new levyes of money, (r) with power to the Collectors to excommunicate all refusers without appeal and delay, and without excepting any. The Abbot of *St. Albons* (of which Monastery *Matthew Paris* was Monk) refused to pay and appealed to the Pope, and sent to *Rome* to plead his cause. But his Deputies staid very long in the Court of *Rome* before they could get a judgement, till in the end having bribed some Officers they obtained a hearing and were condemned to pay two hundred marks unto the Pope, besides other costs amounting to an hundred marks more. That summ

(faith) *(s) Matth. Paris* was swallowed up by the insatiable gulf of the Roman Court. In the same dayes at the instance of the Popes Ministers a summ of eleven thousand marks was granted to the Pope by the Parliament assembled at *Oxford*; and besides the forementioned summ of three hundred marks, the Abbot of *St. Albons* was taxed in eight hundred. Also Earle *Richard* the Kings brother and *William Longespee*, because they belonged to the *Croisada*, obtained the Popes licence to raise a collection from the people.

To comfort the people of *England* in that oppression, in the year 1250. a crystal bottle full of the blood of Christ was sent from the Holy land into *England*. The King received that present with great joy, and carried that bottle between his two eyes, barefoot, in a beggars habit from *Pauls* Church to *Westminster*, with great pompe and sad apparel. It is not known in *England* now what became of that blood. Thus were the Christian nations amused and abused and accustomed to bondage. To all that should visit the said bottle was given an indulgence of six years and an hundred and forty dayes.

The same year (r) the Pope sent a Legat into *Norway*, the Cardinal of *St. Sabins* to celebrate the ceremony of the Coronation of King *Haco*, who in thankfulness for the honour which the Pope did him, sent him fifteen thousand marks of silver. This Legat returning made *England* his way; And as if it had been to shew that rapine is the indelible character of the Roman Court, in three months that he sojourned in *England* he got four thousand marks with many gifts, then went on his journey loaden with booty.

(u) It was in this time that King *Lewis* the IX. embarked himself at *Marseilla* with the flower of his Nobility, Gentry, and strength of his Kingdom to recover the Holy Land. The crowd was so great that many could get no room in the fleet, and came to the Pope to offer him their service. But the Pope contented himself to unload them of their money, and to empty their purses, and to send them home with dispensation and absolution. In the mean while Dominicans and Franciscans sent by the Pope were preaching the *Croisada* in *England* with great vehemency, and with such effect that (*) great number of English, yea the sick and the women crossed themselves for the voyage, and few dayes after, yea at the same time, the same Fryers dispensed them with their vow for a certain summ of money. So they got a great booty. (x) Then also by the Popes authority usurers were established in *England*.

The business of the French in the Levant going to wrack, King *Lewis* wanting relief was writing with great urgency for help of men and money. Which moved many English Lords and Gentlemen to sell or pawn their land, and having prepared themselves with great cost, they would begin their journey.

(s) p. 707.
Tandem precipientibus amicis in Curia venalibus & conductitiis finem fecerunt Domino Pope pro ducentis Marcis. & sic donis & expensis omnibus computatis absorbit illius Curia Charydis insatiabilis trecentas Marcas.

(r) pag. 708, 709, & 716.

(u) An. 1248. Matth. Par. pag. 724.

(*) Id. p. 740.
Predicantes pro negotio Crucis homines cujusque etatis, sexus, conditionis, vel valoris, immo etiam valetudinarios vel valetudinarios, & agrotantes & senio deficientes cruce signaverant, & in crastino, & etiam in continenti pro quocunque pretio crucem a cruce signatis deponentes. (x) West. An. 1240. Permissum est in Anglia jam quasi licite, ut habitarent Christiani usurarii inter Christianos, Papa protegente, cum sit usura in utroque Testamento condemnata.

(y) But

(y) But upon King *Henries* solicitation, Papal letters came to forbid them to go, upon pain of excommunication. Thus poor King *Lewis* having more generosity then success was forsaken and finally taken by the Saracens, and his army consumed by famine and the sword. The Emperor *Frederick* desired the Popes absolution, offering to go in person into *Syria* to relieve the French, but the Pope never would hearken to it.

France was then mourning for this sad news, yet did not the Pope abate any thing of the money covenanted before, between the King and him to be raised out of *France*, when *France* was in prosperity; but he took over all the Kingdom the tythe of all things, even of the least. Of which *Marthem Paris* (z) relates an example. One of these Collectors sent by the Pope met with a petty Clark carrying holy Water with an *Asperges* to a Village, and some pieces of bread; He asked him what he got yearly by that labour. The poor Clark answered that the whole profit was not above twenty sous a year. Then (said the Collector) two sous of it belong to me, and extorted the same of him, although his principal trade was begging. The people of *France* irritated with such exactions, and especially because the Pope hindred the Kings relief spake thus. (a) *Alas, alas! how many evils doth the Popes pride bring upon us, so insolently resisting Frederick humbled before him, refusing to receive any satisfaction from him, but rather provoking him to bitterness of heart! &c. O misery! How much Christian blood is shed in the Holy Land! How much in Germany! How much in Italy! &c. Oh that this Pope was born in an ill hour! &c.*

King *Lewis* having yielded *Damietta*, and given the securities required for his ransom, returned to (b) *Acon*, whence he sent his brothers into *France*, *Adolph* Count of *Poitiers*, and *Charles* Count of *Provence*; and the Duke of *Burgundy* with them, with a command to expell the Pope out of *Lions*, as a man that took no care of Christian faith; if he continued to hinder the Emperor *Frederick* to come to his help, because *Frederick* was he only that could remedy so many evils. (c)

In this general adversity of Christendome yet the Pope continued to tread *England* under his feet. Which made the King (though patient even to stupidity) so bold as to write letters full of liberty to the Pope: Wherein he represented to him how the English being driven out by the Popes authority, base and wicked men that understood not the language, and by consequent incapable of preaching and feeding the flock were installed in the best Churches and benefices. That the Pope disposed of all the vacant Churches, and the Patrons were deprived of their right. Then having set forth all the extortions and violencees which the Pope made the English to suffer, he added. (d) *Thou Pope, Father of Fathers, why sufferest thou the climates of Christians to be so contaminated? Justly then art thou turned out of thy Town and See, and art thrust into exile like another Cain. Thine enemies Fredericks followers prosper, but thou flyest before them that pursue thee, and they that pursue thee are swift and mighty. Thy bulls cast forth lightnings against those that submit themselves to thee, but lose their strength against rebels. Every where the Prelats being suspended from the collation of benefices, the provisions are made unto persons unworthy, barbarous, and unknown, who under pretence of seeking the milk of the ewes of the Lords fold, take the flesh, shear the fleece, slay, take off the skin, and pull out the guts, &c.*

The Pope who had fulminated, and put Kingdoms under interdict for less offenses, answered not one word, and sapt up this affront, because he was expelled out of *Rome*, and stood in fear of *Frederick*; And the French Kings brothers that were returned from the Holy Land had declared to him that they liked not his being at *Lions*, (e) *Because* (said they) the Pope by his covetousness was the cause of all the misfortune happened to the King; That he being corrupted with money had hindred the crossed men to come to the Kings help, absolving them from their vow, &c. For these causes *Innocent* preparing to change his abode, desired the

Lugdunensi. (d) p. 776. (e) Id. pag. 777. Imponabant illi dicti Regis fratres quod per avaritiam Papa totum eventum infortunium memoratum. Ipse enim Papa cruce signatus, ne in succursum Regis advenirent, pecunia corruptus impedivit.

(y) Martii.

Paris, p. 759.

Papa per literas suas, sicut

& ipse Rex

per verba

imperiosa

discrete sub

prea excom-

municationis

inhibuit, ne-

quis eorum

contra Regis

voluntatem

quatenusque

periculum

Rex Fran-

corum subiret;

aut discri-

men, trans-

fretaret.

(z) Idem.

P. 772.

(a) Martii.

Paris Ibid.

Heu! Heu!

quanta mala

nobis Papalis

superbia par-

turit, que

tam precaci-

ter Frederick

resistit humili-

liato, &c.

(b) ou Acre.

(c) pag.

773. Fred-

ricum, qui

solus inter

Christianos

tanti posset

mederi peri-

culis, ad pa-

cem Ecclesia

revocans hu-

milium ip-

sium ad hoc

induceret, ut

ipsi Regi jam

pene despera-

to succursum

competens

conferat &

festinum.

Aliaquin ipsi

Dux &

Comites Do-

minum Papam

tantum in

odio obstina-

tum & de

honore Christi-

ane fidei

minime co-

nvantem a

sede remove-

King of *England* to receive him into his City of *Bordeaux*. But the King would neither refuse nor grant, but put off his answer.

Then dyed that great and magnanimous Emperor *Frederick* the II. whose sons and his bones also remained excommunicate. *Conrad* son to the said *Frederick* maintained himself by arms in *Italy* against the Pope. The Pope to resist him caused the Croisada to be preacht against him, (f) giving to those that should take armes against *Conrad* the remission of all their sins, and more graces then to those that made the voyage of the Holy land. For not only he that crossed himself, but his Father and Mother obtained the remission of all their sins. Many Frenchmen bewitched with superstition crossed themselves for the Popes war against *Conrad*. But (g) *Queen Blanch* the Kings Mother and Regent in his absence, by the counsel of the Nobles seized upon the ettates of those crossed men. For they said, *This Pope to increase his dominion raiseth war against the Christians, and forsaketh the King our Lord who undergoeth so many adversities for the Christian faith.* And the *Queen* said, *Let them be paid by the Pope that fight for the Pope.* Also the mendicant Fryers that preacht that Croisada, and were the Popes receivers and Collectors were roughly dealt with. The Pope not speeding that way, and *Conrad* strengthening himself daily, that young Prince beloved and honoured of all was soon after poysoned, yet by the speedy help of Physitians he recovered.

Then (h) lived in *England* a good Prelat Bishop of *Lincoln*, who among the darkness of that age had a glimmering sight of the errors of Popery; and maintained that for promoting unworthy persons to Ecclesiastical charges, and for the horrible abuse of excommunications and the ill use of the keyes, the Pope was an heretick. He said that the Pope made no conscience to destroy souls, and therefore that he was the Antichrist. That Bishop (saith (i) *Matthew Paris*) grieving for the loss of souls by the covetousness of the Papal Court, would sigh and say, *Christ came into the world to gain souls, Then he that feareth not to destroy souls, ought he not justly to be called the Antichrist?* And he detested the Popes bulls in which this clause was contained, *quod in subsidium Terra sancta impendentes, tantundem recipient indulgentia, quantum pecunia largientur.* That they that contribute for the relief of the Holy land, shall receive as much indulgence, as they shall give money. He detested also that shamefull traffick, whereby the Pope bestowed a Bishoprick upon an ignorant man, and never made him Bishop, calling him elect only; (k) And in general the covetousness, the usury, the simony, the rapine, the luxury of all sorts, the impudicity, the gluttony, the magnificence in clothes that reigned in the Papal Court. Such were the discourses of that Prelat on his death-bed, and he foretold that the Church should not be delivered from the Egyptian bondage, but with the point of the sword. So dyed that Prelat.

But before he dyed, he writ letters full of admonitions unto the Pope; Which when the Pope had read, he said with a gasty squint look, and in terrible anger, (l) *Who is that old doting deaf and absurd fellow, who thus boldly and rashly gives his judgement of our actions?* By Peter and Paul, did not our natural ingenuity move us, I would cast down the man into such a confusion, that he should be a fable, an astonishment, an example, and a prodigy unto all the world. Is not the King of England our vassal, or rather our slave? He may imprison him by our commandment, and bring him to the lowest ignominy. Some Cardinals there present laboured to appease his Holiness. But the death of that Prelat put him out of the Popes power. It was not put to the question at Rome, whether he should be canonized after his death.

But when the Pope had a mind to command the Deane and Chapter of *Lincoln* to cast the bones of this Prelat out of the Church with shame, (m) *Matthew Paris*

(f) Id. pag. 800. Statuens retributionem mirabilem, omnium peccatorum remissionem ampliorum videlicet quam pro pergrinatione in terram sanctam faciendis. Nam si quis contra Conradum signaretur, signatus & signatus, pater & mater omnium peccatorum suorum veniam consequetur.
(g) Ibid.
(h) An. Christ. 1252.
(i) Matth. Paris in Henr. III. p. 847. & 848. Episcopus dolens de jactura animarum per Papalis Curie avaritiam suspirans ait, Christus venit in mundum ut animas lucraretur. Ergo si quis animas perdere non formidat, nonne Antichristus merito dicendus?
(k) Ibid. Omne genus avaritiae, usuram, simoniam & rapinam, omne genus luxuriae, libidinem, gulam & ornatum, quae in Curia illa regnant, detestaretur.
(l) Id. pag. 844. Quis est iste senex delirus, furvus, & absurdus, qui facta audax imo temerarius judicat? Per Petrum & Paulum, nisi moveret nos tanta ingenuitas, ipsum in tantam confusionem precipitarem, ut toti mundo fabula foret, super exemplum, & prodigium. Nonne Rex Anglorum noster est Vassalus, & ut plus dicam, mancipium?
(m) pag. 855, & 868.

faith that he appeared by night unto the Pope, and rebuked him with fearfull words; At which the Pope became in a manner halfe dead: And they that waited on him in his chamber had much ado to bring him to himself again. But he lived but a little while after this accident, and dyed of a pleuresie, sore pressed with a pain of his side in the same place where he said that the Bishop of Lincoln had hit him with the end of his staff.

King Conrad being dead in the flower of his age, his brother *Mamfred* succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*. And Pope *Alexander*, a hater by inheritance of the posterity of *Frederick* sent an army of threescore thousand men against him. But his army was beaten, and the Popes forces received many defeats. His remedy was to send Franciscan and Dominican Fryars about, to preach the Croisada against *Mamfred*, and promise to all that should help the Pope in that war the like graces and pardons as to those that should cross themselves against the Saracens. That Croisada being preacht in *England*, many (n) were offended that the like grace was given to those that should shed Christian blood as to those that should fight against the Infidels.

King *Henry* the III. had crossed himself a little before for the Holy Land, and had vowed with an oath to go in person. But Pope *Alexander* (o) gave power to his Legats to dispense him from keeping his oath, so that he would come into *Italie* to make war in person against *Mamfred* enemy of the Roman Church. Not that *Mamfred* was accused of any heresie, but because being victorious in war, he ran to the very gates of *Rome*. (p) In the mean while the Pope taxed every Bishoprick, Abbey, and Priory of *England* in summs that exceeded their whole revenue; And the remission of sins was sold to the people for ready money.

This King *Henry* the III. heard three Masses every day. Going through *France* (q) and discoursing with the good King *Lewis*, he told him of his devotion and assiduity to hear Masses: The good King rebuked him for it, and told him that he needed not to hear so many Masses, and that it had been far better to hear Sermons; shewing thereby that he had no great devotion to the Mass. But King *Henry* answered him that he had rather see his friend then to hear of him. (r) It was that Kings custome to make vowes and oaths according to the exigence of his busineses; then to obtain a dispensation from the Pope and permission to breake them. Wherein the Pope did willingly gratifie him, and never denied him a dispensation.

(s) After so much constant obedience to the Pope he was very near to have been excommunicated, but he prevented that thunderbolt by sending five thousand marks of silver to the Pope.

This poor-spirited King being gone, a generous and valiant King, prudent and beloved of his subjects came in his roome. This was *Edward* the first, who seeing his crown impoverished, and his people exhausted by the Popes extortions, made to himself amends with the goods of the Clergy; and despising the Popes Legats, and all his mandates made use of the revenue of Abbeys and Priors and other benefices, and retained for himself all the money that used to be sent to *Rome*. The Popes suffered it patiently, and durst not offend that warlike King, well beloved of his people. And so, under the following Kings, *England* was more or less subject unto the Popes, according as the Kings had more or less vigor. And the horrible schismes and confusions, whereby the Roman See was torn soon after, gave other busineses to the Popes.

This Narrative containing a summary of the Ecclesiastical history of *England*, from the beginning of the quarrels about the investitures (which began to grow hot in the year 1094. until *Alexander* the IV. who was made Pope in the

tem audire. (r) Matth. Paris, pag. 958. Rex juraverat provisiones Oxonienses se inviolabiliter servaturum, & penituerat eum jurasse talia, metuens notam perjurii misit ad Papam secreto rogans, ut ab hoc se juramento absolveret, quod facillime impetravit. (s) Matth. Paris pag. 950.

(n) Id. pag. 877. & 885. Mirabamur, quod Papa tantum eis promitteret pro sanguine Christianorum effundendo, quantum pro cruore Infidelium aliquando.

(o) Dedit eis potestatem absolvendam Dominum Regem Crucem signatum a voto suo, ne iret in terram Jerusalem, ita tamen ut iret in Apuliam.

(p) Matth. Paris p. 886.

(q) Matth. Paris Suppl. pag. 997. Contigit aliquando Ludovicum

Francorum Regem cum Henrico super hoc conferentem dicere, quod non semper missis sed frequentius sermonibus audiendis est vacandum; Cui faceta urbanitate respondens, ait, Se malle amicum suum videre, quam de eo loquenter

year 1254.) will serve as a scantling to shew the heaviness of the yoke of the Papal domination, how hard the bondage of *England* was, and how shameful the debasement of that illustrious Crown, in the time when the holy Scriptures being hidden unto the people, the Pope reigned in *England* with absolute power. The Sun-shine of the Gospel, which arose in *England* about seven-score years ago, hath scattered this darkness, and by destroying the error, hath also destroyed the servitude. So that in the Kingdom of *England*, which God was pleased to favour with inestimable graces, our Saviours saying was fulfilled. *You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free*, Joh. 8.

In this relation, I have followed the history of *Matthew Paris*, both because he was a superstitious Monk, not to be suspected in this cause, and because he writ exactly, the things which he saw himself. *Matthew of Westminster*, another English Monk, which was almost his contemporary, relates much the same things. And most part of that which we have here related, is found in the Annals of *Baronius*, in the Chronicle of *Genebrard*, and in many Authors of the Roman Church.

CHAP. 12.

In what sense the word Penitence is taken in Scripture, and in the Fathers.

AS the word *Pœnitere* in Latine, signifieth *to repent*, so the word *Pœnitentia*, signifieth *repentance*. But it is proper unto false Religions, to change vertues into Ceremonies, and spiritual Ornaments into bodily exercise. As flatterers use more cringes and more fair words, then true friends, so superstition hath more outward shew then true Religion.

Hence comes the depravation of the words and language of the Holy Ghost. Thus to obey Christs commandment of bearing the Cross, that is, suffering afflictions for his cause, they carry a Cross in procession, or hang a little Cross upon their belly, although the belly be an enemy to the Cross of Christ: Thus the *Come ye unto me*, of the Gospel, is changed into pilgrimages. And to be made like little children, the Monachal *beggin* was invented. And because Christ said, *I am the light of the world*, they light candles in the day time. They that bear some words of the Gospel hanging at their neck, dare not read the Gospel; and words of instruction, are changed into a kind of charm and preservative. Little balls threaded together, are called (a) *Our father*: And the vertue of prayer, which ought to consist in faith, directed by intelligence, consisteth now in a repetition, by a precise number, of the same prayer. Popery, by increasing Ceremonies, hath put out Piety: And by amusing the eyes, and exercising the hands, hath laid the conscience asleep. As when shadows grow, the night draws near; when the shadows of Ceremonies multiply, you may say, that for certain the night of dark ignorance is advancing apace.

The doctrine of Penitence was corrupted in the same manner, for whereas doing penitence according to the language of Scripture, and according to truth, is nothing else but repenting of ones sins; the Roman Church by *penitence*, (which the English Romanists corruptly call *penances*) understands scourging, fasting, pilgrimages, and pecuniary pains, which the penitent undergoeth to satisfy Gods justice, after the sin is pardoned. Wherefore *Bellarmino* saith (b) that *penitence is not necessary to all men, but only to sinners*: As if all men were not sinners, or, as if any could be saved without repentance. Holy Scripture speaks not so. When Scripture saith that the *Ninivites* did penitence, the Holy Ghost means that they (c) amended their lives; for the Greek word that Christ useth, signifieth that they corrected themselves, and altered their mind, and changed their spirit

(a) *Pater noster.*

(b) *Bellar.*
lib. 1. de
Pœnitentia
cap. 17.
lect. Addc.
(c) *μαρτυ-
ριον.*
Mat. 12. 41.

and

and will. Fasting, sackcloth, and ashes, which they added to their inward sorrow, were not penitence or repentance; but only outward signs and helps of repentance. Thus when Christ saith, that the people (d) of Tyre and Sidon would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes, he understands not that sackcloth and ashes were penitence it self, but that the Tyrians would have testified their repentance by these exterior signs, usual with them and other Nations of the East. And the word *השובה* (e) which we translate *penitence* or *repentance*, signifieth a return, or a conversion, not a bodily punishment, and pecuniary fines. The Apostle Peter doth clearly express this, *Acts* 3. 19. *Repent and be converted.* Where he shews that penitence or repentance consisteth in conversion. And the Spirit of God, *Rev.* 2. 4. complaineth that the Ephesians had left their first Charity, then he tells them, (g) *Age pœnitentiam & prima opera fac.* (f) *Repent and do the first works;* shewing evidently, that *agere pœnitentiam*, doing penitence, or repenting, is doing the first works that we had neglected before.

Thus 2 *Chron.* 6. 24. these words according to the vulgar version, *Si conversi egerint pœnitentiam, if converting themselves they do penitence*, shew that true penitence consisteth in conversion. And 2 *Chron.* 7. 14. *Si populus egerit pœnitentiam à visis pessimis; If the people do penitence from their wicked ways;* So then doing penitence, is turning away from evil, to follow good works. And when Christ said (h) that he came to call sinners to repentance, or penitence, he means not that he came to call men to bear satisfactory pains, but to amend their lives. And, *Rev.* 9. 20. *Non egerunt pœnitentiam, they repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship Devils and Idols, &c.* For then an idolater doth the works of penitence, when he forsakes idols, to adhere to the true God. But the Pope hath changed amendment of life, into torment, and corporal, and pecuniary pains, because such a penitence is lucrative unto the Clergy, and raiseth their authority. And with such a penitence the Pope may dispense, but cannot dispense with amendment of life, and conversion to God.

Wherefore Pope Leo the X. and the Fathers of the last Council of Lateran, declare open war against God, when (in the Bull *Exurge*, which is in the end of the Council) they put among the blasphemies and heresies of Luther, that he had said that (i) *the best penitence was a new life*, that is, that the most acceptable penitence unto God, is to amend ones life, leaving wicked ways, and embracing virtue and the fear of God. By pronouncing an *anathema* against Luther for speaking so, they excommunicate Christ, and the Apostles and Prophets, who have spoken the same language, as we have seen. These Prelates then should have told us, what penitence is better then a better life. Did they believe that self-whipping, or abstaining from flesh, or pilgrimage, or giving to the Church (that is, to the Fryars) are better things then to live holily, and depart from evil? Who knows not that these outward exercises may be done with hypocrisie, and that the Pagans and Mahumetans exceed the Christians in these austerities? But the true amendment of life alone, and without these outward penances, is profitable and acceptable unto God, but the outward penances without a new heart, and without amendment, are a masked prophaneness, whereby a man playeth a pageant before God, and payeth him in cringes, putting on the out-side of devotion before God, not to please God but men. *Bodily exercise profiteth little*, (saith the Apostle) *but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.*

Contrition of heart never makes a man proud, since it consisteth in humiliation, but outward penances puff up many men with pride, and some will boast of their humility, even so far as to believe that God is in their debt, and that they have satisfactions to spare. It is the instruction of Hierom to Eustochium, (k) *Seek not to appear more humble then thou needest, neither seek glory by flying glory, desiring to please, even in that thou despisest to please, &c. Let not that breed boasting in thee, that thou hast despised the boasting of this world.* And upon the death of Blefilla, (l) *In many persons humility in clothes, is a sign of a proud*

quod sæculi jactantiam contempsisti. (l) De obitu Blefilla, *Humilitas vestium in plerisque tumentes*

(d) Matth.

11. 21. *πῶ-**λαὶ οὐ γὰρ**συνέδωκεν**ἐν σάκκῳ**καὶ σινδῶνι*

(e) 1 King.

8. 47.

2 Chron.

6. 24. 7. 24.

Jer. 18. 8.

Joel 2. 11.

Ezech. 18.

21. 30.

(f) *μετα-**νοήσατε ὅτι**ἐν τῇ σάκκῳ**καὶ ἐν τῇ σινδῶνι**ἐστὶν ἡ μετανοία*

(h) Matth.

9. 13.

(i) Optima

*pœnitentia**novæ vitæ.*

1 Tim. 4. 8.

(k) Hier.

ad Eustoch.

de cult. virg.

*Nec velis**videri plus**humilis quam**neceffe est,**nec gloriam**fulgendo**queras hoc**ipso cupiens**placere quod**placere**temnis, &c.**Nec hoc ipsum**tibi jactanti-**am generes,*

mind. There is an arrogant humility. Many stoop that they may rise. Some being lean with fasting, yet are puffed up with pride. Vices will nestle themselves even among sackcloth and ashes. Some that scourge their sides as if they were angry with themselves, flatter themselves in their heart with an imagination, that they have attained a great perfection. Such are those especially, that whip themselves for others; for they believe that they have merits to spare for their neighbours. But this is true penitence, when a man hiding his penitence before men, discovereth it before God, whereby a man makes God the only witness of his tears, and seeks to please him by amendment of life. Such a penitence is a sacrifice of sweet savour before God. And it is the true receipt to mortify sin, and quell the heat of lust. God by his wisdom having so disposed it, that as sin hath brought sorrow into the world, so sorrow should kill sin, tearing by an holy parricide, the womb that bore her. This (by Pope Leo's leave) is better then whipping ones self in publick, either for himself or for another. The true way to please God, is not that a man torment his body, but that he change his heart. God forgiveth him that condemneth himself. By a mortal war against our vices, we keep peace with God.

CHAP. 13.

In what sense the words Penitence and Satisfaction, are taken in the writings of the Fathers, and that the Penitence of the ancient Church, is much different from the penitences of the Roman Church.

THIS word *Penitence* is taken two wayes, in the writings of the Fathers; Sometimes in a proper, sometimes in a figurative sense.

Penitence in the proper sense, is a change of the sinner, consisting in sorrow for sins past, and in amendment for the time to come.

(a) Dist. 3.
de Pœnitentia
Can. Pœnitentia.
Pœnitentia
est mala
præterita
plangere, &
plangenda
iterum non
committere.
(b) Dist. 3.
Can. Satisfactio.
Satisfactio
pœnitentiæ
est peccatorum
causas
excindere,
nec earum
suggestionibus
aditum in-
dulgere.

The Roman Decree, in the third Distinction of Penitence, and Lombard in the fourth Book, in the fourteenth Distinction, bring many texts of the Antients, which give the definition of Penitence. They alleadge this sentence of Ambrose, (a) *Penitence is to weep for sins past, and to do no more, things that we should weep for.* And this of Austin, (b) *The satisfaction of penitence, is to cut off the causes of sins, and to give no more access to their suggestions.* And of (c) Gregory the I. *To do penitence, is to lament the faults committed, and to commit no more, things that need to be lamented.* And of Smaragdus, (d) *That man doth penitence worthily, that so lamenteth the evils committed, that he committeth no more for the future.* They alleadge also Austin in the Book of Soliloquies, (e) *That Penitence is vain, that is defiled with following sins.*

Ambrose in the second Book of Penitence, chap. 10. saith that *we do penitence, cum dolemus admissa, admittenda excludimus, when we are sorry for sins committed, and exclude those which we might commit in the time to come.* This language is consonant to that of Scripture, and to the nature of true penitence, and agreeth with the etymologie of the word. For the word *penitence*, signifieth *repentance*: Now that man is not truly repenting, who continueth to do evil. And when all is said, true penitence consisteth in amendment of life.

But the Fathers often will take the word *Penitence* in a figurative sense, using that common and familiar Metonymie, whereby the name of the thing signified is given unto the sign. As when we say, that a man is mourning, when he weareth clothes that are signs of mourning.

(c) Eadem
Dist. Can.

Pœnitentiam. Pœnitentiam agere est & perpetrata plangere & plangenda non perpetrare. (d) Ead. Dist. Can. Ille. Ille pœnitentiam dignè agit, qui sic præterita mala deplorat, ut futura iterum non committat. (e) Eadem Dist. Can. Inanis. Inanis pœnitentia, quam sequens culpa coinquinat.

Thus

Thus words that shew joy, are called joy, and *faith* is taken often for the profession and confession of Faith. In the same manner we say, that a man doth penitence in the Church, when in the presence of the Church he giveth signs of penitence. It is so, that the Fathers call penitence the outward signs, and publick professions of repentance; and call those Penitents that make publick profession in the Church, that they are Penitents, although very often their heart be not touched with any repentance. For the same reason the Fathers call *Penitence*, the exemplary pain which a sinner cut off from the Communion, bore in publick for a time prefixed by the Ecclesiastical Canons, before he could be reconciled with the Church.

That publick penance is also called (f) *exomologesis*, that is, *confession*, because the penitent sinner did publickly confess his sin. Wherein the Novarians were different from the Orthodox: For they received not those that were slain, to publick penitence, and kept them for ever out of the Communion.

(g) *Tertullian* hath writ a Book of Penitence, and *Ambrose* two, where they call Penitence a second remedy after Baptism, and as it were a second plank after the shipwrack. (h) *Hierom* saith the same. (i) *Tertullian* and *Ambrose* hold, that publick penance cannot be done but once, and that a man who after he hath fulfilled his penitence, falls into sin again, can no more be received to do penitence: Wherein they use too much rigor.

But that Penitence of the Antients, had nothing common with the penitences of the Roman Church of this time. For the penitence which the Fathers speak of, was publick, and was done according to the publick Constitutions and Ecclesiastical Canons, but the penitences of the Roman Church are enjoyed in private, and according to the Confessors discretion. 1. For although the Council of *Trent* approve publick penitences, yet they are no more practised in the Roman Church, as all they that have written of, that matter freely acknowledge. 2. The ancient penitence was accomplished before the absolution, or reconciliation to the Church. But the penitences and satisfactions of the Roman Church, commonly are fulfilled after absolution. 3. In old time, while a sinner was accomplishing the time of his penitence, he was not received to the Communion. But in the Roman Church, a penitent is admitted to the Sacrament, while he is performing his penitence. 4. All the penitence of the Antients, consisted only in the publick shame, and in the suspension and removing from the communion for a certain time, not in whipping, or pilgrimages, or fasts enjoyed by a Confessor, or pecuniary pains, or rehearsing of the seven *Psalms*, or saying a limited number of *Pater's*, interlaced with *Ave's*, in an unknown tongue. What was the countenance, and what the humiliation of the old penitents, *Tertullian* teacheth us, in chap. 13. of the Book of Pudicity, and in the Book of Penitence, in the ninth chapter. 5. In those dayes penitence was not done by Attorney, and a man whipt not himself, and fasted not for another. 6. Neither were corporal pains changed into pecuniary. 7. And one Confessor did not change the penance enjoined by another. 8. It is to be noted, that in the writings of the Fathers, the word *Penitence* is found in the singular only, because Penitence in their time was simple, and consisted only in publick humiliation. They did not yet know those pye-bald penances, consisting in so many Articles, as those which we have seen before, when a penitent is enjoined to fast so many dayes, to ride neither in a coach nor on horse-back, to eat the leavings of Grey-hounds, and to receive so many lashes singing melodiously. 9. If any penitent to the publick penitence added private fasts, and more frequent prayers, it was done by a voluntary humiliation, not by the injunction of a Confessor. 10. In the writings of the Antients, no mention is found of a Sacrament of Penitence, composed with four pieces, Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction and Absolution, whereof the three first are the matter, and the fourth the form. This came out of the forge of Schoolmen, who going about to polish Popery, and to give it a form, have beset it with thorns, and have smothered the truth. And that this doctrine was unknown among the Antients, it appeareth by the Books which *Tertullian* and *Ambrose*

(f) *Tertul.*
de poenit.

cap. 12.

Si de exomologesi retractas.

(g) *Tertul.*
de poenit.

cap. 4.

Pœnitentiam ita invade, ut naufragus tabulam.

Et cap. 12.

Esse in exomologesi secunda subsidia.

(h) *Hieron.*
ad Demetriadem.

Quasi secunda post naufragium miseris tabula.

(i) *Tertul.*
de Poenit.

cap. 7.

Ambros. l. 2.

de Poenit.

cap. 10.

Sicut unum Baptisma, ita una poenitentia que publice agitur.

writ

writ of penitence, where for examples of penitence, they bring the Ninivites, and the Israelites, whom God hath so often summoned and invited to repentance, and the Jews, whom *John the Baptist* exhorted to penitence, and Saint *Peter* who lamented for his sin; whereas our Adversaries hold, that in those dayes the Sacrament of Penitence was not yet instituted. 11. I pass by a multitude of errors about Contrition, as that which the Doctors commonly teach, that Contrition is the meritorious cause of Justification, and deserves it, at least by congruity. 12. That Attrition is an imperfect Contrition, proceeding not out of the love of God, but out of fear to be punished: That such an Attrition is good, and that by the Absolution, the Attrition goeth for Contrition, as the Council of *Trent* teacheth, in Session 14. chap. 4. and *Bellarmino* in the second Book of Penitence, chap. 17, 18. 13. That it is not necessary to have contrition for venial sins, and that one may be absolved from them; though he be not contrite and sorry in his heart for them, as *Tolet* teacheth in the third Book of the Instruction of Priests, chap. 5. sect. 2. And many the like doctrines, of which there is no trace, neither in the Word of God, nor in the Fathers.

It remains to say something of the sense, in which the Fathers have taken this word Satisfaction. The holy Scripture speaks not of satisfaction towards God: But the Latine Fathers use that language many times, according to the style of the Jurisconsults, who speak of satisfying for debts by paying, and for injuries, by craving forgiveness.

The satisfactions of which the Fathers speak, are either towards God, or towards the Church. Publick penitences were satisfactory towards the Church, and reparations of the scandal. So did *Austin* understand it, in chap. 65. of his Manual to *Laurentius*, (k) *The times of penitence are with good reason constituted by those that govern the Church, to satisfy the Church also, in which only sins are remitted.* This must be carefully observed, because our Adversaries alledge indifferently the testimonies of the Fathers, in which it is spoken of satisfaction, not discerning whether they speak of satisfaction to God, or to the Church.

The same Fathers speak often of satisfying God, but they speak after the style of the Jurisconsults, which is also usual among the people, for by Satisfaction, they understand acknowledging a fault in words, and asking pardon. (1) *Ambrose* who had been the Emperors Lieutenant in *Lombardy*, and Judge of his Courts, understood the terms of Judicature, when he said, *Lachrymas Petri lego, satisfactionem non lego*; that is, *I read of Peters tears, but I read not of his satisfaction.* He saith that, because the Gospel relates that *Peter* wept, but saith not that he craved pardon, or that he confessed his sins. For taking the word satisfaction, for humbling ones soul after the sin committed, in that sense tears are a satisfaction. And the same Father in the second Book of Penitence, chap. 10. speaking of the satisfaction which is done for offences unto men, saith, that to make satisfaction, a man will humble himself, kiss the offended persons feet, and send his innocent children to ask pardon.

Cyprian hath many such passages: As in the twelfth Epistle, (m) *Watching for the satisfaction which is made unto God, and for prayer.* And in the 52. Epistle, (n) *Trophimus returning to the Church and satisfying, and by the penitence of prayer confessing his sin.* And in the 55. Epistle, (o) *They hinder that pardon be obtained of Christ by prayers and satisfactions.* And in the book of the unity of the Church, (p) *They pray to God by full satisfactions.* In all these places and many more, it is evident that satisfactions are prayers, whereby the sinner confesseth his sin, and craveth pardon. And the same Father, towards the end of the book to *Demetrian* a Pagan. (q) *We exhort you to satisfy God.* There these words satisfy God, cannot signifie paying a recompence to God for the temporal pain. For according to the doctrine of the Roman Church, that exhortation cannot be made to a Pagan, who is bound to eternal pain.

Tertulian in the book of Penitence, *Satisfactio confessione disponitur*, Satisfaction is prepared by Confession. This Doctor was learned in the Roman Laws, and

(k) *Relle
constituntur
ab iis qui Ec-
clesie pre-
sunt tempora
penitentia, ut
fiat etiam
satis Ecclesie,
in qua sola
peccata rem-
ittuntur.*

(1) *Dist. 1.
de Penit.
Can. Petrus.*

(m) *Ep. 12.
Sect. 1. In
satisfactione
Dei & de-
precatione
vigilare.*

(n) *Ep. 52.
Sect. 6.*

*Redeunt ad
Ecclesiam
Trophimus &
satisfaciunt
& penitentia
deprecationis
errorem pri-
mum confi-
tente.*

(o) *Epist.
55. Sect. 13.*

*Intecedunt,
ne exorcetur
precibus &
satisfactioni-
bus Christus.*

(p) *Lib. de
unit. Eccles.
cap. 17.*

*Deum plen-
is satisfactioni-
bus deprecant-
ur.*

(q) *Ad
Demetria-
num. Hor-
tamur dum
facultas adest,
dum aduc-
de saculo
superest, Deo
satisfacere.*

and knew that satisfaction is made for offences, by confessing the offence, and asking pardon.

Sometimes the Fathers say, that by amendment of life, and by good works, satisfaction is made unto God, meaning that it is a course acceptable unto God, as *Lactantius* saith. *The man may be brought back and delivered, (r) if he repent of his acts, and being turned to better things, make satisfaction unto God.*

If any places of the Fathers be found, where they will have us to redeem and expiate our sins our own selves; (s) as when *Ambrose* saith, *Have thou money? redeem thy sin, &c. A mans wealth is his redemption.* We reverence the antients so much, as to bear with these improper expressions, not believing that ever they believed that a mans money can be the redemption of his sin. And when the same *Ambrose* saith to *Valentinian*, *In me redemptorem sperabas, Thou dost hope that I should be thy redeemer;* and praiseth that Emperor because he called him his Redeemer; that expression and the like, must be corrected by other expressions of his, in which he acknowledgeth no other price of our redemption, but the death of Christ. By redeeming our own sins, he understood only correcting or bringing our selves to a better course. Of which signification, we have brought many examples out of Scripture. *Ambrose*, who is the most licentious of all the Fathers in those expressions, shews evidently, that by redemption from sin, he understands a deliverance by amendment, and inward regeneration. For these are his words, in chap. 15. of the first book of Penitence, (t) *By the tears of the people and by prayers, they are redeemed from sin, and cleansed in the inward man.* This Father is so far from understanding by satisfactions, the torments of Purgatory, that in the same book (u) he maintains that the souls separate from the bodies, cannot be tormented. But our Adversaries gather up the faults of the Fathers, and leave out their virtues; Like flies, that will chuse scabs, rather than the sound parts of a body to sit upon. They make use of these improper terms, to perswade men that they are their own redeemers, and that sins are redeemed with money. May we not obtain so much of these Gentlemens kindness, that this honour be deferred unto the eternal Son of God, to have the title of Redeemer attributed unto him alone? Is not this a truth worth dying for? Is it not better to suffer all things, then to impart that praise to any creature, or to believe that all the money of the world is sufficient to be the redemption for one sin?

(r) Laet. lib. 6. de vero cultu, cap. 24. Si cum penitentat actorum, & ad meliora conversus satisfaciatur Deo.
(s) Amb. de Helia & Jejunio c. 20. Pecuniam habes? redime peccatum tuum, &c. redemptio viri divitiarum ejus.
(t) Orat. onibus & fletibus plebis redimitur à peccato, & in homine mundatur interiore.
(u) Ambros. lib. 1. de poenit. c. 17. cum manifestum sit neque animam sine carne neque

carnem sine anima, cum sibi sint gestorum operum consortiis copulata, suae consortio vel poena esse vel praemii.



Ninth Controversie,
OF THE
SEVENTH BOOK.

Of the
NECESSITY
OF
BAPTISM.

CHAP. I.

Cardinal da Perron's reason for the absolute necessity of Baptism. Examination of the doctrine of the Church of Rome upon that point. How they abuse this text, John 3. 5. Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.



HE dispute about the necessity of Baptism with water, might easily be composed, if we had to do with equitable persons. For while the Romaniſts accuse us to have taken away the necessity of Baptism, themselves say such things as make it unnecessary. And setting forth our doctrine in odious terms, they fight against *Chimera's* of their own making. Yea, it will be found, that instead of impugning our cause, they defend it.

Pag. 672.

Cardinal *du Perron* treats this question in the sixth Chapter of his third Observation. *It is made plain enough (saith he) by the precedent reply, that we tie not the power of Gods grace to that means, (that is, to Baptism with water) since God might have saved us, if it had been his pleasure, without any of those means which he instituted.* These means are the death of Christ, the preaching of the Gospel, the Sacraments, Faith in Christ, repentance, and study of good works. The Cardinal saith, that God might have saved us without any of these means, if it had been his

his pleasure, and thereby he pretends to shew that the Roman Church holds not the Baptism with water to be of simple and absolute necessity; since God could save us without that, as well as without all the other means. Upon this then he grounds the necessity of the Baptism of Infants. *We eye (saith he) the effect of Gods grace to his own protestations, that is, to the means without which he protested that he would not give it; namely, before all things to faith in Christ, and to Baptism; of which he said, He that believeth not in the only Son of God, is judged already; And except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.*

In these words there is either much ignorance or much foule dealing. For he conceiveth amiss of the necessity of the means of our salvation, that puts Baptism with water in equal degree of necessity with the other means without which none can be saved. Without the merit of Christs death none can come to salvation; and of all them to whom the Gospel is announced, none are saved but such as believe in the Gospel; but an infinite number of persons are saved without the Baptism of water, as the Cardinal acknowledgeth in the following lines, in which he saith, (a) that *Baptism may be supplied by faith, and by the vow of Baptism*. This cannot be said of faith in Christ, which cannot be supplied by Baptism nor by the vow of believing or being baptised. These very texts which he alleadgeth shew how the necessity of those two things is unequal. For Scripture saith that whosoever believeth in Christ shall be saved, but saith not that whosoever is baptised shall be saved. And our Adversaries confess that many adult persons shall be saved without Baptism with water, if they have but the vow, that is the desire and the will to be baptised.

The (*) Cardinal asketh his Majesty of great Britain, *With what conscience the Church of England can communicate with the Protestants of France which differ from her in a point so important to salvation?* The difference he finds between the English and us consisteth in two points; The one, that the Protestants of France (if he must be believed) deny the necessity of Baptism; The other that they deny that Baptism conferreth grace, but affirme only that it signifieth grace, and say that it is not unto them a means of salvation but only a sign. Whereupon he chargeth us in odious terms, *that we frustrate children in case of danger of the only way which God hath instituted unto them to attain salvation.*

This man speaks according to his custome, that is, against his conscience, attributing such things to us which he knoweth that we believe not. For we hold that it is necessary in the Christian Church to baptise. It is necessary to obey Christs command, *Go Baptise all nations, &c.* Also we believe Baptism to be of such necessity, that one that should despise Baptism, and not care to be baptised, could not be saved. Circumcision was of the like necessity, for whosoever despised it, God declareth that he should be cut off from his people. The question is only whether in case of impossibility of being baptised, a man is therefore excluded from the Kingdom of heaven. We agree with our Adversaries about adult persons, that in case of impossibility they may be saved without Baptism. And it is well that so much is granted already. The difference then is only about infants that dye without Baptism, our Adversaries send them into a Limbus, of which the word of God saith nothing, and (b) exclude them for ever from the Kingdom of heaven. To prove the necessity of Baptism of water unto little children they bring but one text which speaks of adult persons. For when Christ said, *Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*, he spake to Nicodemus; who, because he was old, asked *How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mothers womb?* And it is certain that Christ in that place speaks of a second birth without which Nicodemus could not be saved; To whom nevertheless Baptism was not necessary because he was circumcised. Our Adversaries themselves say that he might be saved without Baptism, if he had dy-

(a) Thomas in Joh. 6. Lect. 7. Oportet quod Sacramentum baptismatis habeatur in re, vel in voto. Eadem habet part 3. Sum. q. 68. Art. 2. Et in Joh. 3. ait. Baptismus esse necessarium vel in re, vel in voto, vel in figura. * Pag. 672.

(b) Catech. Trid. cap. de Baptismo dicit. Omnes homines nisi per Baptismi gratiam renascantur, in sempiternam miseriam & interium a parentibus procreantur.

ed before he could be baptised; and that before Christs resurrection, Baptism was not necessary to salvation.

In the second place Monsieur *du Perron* attributes unto us a doctrine remote from our belief, making us say that we denie, that Baptism conferreth grace to little children, and that we say only that it signifieth grace. It is not so. For although it be hard for us to define how, and how far Baptism worketh with efficacy in little children, yet we doubt not of the vertue thereof, nor of the remission of original sin which is applyed and ratified in the same. Neither do we reduce it to a bare and ineffectual signification. God in his own time makes the godly sensible of the fruit of their Baptism, and of the effects of that Covenant of which they have received the seal.

That which the Cardinal addeth [that *Baptisme is the only means which God hath given to Infants to attain salvation*] cannot subsist. For the death of Christ, and Gods promise, that he will be our God, and of our seed, are also means which serve for the salvation of our children, and are far above Baptism, both in excellency and necessity.

Our adversaries to prove the necessity of the Baptism of water, bring the example of Circumcision of which it is said, *Gen. 17. 14. that every uncircumcised male shall be cut off from his people*, but they fraudently omit the following words, *for he hath broken my Covenant*; Words which cannot belong but to adult persons, and teach us that God punished the contempt of Circumcision, not the privation in case of impossibility.

Also they dispute thus, *Every means which God useth to sanctifie and save us, is necessary to salvation. But the Baptism of water is a means which God useth to sanctifie and save us, as St. Paul teacheth us; Eph. 5. 25, & 26. Christ gave himself for his Church, that he might sanctifie and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word. And Tit. 3. 5. He saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the holy Ghost. Then the washing of water is necessary to salvation.*

Of this argument the first proposition is false, for God useth many means to sanctifie and save us, as the holy Communion, and miracles and afflictions and persecutions for the Gospel, without which things nevertheless many are saved. As for the second proposition we have great reason to make a question, whether by the washing of regeneration, whereby the Apostle saith that God hath sanctified and saved his Church, the Baptism of water must be understood? For within that Church the Church of the Old Testament is also comprehended, which was not baptised with water: And our Adversaries confesse that many are saved, which are not baptised with water: Very often in Scripture remission of sins, and regeneration is compared to washing with water, *Isa. 1. 16. Zech. 1. 13. Ezek. 36. 25.*

As for the text of *John 3. 5. Except a man be born again, and Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*, whereby they will establish the necessity of Baptism, I will not oppose the opinion of many Antients who hold that in this text the Baptism of water is understood; But I wonder how our Adversaries forgetting themselves make this Baptism of water unnecessary, saying that there is a Baptism of Blood, and a Baptism of the Spirit, which may be instead of the Baptism of water. I wonder noless that they consider not that Christ speaks to *Nicodemus* in this text, and declareth to him, that though he be old, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God unless he be born again, and yet themselves hold that *Nicodemus* might be saved without the Baptism of water, because he was circumcised, and that Baptism was not yet necessary at that time, *Hinckmar* in the book of the fifty five chapters, ch. 47. expoundeth thus this text. (c) *Except a man be born again of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, that is, Except he be born again by the invisible grace with the visible Sacrament, or by the invisible grace without the visible Sacrament.*

It were easie to come out of this difficulty, if they would use here the same discretion

(c) Pag. 243.
Nisi quis renatus fuerit, &c. Scilicet aut invisibili gratia cum visibili Sacramento, aut invisibili gratia sine visibili Sacramento.

cretion as in expounding *John* 6. 53. *Except you eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you*, a text speaking as they think of the necessity of the Eucharist. There they restrain Christs words to the persons that have age, capacity, and opportunity to receive the holy Sacrament. Why shall we not say the same here, that Christ speaks to persons come to an age capable of instruction, and that have the opportunity to be baptised, who cannot be saved if they despise Baptism? (d) So much *Lombard* acknowledgeth saying, that this must be understood of those who having the opportunity to be baptized despise Baptisme. But to exclude infants from the Kingdom of Heaven, if they dye when they are carried to Baptism, or if their Parents take no care that they be baptized, it is a tenet ill sorting with the wisdom and goodness of God: For God tyeth not his grace unto the element, as if he could not or would not save without washing with water. Neither is it suitable with his wisdom to make the salvation of children to depend upon the will of another; For according to the Cardinals doctrine, he that hath a child dying in his power, may save or damn that soul; For if it pleaseth him to baptise that child, he shall be saved, but if he will not baptise him, he shutteth the gate of Paradise against him, and excludes him for ever from the Kingdom of heaven. By this means eternal election shall depend upon the provision of Baptism, and it shall be in mens power to make it void.

(d) Lomb.
lib. 4. Sent.
Dist. 4. li-
tera E.

This also is repugnant to the goodness and justice of God, to exclude an infants soul from salvation for the fault of another; *The son shall not bear the iniquity of the Father*, *Ezek.* 18. 20.

In the fourth ch. of *Exodus* God offereth to punish *Moses* for neglecting his sons circumcision, but he offereth not to punish the child. If Circumcision, which under the old Covenant held the place of Baptism, had been absolutely necessary to salvation, God would not have deferred it till the eighth day, before which so many children dye. If it was of that absolute necessity, we must say, that all the women of *Israel*, and so many men born and dead in the wilderness in the space of forty years without circumcision, and the converted *Ninivites* were excluded from eternal salvation. It is not credible that God made the condition of his Church worse under the New Testament; Which should be, if before the coming of Christ the godly might be saved without any Sacrament. But now their salvation is made to depend upon the Baptism of water, of which many are deprived for want of possibility, and from the Priests intention which must be presumed by conjecture, and a soul may be damned by the negligence of another.

God said to *Abraham*, *I will be a God unto thee and to thy seed after thee*, *Gen.* 17. 7. How many persons of his seed are dead without circumcision, of whom nevertheless God declareth himself to be the God and the Saviour.

The Prophet *Jeremy* was sanctified from the womb and before he was born, as God himself told him, *Jer.* 1. 5. The same is said of *John the Baptist*. *Cornelius* and his family received the Holy Ghost before they were baptised, *Act.* 10. 47, & 48. All these were sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and by consequent capable of salvation before they received any Sacrament. Whence it followeth that neither Circumcision nor Baptism were unto them necessary for Salvation.

Act. 2. 39. *St. Peter* saith to the Jews, *The promise is unto you and to your children*; Now the children not yet baptised, were no less their children then after Baptism.

1 Cor. 7. 14. *St. Paul* speaking of a husband and wife, one of which is a Christian, the other an Infidel, saith that their children are holy, *Else* (saith he) *your children were unclean but now they are holy*. If when one party only is believing, the children are holy, that is, consecrated to God, how much more when the child hath two believing persons for his Parents?

Upon that text the Cardinal labours very much to find what the word *Holy* Pag. 671.

Q q q q 2

importeth,

importeth, and according to his custom he clogs his own way with troublesome distinctions saying that there is a legal and an Evangelical pollution, one absolute, another relative, one in it self, another in relation to another, one in the being, another in the use. He taketh a long way beset with thorns, having a plain and easie way at hand. For what he saith, comes to the same thing that we say, but he is ashamed to borrow it from us, namely, that the children of believers are dedicated and consecrated unto God, and esteemed to be of his people; in the same manner as all the people of *Israel* was holy, and the Temple, and the Sabbath, and the victims; Which holiness neither in infants, nor in adult persons doth necessarily import salvation.

Pag. 674.

By the way I comprehend not why the Cardinal corrupts this text, and instead of saying with *St. Paul*, *now your children are holy*, saith *your children are clean*.

And whereas our Adversaries hold, that the Baptism of blood serveth instead of the Baptism with water, let them tell us whether that Baptism of blood be a Sacrament or no, if it be a Sacrament, hangmen have conferred it, who yet had no intention to confer it. And if in a person not baptised with water, martyrdom is a Sacrament, shall the same martyrdom in a baptised person be also a Sacrament? For if it be so, that person hath twice received the Sacrament of Baptism; or if it be not so, it will follow, that in one, martyrdom is a Sacrament, in another, it is not.

And since the satisfactions, fasts, and self-whippings of Dominick and Francis may be imputed to others, and in the Roman Church one whips himself for another; if the father makes a vow to cause himself to be baptised, why may not that vow be imputed to the child? especially seeing that in Baptism the Godfathers answer for the child, and the Priest asking the child whether he believeth and renounceth the world and the Devil, the Godfather answereth for the child, *Credo & Abrenuntio*. If the child in Baptism believe by Attorney, why may he not also vow by Attorney? Whereas also the Roman Church holds that for want of Baptism the vow is sufficient, let them tell us whether by that vow original sin be blotted out, for if it be not blotted out by that vow, it followeth that the person not baptised cannot be saved by that vow; But if the vow of Baptism blots out original sin, it will follow that the Baptism received after the vow, doth not blot out original sin, and by consequent becomes useles. For one cannot blot out that which is blotted out already, nor take away a spot which is no more.

What may be the reason why the Roman Church will have God to be more rigid to little children, then to adult persons, of whom they hold that they may be saved without Baptism? Why may not God save infants without Baptism, by the efficacy of his Spirit working in them? especially seeing that the Roman Church holds, that by the Baptism of infants, their original sin is not only remitted but also wholly blotted out, and that they are made altogether pure and without sin; by which doctrine they acknowledge that infants are capable of a perfect regeneration.

And seeing that to children dead without Baptism the Romanists appoint an underground dungeon which they call Limbus; we desire to know of them what quarters the Roman Church assigneth for them after the day of Judgment when the earth shall be no more? and whether they shall rise again with others? what sentence the Judge shall give about them? and whether they shall be placed at the Lords right hand or at the left? For of all that no more then of Limbus Scripture speaks never a word, and it belongs to them that have forged that Limbus to instruct us about these difficulties.

Besides since many children not baptized have suffered martyrdom, as the new born infants which *Herod* caused to be slain at *Bethlehem* whom the Roman Church puts indifferently among Saints and Martyrs, how doth that agree with their doctrine, that the Baptism of water is absolutely necessary to infants, and (as the Cardinal saith) that it is the only way that God hath given them to be saved?

saved? Do they not say themselves, that the want of Baptism with water is supplied in infant with martyrdom? So that it will be found, that the Roman Church holds not the Baptism of water necessary to infants, no more then to adult persons. (e) *Hinckmar* Arch-bishop of *Rhemes*, a man of great name in his time, in his book of the fifty five chapters ch. 48. taketh *Hinkmar* Bishop of *Laon* his nephew, that to many other crimes he had added this, that he had hindered the Baptism of infants in his Diocese, whereby many children were dead without Baptism. Whom *Hinckmar* of *Rhemes* affirmeth to have been saved by the faith of their parents or their Godfathers, who had presented themselves to answer for them, and had required that these children might be baptised. For (saith he) *the Spirit of God by whom regeneration is made, bloweth where he listeth*. This Prelat who writ about the year of the Lord 865. believed not, that it was just and agreeing with Gods goodness to exclude infants from salvation for the fault of another.

The Roman Church shuts up these children in a dark perpetual and burning prison, where though they be in a vehement fire, (f) they feel no pain. For (say the Doctors) original sin deserveth only privation of happiness, which they call *pœna damni*, not a pain of sense and dolour. Yet it is certain that Christ hath suffered dolours and felt torments to expiate original sin. A certain proof, that original sin deserveth the pain of sense, and that infants both before and after baptism suffer dolours and torments, which cannot be pains of any sin but original, since they have committed no actual sin. But what may that pain be which is not felt, seeing that every punishment is imposed that it may be felt? If these children in the Limbus are without any knowledge, they are no reasonable creatures, and have nothing of Gods image in them. But if they know and feel that they are deprived of the presence of God, they are very wicked and destitute of all love of God, if they feel not an extream dolor for that privation.

Truth is so strong in all this, that it comes from our Adversaries mouth against their will. (g) *Gerson* Chancellor of the University of *Paris*. It is certain (saith he) that God hath not so tyed the grace of salvation unto the Sacraments, but that without prejudice of that law he may sanctifie within, by the baptism of his grace, the children not yet come out of the womb. (h) And *Lombard* saith, that this sentence, *Except a man be born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, &c. must be understood of them that can be baptised and despise it*. And he proveth his saying by *Austin*, *Gabriel Biel* saith the same upon that Distinction of *Lombard*. And *Caictan* in his Comment upon the third part of the summ of *Thomas*. qu. 68. Art. 2.

That place of *Austin* which *Lombard* mentioneth in the fourth book of Baptism ch. 22. is this, that Baptism which was hindered, not by the contempt of religion but by the term of necessity is invisibly administred. And it is alleadged in the 43. of the Decretals. (i)

The same Father in the second Book against *Cresconius* ch. 33. moveth this difficulty against *Cyprian*, who maintained, that the Baptism conferred by Hereticks was null. He asketh what will become of those, who before were converted unto the faith, and were received into the Church without Baptism? He answereth that in the very words of *Cyprian*, (k) *The Lord by his mercy may grant them pardon, and not exclude from the gifts of his Church those that being received with simplicity into the Church, are dead in the Church*.

Tertullian in the book of Baptism, ch. 12. *Thy faith hath saved thee* (saith

(e) Pag. 245. Et sicut parvulis naturali i. e. alieno peccato obnoxii aliorum id est patronorum fides pro eis respondentium in baptismo sit ad salutem, ita parvulis quibus baptismum degenerari iussisti, parentum vel patronorum corde credentium, & pro parvulis suis fidei verbo baptismi expetentium, sed non impetrantium, fides & fidelis postulatio prodesse poterunt, dono ejus cujus Spiritus, quo regeneratio fit, ubi vult spirat.

(f) Belli. 1. 6. de amissione gratie & statu peccati. c. 3. & 5.

(g) *Gerson* Tom. 3. de nativitate Virginis Conf. 2. Constat Deum &c. misericordiam salvationis sue non ita sacramentis alligasse quin abique prejudicio legis possit pueros nondum natos extra

sanctificare gratia sua Baptismo vel virtuti Spiritus sancti. (h) *Lomb.* l. 4. Dist. 4. lic. E. Illud intelligendum est de illis qui possunt & contemnunt baptizari. Vide Extrav. de Baptismo & ejus effectu Tit. 42. & Tit. 43. de Presbytero non baptizato, & Dist. 4. de Consecr. Can. Non ratione, & Can. Duo tempora. & Can. Si quis & Aug. lib. 4. contra Donatistas cap. 22, 23, 24. & 25. (i) Decretal. tit. 43. De Presbytero non baptizato cap. Apostolicam. Fides tua saluum te fecit, & remittuntur tibi peccata, credenti nique nec tamen tincto. (k) Potest Dominus misericordia sua indulgentiam dare & eos qui ad Ecclesiam simpliciter admissi in Ecclesia obdormierunt ab Ecclesie sue muneribus non separare.

Christ) and thy sins are forgiven thee, namely to him that believed, although he was not baptised.

(1) Greg.
Orat. de
Bapt. Edit.
Paris. p. 658.

Had Gregory Nazianzen believed, that infants cannot be saved without Baptism, he had not advised the Parents (1) to defer their Baptism, till they were come to age of instruction.

Had the antient Church believed, that Baptism was absolutely necessary to salvation, Christians would not have put off Baptism to the last part of their life, as it was then the custom of many.

The antient Councils are full of Constitutions that forbid to baptise at any other time but Easter and Whitsunside, so that no baptising was seen in the Church for ten moneths together every year. How many infants dyed in those ten moneths? and how many adult unbaptised persons were overtaken with suddain death? It is true that in many Canons this clause was added, *saving only in case of necessity*. But every one knoweth that mans life is subject to such suddain accidents, that many times one hath no leisure to think of any thing, much less to take an order for Baptism.

It is very observable, that the Emperor *Valentinian*, who in his life had opportunity enough to be baptised, dyed without Baptism, and yet *Ambrose* in his Oration upon his death holds that he enjoyeth eternal felicity.

Against the absolute necessity of Baptism of water, I could bring many testimonies, not only of the Antients, but also of the chief Doctors of the Roman Church. The authentical definition of Pope *Innocent* the III. will be one for all. It is in the third book of the Decretals, *Tit. 43. de Presbytero non Baptisato*, where he declareth that a Priest unbaptised yet was saved. (m) We affirm (saith he) without demurring, that the Priest of whom thou hast sent us word, that he died without the water of Baptism, is delivered from original sin, and hath got the joy of the heavenly countrey, because he persevered in the faith of the Church our holy Mother, and in the confession of the name of Christ. And a little after,

(m) Presbyterum quem sine unda baptismatis extremum diem clausisse significasti, quia in sancta Matris Ecclesie fide & Christi nominis confessione perseveraverit, ab originali peccato solutum, & celestis patrie gaudium adeptum asserimus incunctanter.

(n) He that hath Christ by faith, although he hath not Baptism, yet hath the foundation, out of which there is none, even Jesus Christ. It is very like that this unbaptised Priest had baptised many children.

The Council of *Trent* in the seventh Session, and fourth Canon pronounceth anathema to all that say that the Sacraments of the New Testament are not necessary, or the vow for want of the Sacrament.

As for *Austin*, by the like error whereby he believed the perception of the holy Communion to be necessary to infants, he believed also that every infant that dyed unbaptised was eternally damned in Hell fire, and was with the Devil. For in those dayes the Limbus of infants was unknown. Wherein *M. du Perron* excuseth him, saying that herein he was a pious Father, charitable, and compassionate, because he took care that these poor little creatures should be succoured by the diligence of their parents. Upon which we desire not to dispute, being inclined to cover the defects of such an excellent man. Yet since in this point he agreeth not with the Roman Church, the Romanists should not use his authority in this question.

Pope *Leo* the I. in the first Epistle to the Bishops of *Sicily* in the third ch. holds, that Baptism was not effectual and necessary but after Christs resurrection, and (o) that Christ by his resurrection began the gift of regeneration. According to which doctrine *Bellarmino* in ch. 5. of the first book of Baptism saith, that (p) The Baptism of Christ, that is, the Baptism conferred by Christ, and his Apostles before the Lords death, was neither a necessary means, nor a necessary command.

(o) Christum regenerationis gratiam ex sua resurrectione capisse. (p) Baptismus Christi non fuit necessarius necessitate medii aut precepti ante mortem Christi. (g) De Consecratione, Dist. 4. Can. A. quodam. A quodam Judeo, nescitis an Christiano an Pagano multos in patria vestra baptizatos asseritis, & quid sit inde agendum consultiis.

To this join the doctrine of Pope *Nicolas* the I. (q) who judged and pro-

nounced that Baptism conferred by a Jew, or by a Pagan is good and valid, if the man did but baptise in the name of the Trinity, or only in the name of Christ. And the custom of the Roman Church, in which women confer the Sacrament of Baptism, without which they hold that these children could not be saved. For hence it followeth that the Sacrament conferred by a Jew or a Mahometan who are Christs enemies, hath more efficacy then that which Christs and his Apostles have conferred, and that a Pagan or a woman do more good to a child, which but for them had dyed unbaptised, then all the Apostles together could have done.

If one receiveth Baptism out of hypocrisie, as the Marranes do in Spain to avoid the Inquisition, Shall that Baptism blot out his sin? Shall his crime be profitable to him? Shall the grace of God be so tyed to the water that it turn into a bondage unto God himself, so that God be obliged to do good unto hypocrites, and to give his grace for a reward of the profanation of his holy Sacrament?

Besides, all this efficacy of Baptism upon which they pin salvation, depends upon the intention of the person that baptiseth, which must be ghest at, and presumed by conjecture. For if we believe the Roman Church, he that baptiseth, may by taking off his intention take away the efficacy of the Sacrament; And the grace of God to the child is subjected to another mans intention.

CHAP. 2.

Sense of the forealledged text, John 3. 5. How unworthily and unjustly Cardinal du Perron deals with Calvin. A notable ignorance of the Cardinal.

Iohn Calvin, whom, because he is so odious unto men, we presume to be especially beloved of God, in his Comment upon John 3. expounding these words of our Saviour, *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven*, is of opinion that in that text it is not spoken of Baptism, but of spiritual regeneration, and expounds these words to be born of water and of the Spirit, to be regenerated by the Spirit, washing the heart, or, by a spiritual washing; in the same manner as John the Baptist, Matth. 3. 11. exhorting the Pharisees and Sadduces to repent, tells them that *one was coming after him who should baptise them with the Holy Ghost and with fire*, that is, with a fervent spirit, heating and purifying their hearts. Which is a familiar and frequent figure, called by the Grammarians *in diu dicitur*, as when Virgil saith *molem & montes*, instead of *moles montosus*, and *pateris libamus & auro*, instead of *pateris aureis*. Thus Luke saith, *Alt. 14. 13.* That the Priest of Jupiter brought *taures & equum*, bulls and crowns, instead of *crowned bulls*. Thus Rev. 14. 10. *Fire and brimstone*, instead of *burning brimstone*. And 2 Tim. 1. 10. *Life and Immortality*, for *immortal life*. And Joh. 14. 6. Christ calls himself *the way and the truth*, that is, *the true way*.

This exposition of Calvin is grounded upon these reasons,

1. Because Christ having said, *Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*, addeth a little after, *so is every man that is born of the Spirit*, taking to be born of the Spirit, and to be born of water and of the Spirit, for the same thing, and declaring that the Spirit alone is sufficient for that regeneration.

2. Because it is the style and ordinary language of Christ, to understand by water the grace of the Spirit, as John 4. 14. he promiseth to give water which whosoever drinketh shall never thirst, and the water that he shall give him, shall be made in him a well springing into everlasting life. And Joh. 7. 37. *If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink. He that believeth in me, as the Scripture hath said,*

said, he shall flow with rivers of living water. Upon which St. John addeth, This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive.

3. This sentence of Christ according to *Calvins* exposition is absolutely true, and admitteth no exception; for no man is saved unless he be regenerated by the Spirit of God. But if one will understand it of the Baptism of water, he is forced to bring multitude of exceptions which turn that rule into smokes, and bring it to nothing. For our Adversaries except adult persons, who have made a vow to be baptised; And those that are regenerated by Gods Spirit; And Martyrs unbaptised, And those that have believed in Christ before his resurrection; And the infants slain for Christs cause, who are dead without Baptism, as those that were put to death by *Herods* command. Thus then our Adversaries expound these words of Christ, *Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*, that is, *None can be saved, except he be baptised with water, or except he be regenerated by the Holy Ghost, or except he hath vowed to be baptised, or except he hath suffered Martyrdom, whether he be adult or an unbaptised infant*. Which are terrible Glosses, and an interpretation which saith openly, that the Baptism of water is not necessary.

4. Christ saying, *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he shall not enter into the Kingdom of God*, spake to *Nicodemus*, and for *Nicodemus*, to whom our Adversaries themselves hold that the Baptism of water was not necessary. This Pharisee that had the dye of Pharisaism, which was a discipline of pride and of opinion of self-righteousness, and a doctrine which made the service of God to consist in petty outward observations, is brought back by Christ to the elements of true piety consisting in changing a mans nature, and in regeneration by the Holy Ghost. It may be also that *Nicodemus* being imbrued with the opinion of the (r) *Metempsychosis* held by the Pharisees (which made the souls to pass into other bodies by a new birth) Christ would speak to him of another birth which he had not yet comprehended.

5. That which Christ addeth is considerable. *The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth; So is every one that is born of the Spirit*. For this comparison of the wind is fit to represent the secret vertue of the Holy Ghost, not the efficacy of washing with material water. And truly in the tongue which Christ spake, (s) the same word signifieth both wind and Spirit.

6. With these reasons (t) Cardinal *Tolet* found himself so convinced, that he calleth them hereticks, that out of this text of *Joh. 3. 5.* will infer the absolute necessity of Baptism.

Against this the Cardinal is storming and raging with great impetuosity. He saith that giving this interpretation to the text, is playing with Scripture with childish and ridiculous elusions, and destroying the faith of the fundamental Sacrament of the Church. He wonders at *Calvins* ignorance, saying that God hath blinded Calvin by his just judgement; That by his ignorance he hath killed all little children dead without Baptism; That he hath given a mortal wound unto his Church, &c.

To that clattering baile of words, he addes a specious reason; That according to *Calvins* exposition there should be a *battologie* (that is, a vain repetition) in Christs words. And that if water signifies here Spirit, then these words, *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit*, will signifie, *Except a man be born of the Spirit and of the Spirit*. This Prelat should have been put to his Grammar again, where he might have learned that in this figure where two substantives are joined together, one of them must be interpreted as an adjective, *Pateris & auro* for *pateris aureis*; *The Spirit and the fire* for *the fervent Spirit*; the water of the Spirit for the spiritual water, or the spiritual washing, or the washing and cleansing Spirit; for these come all to one.

To answer the example of *Matth. 3. 11.* where *John* the Baptist speaking of Christ saith, *He shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire*, the Cardinal speakes as sitting down to take breath after a long race. Here (saith he) *I will take*

(r) Joseph.
Origin. lib.
c. 2.

(s) רוח
(t) Tolet
Com. in
Joh. 3.
*Abusi sunt
hoc Servatoris
loco Heretici
dicentes, Ne-
minem posse
servari qui
non sit ex
aqua & spi-
ritu regene-
ratus, quan-
tum cum
contritione
& desiderio
Baptismi
morte pre-
ventus de-
dat.*

take a little breath to give me time to contemplate and admire the prodigious ignorance or inadvertence of Calvin, whose passion hath so blindfolded him that he is now by his passion put in the rank of those of whom God speaks by his Prophet, *I will blind the eyes of this people that they seeing see not.* These high swollen words promise to make us see some gross ignorance of Calvin. Let us see it. For (saith the Cardinal) the Lord in this place hath not added the word Fire (u) to repeat the intelligence of the word Spirit. This Prelat believed that it was Christ that spake these words, whereas they are the words of John the Baptist speaking to the Sadduces and Pharisees. Truly this Cardinal should not have pranced so high to stumble so foully at the very first step. But this is worse, The Lord (saith he) in that place hath not added the word Fire to repeat the intelligence of the word Spirit, but to express the external and visible kind of the fire, which goeth along with the Baptism of the Spirit, wherewith our Lord baptised his Apostles and his other Disciples upon the day of Pentecost. A wofull ignorance. This man thinks that these words of John the Baptist, *He shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire,* are spoken to the Apostles, and that it is a promise made to them that the Spirit should descend upon them in the shape of fiery tongues. For when John the Baptist said, *He shall baptise you,* the Apostles were not present, and were not yet Christs Disciples. Who so will read the text may see, that this *you,* is not spoken to the Disciples of Christ but to Sadduces and Pharisees, to whom John the Baptist promiseth that if they would be converted, Christ would baptise them with a better Baptism then that of water which John administred, yea that Christ would baptise or cleanse them with the fervent and purifying vertue of his Spirit. Had the Cardinal been versed in the stile of the Prophets, he might have known that this expression of John the Baptist is taken from *Isa. 4. 4.* where God promiseth to *purge the blood of Jerusalem,* that is the grievous and bloody sins of that people, *by the Spirit of judgement and by the Spirit of burning.*

Out of all this it is evident, that the more violently the Cardinal is storming, the more is his ignorance to be laughed at, or pitied.

(u) This is an odd and dark expression of the Cardinal, which the Translator leaveth as he finds it.

CHAP. 3.

How contemptible Baptism is in the Roman Church, and miserably disgraced.

THE doctrine of the necessity of Baptism must be attended with the doctrine of the vertue of the same, for it is for the fruit that we hope from Baptism, that we preach the necessity thereof. The Cardinal saith that we have taken all the efficacy from Baptism, and that we make it only a bare sign without any vertue.

We on the contrary accuse our Adversaries, that they have clipt the efficacy and signification of Baptism, restraining the vertue thereof only to sins committed before Baptism. For as for the sins committed since baptism, they have reserved the remission thereof to the Sacrament of Penitence, because that Sacrament is far more lucrative and beneficial unto them then Baptism. For baptising will afford but little gain. But by the Sacrament of Penitence they give the absolution of sins, pardon in quality of Judges, the offenses committed against God, and make themselves Judges in Gods cause. By Confessions they search the consciences and the secrets of families. And by Penitences and Satisfactiones they impose corporal and pecuniary pains upon sinners, even upon Princes and Kings. This is one of the main pillars of the Papal Empire, and the principal revenue of the Roman Clergy. Wherefore we must not wonder, that they have clipt off the greatest part of the efficacy of Baptism instituted by Christ, to

Rrrr

bestow

(a) Sicut
unum majoribus,
id est, summis Pontificibus est
accommodatum, quod
nisi à majoribus perfici
non potest, & majori
veneratione venerandum est.
Et Can. Omnes. Omnes
fideles per manus impositionem
Episcoporum Spiritum Sanctum accipere
debent, ut plane Christiani
inveniantur. Et Can. Ut
Jejuni. Nunquam erit
Christianus, nisi in Confirmatione
Episcopali fuerit Christianus.
Bell. lib. de Confirm. cap. 1. Tam
ratione Ministrum quam
ratione subiecti prestat
Confirmationis Baptismo,
ut recte docet Magister. Et. cap. 11. Conferat gratiam gratum facientem & quidem majorem quam ipse Baptismus
in ordine ad roborandam animam adversus diaboli impetus.

bestow it upon the Sacrament of Penitence invented by men. With the like disgrace of Baptism our Adversaries prefer the Sacrament of Confirmation which is an humane tradition before Baptism. For in the fifth Distinction of Consecration Can. *de his*, they make Pope *Melchiades* to say that (a) Confirmation ought to be more honoured then Baptism.

And *Lombard* Father of the School, and after him *Bellarmin* in the first book of Confirmation, maintain, that Confirmation is more excellent then Baptism, both because of the subject which is the forehead, and because of the dignity of the Minister which is the Bishop. And in ch. 11. *Confirmation confers a grace which makes us acceptable, and that grace greater then that which is conferred in Baptism, as for strengthening the soul against the assaults of the Devil.*

The same distinction in the Canon *Omnes*, saith that by Confirmation men are made fully and perfectly Christians, as though men were made but half Christians by Baptism. And the Canon *Ut Jejuni* declares the same, that none can be a Christian unless he hath received the Chrism in the Episcopal Confirmation.

For these causes in the Roman Church a porter, a woman, an hermaphrodite, a Jew, a Pagan, yea a Pagan-whore, may baptise; and this holy Sacrament is prostituted to the most infamous unbaptised persons. But Confirmation, as more honorable, is administered by the Bishop only, who conferreth it with great apparat and solemnity. See the Definition of Pope *Nicolas* the I. Can. *A quodam Indice*, in the fourth Distinction of the Consecration, where he pronounceth that Baptism conferred by an Impostor, though a Jew and a Pagan, is good & valid. Neither is it enough for them to have so disgraced Baptism, but they make that small vertue which they leave to it to depend upon the intention of the Priest that baptiseth, which intention must be ghest at by a pious conjecture; For when all is said, no person in the Roman Church is certain that he is baptised. For who knoweth the intention of a mans heart? especially in an age swarming with Atheists? And if the Priest that baptiseth was baptised by another Priest, baptised by another that had no intention to confer the Sacrament, his Priesthood is null, and his Baptism null, and so by remounting the uncertainty groweth still, and is multiplied to infinity.

To these you may add the spittle, the salt, the oyl, the exorcisms, whereby the Roman Church hath defiled the simplicity and purity of Baptism, as it was instituted by Christ and practised by his Apostles.

CHAP. 4.

The doctrine of our Churches about the vertue and efficacy of Baptism.

THAT man honoureth the Sacraments as he ought, who yields unto them that degree of honour which God hath conferred upon them; and receiving them with faith and reverence, yet bewareth of attributing that to the signes and the Ministry of man which is proper only to the vertue of Gods Spirit. This we do in our Churches. For we say that in Baptism the washing of all our sins by the blood of Christ, is not only represented and figured unto us, but also presented and applyed: the Sacraments being not only figurative but also exhibitive of the grace of God. By the washing of our sins we understand the remission of our sins, and together regeneration or spiritual renewing, according to the stile of Scripture, *Act. 22. 16. Isa. 1. 16. Zeph. 1. 6. Hebr. 10. 22.*

The

The adult that receive Baptism feel the effects of the same; God working in them, not by the water, but with the water of Baptism. As for infants that are baptised, it is a hard matter for us to say, how far Baptism is effectual in them as for regeneration, since Scripture gives us no instruction upon that point. If one would judge by the apparent signes, as by their cry, and by their stirring and shrinking when they feel the cold water of Baptism, one might judge rather that they are displeased with that action. Yea it is but too ordinary, that when they have got some years and strength, they shew by the perversity of their nature that Baptism had done them but little good. Only we say that when we baptise little children according to Christs ordinance, God thereby declareth that he receiveth them into his Church, and marketh them with the outward sign of his Covenant. And that if they belong to Gods Election, they shall one time shew really how effectual Baptism was with them, and that the grace of God in Christ was not in vain offered unto them, for the Sacraments have not the same effect with all persons.

CHAP. 5.

How the Romanists after they have deprest Baptism, exalts it with improper praises.

False praises are a kind of reviling. The abuse is much alike, whether we take away from Baptism the honour due to it, or attribute unto it that honour which God gives not to it in Scripture; For both the wayes the nature of the Sacrament is corrupted, and with the Sacrament the doctrine of the Gospel. Our Adversaries sin in both the extreame; on the one side debasing Baptism with great contempt, and on the other side exalting it with absurd praises, so that the preaching of the Gospel sheweth but small in comparison.

The first error of the Roman Church in this matter, is this tenet, That by Baptism both original sin, and all the actual sins committed before Baptism, are not only pardoned but also removed; so that in baptised persons there is no more original sin, nor any spot, nor any thing displeasing to God, or that may properly be called sin. They are the very words of the Council of *Trent* in the 5. Session, and of the Catechism of *Trent* in the Chapter of Baptism.

Thus these Gentlemen stuffed with righteousness and holiness boast themselves to be without sin, because Baptism hath taken away all stain from them, and whatsoever is displeasing to God. Yet they confess that all men sin venially, thereby unsaying what they have said; and undoing what they have done. And because they cannot deny that they have lusts, and are tempted with evil desires, they say that lust is no sin. (a) The Council of *Trent* in the V. Session acknowledgeth that the Law saith, *Thou shalt not covet*, and that St. Paul calls lust sin, *Rom. 7.* and yet the same Council maintains that this lust in baptised persons is no sin. Only they call that lust which leads to evil (b) a match, a vice, an iniquity, and furies of lust, but not sin.

This doctrine of pride is contrary to Gods word, to experience, to reason, to common sense, and contradicts it self.

1. For by this doctrine baptised persons are said to be altogether without sin, which is repugnant to Gods word, where we learn, that if we say that we have no sin, we deceive our selves and the truth is not in us, 1 Joh. 1. 8. And that in many things we offend all, Jam. 3. 2. Wherefore also the Apostles said in their ordinary prayer, *Forgive us our trespasses.*

2. The Apostle St. Paul was baptised; Yet *Rom. 7. 17.* speaking of his natural corruption, he saith that *sin dwelleth in him*; And two verses after he acknowledgeth, that *he did the evil which he would not.* Of that sin abiding in him

(a) Hanc concupiscentiam quam aliquando Apostolus appellat peccatum, sancta Synodus declarat Ecclesiam Catholicam nunquam intellexisse peccatum appellari, quod vere & proprie in renatis peccatum sit, sed quia ex peccato est, & ad peccatum inclinatur.

(b) Andradus Densens. fidei Trid. lib. 5. part. 2. fol. 327. & 328. Catech. Trid. cap. de Baptismo.

he saith, v. 23. that it is a warring against the law of his mind, that is, against the law of God printed in his mind, and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin which is in his members.

3. We are more obliged to believe the Apostle who saith, that *lust is sin*, Rom. 7. 7. And the Law of God, saying, *Thou shalt not covet*, (whence it followeth, that coveting is sin, since it is a transgression of the law) then the Council of Trent, whose impious boldness is come so far as to charge the Apostle, that he spake neither truly nor properly when he called lust sin.

4. The same Apostle saith, Rom. 6. 23. that the *wages of sin is death*. Since then infants baptised are subject to dye, and many dye loon after Baptism, it follows that they are not without sin, and that original sin abideth in them still after Baptism.

5. And whereas none can give what he hath not, the children of baptised persons, should be born without original sin, if the parents were without original sin.

6. If baptised infants should be without original sin, they should be also without actual sin all their dayes; For actual sin proceeds from original sin, and from our natural corruption.

7. Take two children, the one baptised, the other unbaptised, it may happen that the baptised child shall become more wicked then the unbaptised, according to the instructions and examples which shall be given him. If both be wicked alike, murderers, blasphemers, adulterers, is it like that whereas the sins of the unbaptised proceed from original sin, the sins of the baptised must be assigned to some other cause which brings forth such wicked effects, and yet be no sin?

8. As for adult persons that receive Baptism, as when a Jew or a Pagan turns Christian, may it be affirmed that Baptism takes original sin from them, seeing that many receive Baptism out of hypocrisie? Shall that imposture and profanation of Baptism be profitable unto them? Shall that actual sin serve to abolish original sin in them?

9. It is certain that adult persons cannot receive Baptism worthily, and to salvation, unless they have faith and repentance. They had then faith and repentance before they were baptised. Whence it followeth that faith and repentance are things compatible with original sin. Such was Cornelius, a man full of faith and vertue, who received the Holy Ghost before he was baptised. If faith and repentance hath blotted out original sin in them before they were baptised, then there are some persons in whom original sin hath not been put out by Baptism.

10. If any desiring to receive Baptism is prevented by death, our Adversaries hold that such a man is saved nevertheless, and that the vow supplyeth the want of Baptism. I ask the Romanists, whether such a man dyeth having original sin? They answer, No, because no man can be saved unless he be purged before death from original sin. Let them tell us then by what means he was purged from original sin, since he was not baptised? If they give us another means, they shall make Baptism unnecessary.

11. If by the Baptism of water original sin is altogether taken away, it was a great error in the antient Christians to put off their Baptism to mans age, yea to the last part of their life. No doubt but that their Bishops and Pastors of the Church would have severely rebuked them, because when they could put off original sin by Baptism, yet they would purposely keep and retain it. Yet we see no such reprehension in the books of the Fathers.

12. Our Adversaries themselves, being convinced in their consciences, contradict themselves. For while they maintain that there is no sin properly so called in baptised persons, yet they say in other terms, that lust remaining after Baptism is sin, yea a very great sin. For they call it vice and iniquity, and most grievous furies. And the Catechism of the Council of Trent saith, that (c) *this lust fighteth most fiercely against the Spirit of God*. What are vices and iniquities but sins? Is it not a sin to transgress Gods law, *Thou shalt not covet*? St. John affirmeth so much, 1 Joh. 3. 4. *Sin is the transgression of the Law*. And according to the version of the Roman Church, *Peccatum est iniquitas*. But these men conceive an iniquity

(c) *Acervimam esse pugnam cupiditatis adversus Spiritum, Andræ. Defens. Fidei Trid. l. 5.*

p. 327. Augustinus hanc concupiscentiam non modo malam sed vitium, sed languorem, sed divine legi contrariam, sed iniquitatem sapiens appellat.

Et paulo post vocat gravissimas furias.

(d) *Andræ. Ibid. Concupiscere neque scelus est, neque præcepto illo, Non concupisces, tanquam præstandum sed itaque operandum prohibetur.*

ty without sin, and a transgression of the law which is no sin. So far that *Andradius* who was one of the Council of *Trent* maintaines, that we are not obliged to obey that commandment, *Thou shalt not covet*. He saith that it is well done to wish, that we may fulfil that commandment, but that we are not bound to it : Thus that commandment shall be a commandment no more, and must be razed out of the Tables of Gods Law. It shall be a matter for good wishes, not a rule for a good life. If a Turk or a Jew covets the wife or house of his neighbour, it will be a sin. But a Christian by covering his neighbours wife shall not sin. For, according to the doctrine of the Roman Church, in baptised persons lust is no more sin. A thing so far from truth, that it is certain that a Christian covering his neighbours wife sinneth more then a Pagan, because having more knowledge he hath less excuse, and having received more graces, he is more obliged to love God, and obey his law.

13. Let our adversaries tell us, whether, when they ask of God pardon of their sins, they ask together that he forgive them that lust, that vice, that iniquity, that fury resisting Gods Spirit, which they acknowledge to be within them ? For if they ask pardon for it, they confesse it to be a sin. But if they ask not pardon for it, is it material whether they be damned for their vices, iniquities, and perverse lusts ; or for their sins ? What ease is it to them that they are not damned for their sins, but must go to hell upon another score ? Why do we seek for new names while the thing remaineth ?

14. As for the assertion of the Council of *Trent*, That God seeth nothing in baptised persons which he hates or dislikes ; Doctor *Andradius*, who was present, and actor in that definition, yet asserteth the contrary, and saith, That (c) this lust in baptised persons is most odious unto God. For who will believe that God hateth not iniquity and disliketh not the transgression of his law ?

15. In vain they say that Baptism is dishonoured and debased, if we believe not that it makes man perfect, and altogether without sin, and if we teach that it leaveth man in the sink of his natural corruption. For by the same reason, one may say that Baptism is disgraced if we believe not that it makes a man immortal. And our Adversaries acknowledge that after Baptism vice remaineth, and iniquity, and lust contrary to Gods law. Sacraments shall be honoured as they should be, when they are put in the rank which the word of God assigneth them. Now the word of God ascribeth not to them that vertue, to make a man perfect and without sin. Our Adversaries ascribe not that effect to the Eucharist, which they make a thousand times more miraculous then Baptism. The grace of Christ is offered to us in Baptism, as also in the preaching of the Gospel, and in the holy Communion, to bring us to perfection and immortality. But God worketh that by degrees ; not in an instant. Neither are the Sacraments disgraced, because they make not a man perfectly just and immortal, presently, and in a moment.

16. If our Adversaries say that lust remaineth in man after Baptism to be to him an exercise, the same I may say of original sin, and of the relics of sin. Those souls remain not mired in corruption, in whom sin reigneth not, but is decreasing daily.

17. Indeed the Apostle *Rom. 6. 4.* saith, that we are buried with Christ by Baptism. But in these words the Apostle speaks not of the efficacy of Baptism as the Doctors of the Council of *Trent* esteem, but of the signification of the same ; in the same manner as the Apostle saith to the Galatians, that Christ was crucified among them, because his death had been represented to them by the preaching of the Gospel and by the Sacraments. For dipping in water represents to us, that we dye to sin with a conformity to the death and burial of Christ. Our Adversaries themselves acknowledge that after Baptism, vice and iniquity is living within us, a thing ill suiting with that burial which they imagine.

With the like abuse they say, that the water of Baptism washeth sins, and that Baptism regenerateth him that is baptised, powring into him the habits of hope and charity, and that (as they say) *ex opere operato, by the work wrought*, that is, by the bare and single action of Baptism, the disposition of the baptised person being

(c) Andrad.
Def. Trid.
lib. 5. fol.

327. 6.
Concupiscentia non potest non Deo iustitia amatori esse magnope-re inuisa.

Gal. 3. 1.

(f) Conc.
Trid. cap. de
Bapt. Chri-
stus cum à
Johanne ba-
ptizatus est,
sanctificandi
virtutem
aquæ tribuit.

being not requisite for it. So that if one baptized a Jew sleeping or thinking on other things, and having neither faith nor charity, that Baptism will nevertheless confer justifying grace upon him, with regeneration & the habits of faith and charity, one condition only being requisite in him, that he make no resistance against it. They say that the water of Baptism hath that virtue because it hath toucht the body of Christ in his Baptism, as the Catechism of the Council of Trent saith, (f) *Christ when he was baptised by John, gave to water the vertue of sanctifying.* For it is their Doctrine that when Christ was baptised in Jordan, by immersing his body into the water, he thereby sanctified the water of Tyber, and of the Lake of Geneva, and the whole water of the Sea. To this end also serveth the consecration of the baptismal water by the Bishop, when he blesseth the font. For to a thousand ceremonies, as signes of the Crofs, aspersions with salt and oyl, and exorcismes, the Bishop addeth a prayer whereby he asketh of God, that the Godhead be mingled with that water, that it may become a new creature, a fountain of life, and a regenerated water. All these mystical inventions go beyond the antick borders of hangings in extravagancy. These subtile Doctors have stretcht their wit to forge an infinity of Chimera's, and obtrude them for mysteries, without the word of God, and against common sense.

It is a great abuse to ascribe unto water the vertue proper to the Holy Ghost, and to teach that Baptism formeth the habit of faith in children, seeing that they are without knowledge, and the habit of charity, seeing that they have no use of their will. How could they have charity, seeing that they are incapable of loving? For one must know before he can love. How could Baptisme powre the habit of faith into adult persons, seeing that they must have faith before they receive Baptism? How could infants receive the habit of faith, seeing that they cannot believe? And what becometh of those habits of faith and charity, when they come to age? seeing that they shew themselves prone to evil, and for the most part rejecting the doctrine of faith and rules of charity?

But who will believe that water can act upon souls, and that a corporal and inanimate thing can have a spiritual vertue? If the water of all the world received the vertue of regenerating the soul, because the water of Jordan touched Christs body in his Baptism, we must also attribute the same vertue to all the bread, and to all the wine of the world; For Christ hath handled and eaten bread, and drunk wine in the Eucharist, and hath consecrated them with a consecration far more expresse then the sanctification of the water of Jordan.

1. That *opus operatum*, work wrought, is a Chimera forged in the School, full of absurdity, whereby they will have the Sacraments of the New Testament to regenerate and sanctifie the souls by the single action, that is, by the meer aspersions of water poured upon the head of the infant, or of an adult person, and by the single fraction or manducation of bread, the devotion or attention of the communicant being not required for it. It is as if one said, that the preaching of the Gospel regenerates souls by the only sound of words and syllables, and that there is no need of the peoples faith and attention. If that be absurd in the preaching of the word, how much more in the administration of Sacraments, seeing that Scripture exalteth the efficacy of the word incomparably more then that of the Sacraments.

2. They make the error more evident, by putting this among the prerogatives of the Sacraments of the New Testament above those of the Old, which (if we must believe these Doctors) profited only *opere operantis*, that is, by the piety or devotion of those that administered the Sacraments, or of those that received them, in the same manner as prayers profit. Whence it followeth that circumcision profited nothing, when it was conferred by a man destitute of the fear of God, and that the childs salvation depended on the disposition and devotion of another.

3. Thence also it follows, that if Baptism be conferred by a Pagan or an impostor Jew, it profiteth and sanctifieth by the bare action; But the Sacraments of the Old Testament though conferred by a Prophet had not the same vertue.

4. Observe

4. Obſerve alſo the goodly prerogative, which they attribute to the Sacraments of the New Teſtament, whereby devotion or attention is become unneceſſary, ſo that there is no danger in receiving them without devotion. This is then the advantage of the Roman Church above the Parriarchs and Prophets, that one may want devotion without peril, and be baptiſed in his ſleep, and that there is no danger for one to think of the wars of *Piemont*, or his private buſineſſes, whileſt he is receiving the Lords ſupper. Theſe Doctōrs will corrupt men that they may honour the Sacraments, and by exalting their vertue, they diminifh the vertue and piety of thoſe that receive them. This tends to raiſe the dignity of Clergymen, who boaſt that they adminiſter the Sacraments, with ſo much efficacy, that their ſingle action ſupplyeth the want of piety, and that by pouring water upon the body they poure together vertues into the ſoul, although the man that conſerreth that Sacrament be many times without any vertue. All that taken from the unwritten word, for Scripture ſaith nothing of that, and the Apoſtles were ignorant of all that doctrine.

To theſe two doctrines, whereby they exalt the efficacy of Baptiſm, they add a third; holding that Baptiſm prints an indelible character upon the ſoul, which the Pope himſelf cannot take away, and which remaineth even after this life, inſomuch that damned ſouls carry it into Hell. May it not be thought that the ſouls marked with that character are reſpected by other ſouls in Hell, and that the Devils make low congies to them? But who can boaſt that ever he ſaw that character, or that ever he felt the impreſſion of the ſame? In what place are thoſe ſouls marked? What is the form or the colour of that mark? The Apoſtle ſaith indeed that God marketh us with the ſeal of his Spirit, *Eph. 1. 13. & 4. 30.* and *2 Cor. 1. 22.* But in thoſe texts he ſpeaks not of the Sacraments which are adminiſtered to the wicked promiſcuouſly with the good. But he ſpeaks of the teſtimony of Gods Spirit, which is the Spirit of adoption bearing witneſs to our hearts, that we are Gods children. That teſtimony is proper to none but the right godly, and Infants are not yet capable of it.

Tenth



Tenth Controversie ,
OF THE
SEVENTH BOOK.

Of the
SACRIFICE
Of the
EUCCHARIST.

CHAP. I.

State of the Question.

How M. du Perron doth not touch it , but wanders about useless discourses.



Cardinal *du Perron* employeth five Chapters of his fourth Book to treat of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, and to prove that the Fathers have understood that it is truly and properly a Sacrifice. That whole dispute is useless, both because he alleadgeth not one syllable of Gods Word , without whose Authority that sacrifice cannot subsist ; and because he toucheth not the question, and expatiates about things of no use. For the question is not , Whether the Lords Supper be called a Sacrifice, properly or improperly ? but, Whether the body of Christ be really sacrificed in it? Also, Whether it be a propitiatory sacrifice ? and, Whether by it our souls be redeemed, and God reconciled with us? What is it to us , if the Communion is called a sacrifice properly or improperly, while this truth remains firm, that Christ is not really sacrificed in it ? and that there is no other propitiatory and redemptory sacrifice, but the death of Christ ?

He committs another fault. For the dispute about the proper or improper signification of the word *Sacrifice*, cannot be decided but by setting down a definition

inition of sacrifice. It being certain that the Eucharist cannot be a true sacrifice, if the definition of a sacrifice be not proper to it.

But he hath purposely omitted that definition, finding no way how to make it square with the nature of the Eucharist. Is not that an abusing the Reader, to make long discourses, to prove that the Eucharist is a true sacrifice, and yet never say what a thing a sacrifice is? Now every lawful sacrifice is a religious action, instituted by God, whereby a visible offering is consecrated and offered unto God by a lawful Priest, and destroyed for the propitiation of sins, or for thanksgiving. For the definition and essence of a sacrifice, properly so called, includeth these six things. 1. That it be a religious action instituted by God. 2. That there be a visible offering. 3. That the thing offered be consecrated to God by him that sacrificeth. 4. That it be destroyed by the person that celebrates the sacrifice. 5. That it be offered by a lawful Priest instituted by God. 6. That if it be a sacrifice truly and really propitiatory, the price of our redemption must be really offered and sacrificed in it. Hence it appears, that it is utterly impossible that the Mass in which they pretend to sacrifice Christ, can be truly and properly a sacrifice. 1. Seeing, that Christ did not command us to sacrifice Christ. 2. That the offering pretended to be offered in the Mass, which is Christ, is not visible there, and is not perceived. 3. That it is not consecrated to God by him that sacrificeth, seeing that Christ cannot be consecrated by men. 4. That in the Mass Christ is not destroyed, and suffereth nothing in it, neither in effect nor in shew. 5. That God hath not instituted in his Church, sacrificers of his Son's body. 6. And that the Mass cannot be in effect a propitiatory sacrifice, since it is not the death of Christ which is the only price of our redemption. All this, which is the principal point of the difference, the Cardinal toucheth not at all, and labours only to shew in what sense the Fathers have called the Eucharist a sacrifice; Which is an unfeeling dispute. For although all the Fathers with one consent should say, that the Eucharist is truly and properly a sacrifice, it would not follow that Christ was really sacrificed in it as a propitiatory sacrifice. Besides, we must always begin with the divine institution, without which all authority falls, and all our discourses come to nothing. But of that divine institution, the Cardinal speaks not one word. Wherefore it is necessary for us to begin there.

CHAP. 2.

That the Sacrifice of the Mass was not instituted by Christ. And of the fruit and efficacy of the sacrifice of the Mass.

THE Council of Trent in the XXII. Session, in the XI. Canon, to prove that the Eucharist is the true sacrifice of Christ's body; alleadgeth for all the proof these words of Christ, *Do this in remembrance of me*; and denounceth an *anathema* to all that will deny, that by these words Christ hath conferred the Order of Priesthood, and commanded to sacrifice really the body of Christ. There cannot be a more certain proof of an ill cause, then to be reduced to such proofs. Can there be any interpretation of Gods Word more constrained or more extravagant then this? *Do this in remembrance of me*; that is, *I institute you to be Priests to sacrifice my body, to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead*. But (a) (a) 1 Cor. 11. 26. the Apostle Paul expounds these words otherwise; For after these words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, he addeth, *As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lords death*. So then, *Doing this in remembrance of Christ*; is eating the bread and drinking the cup of the Lords Supper, to announce and celebrate the memory of his death.

It is very considerable, that Saint Matthew and Saint Mark relating the words of the institution of this Sacrament, have left out these words, *Do this*, which they

SSS

Math.

26. 26.

Mark 14. 22.

they had not done, had they believed that they are the formal words whereby this pretended Sacrifice is instituted.

Wherefore also, in the whole institution and action of Christ, no mention is made of sacrificing the Lords body, no elevation of the Host, no offering unto God, no prayer to God that he accept the offering.

(c) Bellar.
lib. 2. de
Missa, c. 4.
sect. Secundo.
*Christus nunc
nec mereri,
nec satisfacere
potest.*

Neither doth the Christian Faith acknowledge any other sacrifice of redemption, but the death of the Redeemer, nor any other price for the redemption of souls. Now in the Mass Christ dyeth not. And our very Adversaries (c) acknowledge that Christ is no more in the condition of meriting, or satisfying, but only of impetrating. It is not then a sacrifice *pro redemptione animarum*, for the redemption of souls, as it is said in the Canon of the Mass. It is not convenient that a Sacrifice where Christ suffereth nothing, be the price of our redemption. For since his sufferings are the payment for our sins, an action where he suffereth nothing cannot be that payment.

If they say that the Mass is the sacrifice of Christ, and that he is really sacrificed in it for our redemption, because the sacrifice of his death is thereby applied to us, and the memory of his death announced: By the same reason Baptism and the preaching of the Gospel, are sacrifices properly so called, and propitiatory sacrifices, because in them Christs death is applied to us, and brought to our remembrance. To apply the sacrifice of Christ to us, must we sacrifice him again? By the same reason he should be put to death again, to apply his death to us.

The Apostle to the *Hebrews* is very expresse upon this question. He spends most part of his Epistle about the Priesthood, and the Sacrifice of the Christian Church. Yet in the whole Epistle, he speaks not one word of the Eucharist or the Lords Supper, in which only they will have the sacrifice of the Christian Church to consist. Must we say then, that the Apostle hath done as he that would write a Book of the Art of Navigation, without speaking of Ships; or of the Art of Reigning, without speaking of King or Prince? Certainly the Apostle brings us straight to the death of Christ, and acknowledgeth no other, but that only Sacrifice. In chap. 10. v. 14. he saith, that *Christ by one offering hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified*. And v. 10. *We are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all*. Here is then one only oblation, and that for ever. And in chap. 9. v. 26. having said that *Christ hath not often suffered from the foundation of the world*; he addeth, v. 27, 28. *As it is appointed unto men once to dye, but after this the judgement. So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many, and unto them that look for him, shall he appear the second time, &c.* Thereby he excludeth all reiteration. For a mans death is not at all reiterated.

Neither indeed doth Scripture speak of any unbloody sacrifice of Christ; and that very text which our Adversaries bring for the unbloody sacrifice, speaks of shedding of blood. For they make use of these words, *Mat. 26. 28. This is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many*. Hardly can a text speaking of blood-shed, serve to establish a sacrifice where no blood is shed.

And since the Apostle, *Heb. 9. 22.* saith that *without shedding of blood there is no remission*; how can the Mass, where the blood of Christ is not shed, really be a sacrifice for the remission of sins? Or how shall we say that the blood of Christ is really shed in the Sacrament, seeing it doth not come out of his veins? Or how can shedding of blood be without any motion?

The same Apostle, *Heb. 10. 17, 18.* having said, that *God hath promised to remember our sins no more*; addeth, *Now where the remission of these is, there is no more offering for sin*. Since then by the death of Christ, and by faith in him, we have remission of our sins, what need we more to make oblations and sacrifices for sins?

In chap. 7. v. 27. he compareth the Priests of the Law with Christ, in that they offered every day sacrifices for sins: *But this* (saith he) *he did once, ὅταν, once only, when he offered up himself*. This word ὅταν cannot be otherwise translated, but by *semel*, or *once only*, both because it is the signification of the word, and because

because by this word the Apostle opposeth Christ to the Priests of the Law, who offered sacrifices often. Thus Heb. 9. 27. he saith, that *it is appointed unto men* ἀναξ ἀμδανς, *semel mori, once to dye*. That man should want common sense, that should find fault with translating that text in this manner, *It is appointed unto men to die once only*: No more should any find fault with us for translating the following verse, ὁ Χριστὸς ἀναξ ὡς ἑαυτοῦ, *Christus semel oblatus, Christ being offered once only*. And so Heb. 10. 10. *Through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all*; for there also the word ἀναξ is found. And that sacrifice once made, he opposeth to the reiteration of the sacrifices of the Law, which were done every day.

In every sacrifice, properly so called, there must be an offering consecrated. How then can the Mass be properly called a sacrifice, seeing that there is nothing consecrated in it? Not the bread, nor the wine, for it is pretended that they are no more bread and wine after the consecration. Not the accidents, for colours and lines are not an offering; Not the body of Christ, for it cannot be consecrated by men. Here is then a sacrifice, where nothing is consecrated.

As for the vertue of that sacrifice of propitiation, or redemption, when our Adversaries go about to declare it, they bring it to nothing. In the Canon of the Mass, the Priest saith, that he offereth (d) *a sacrifice of praises for the redemption of souls*. Truly praises are no payments. A debtor by exalting his creditors, with praises to the third Heaven, shall never pay his debts.

(e) Here *Bellarmino* is for us, for he insisteth much to prove, that the sacrifice of the Mass is only impetratory, such as are prayers, but cannot be satisfactory nor expiatory; because Christ is no more in a condition to satisfy or merit. It was never heard that an impetration by prayers without satisfaction, or without payment, was taken for redemption.

There was no need to sacrifice Christ again, to apply to us the sacrifice of his death, since the Eucharist, as it is a Sacrament applyeth his death. *The bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the body of Christ*, 1 Cor. 10. 16.

Wherefore the Roman Church diminisheth to her power, the efficacy of that Sacrament, teaching that the sacrifice of the Mass (f) serveth only to remit the temporal pain of sins already pardoned. Which appeareth; in that no man receiveth the *Easter Communion* in the Roman Church; but after the absolution by the Priest. Also in that Masses are sung for the souls in Purgatory, of whom the sins are pardoned, and the fault wholly blotted out, and which are lyable only to the temporal pain. (g) The Catechism of the Council of *Trent* saith, that the *Sacrament of the Eucharist* blotteth out *small sins only*; it hath then no vertue against great sins.

Yet it would be some comfort, if a Mass did impetrate the remission of the whole temporal pain: But it hath not that vertue. For ten thousand Masses are sung to fetch one soul out of Purgatory. Especially if it be the soul of one that hath founded *Obits* and *Anniversaries*, which are not said for those that have given nothing.

It is not without reason, that a doubt is made of the vertue and efficacy of Masses. For many pay Masses for their cure, or for the cure of their sick friends, who die nothing the less. Whereas many are cured, for whom no Masses were sung. Which makes it doubtful, whether Masses sung for the dead, bring them any ease.

Our Adversaries increase that doubt, by saying that in the Cross, Christs natural being was destroyed; but in the Mass his Sacramental being only is destroyed, that is, his significative or representative being, as if one gave the picture of money only, which is a payment somewhat light; for indeed that Sacramental being is not the price of our redemption.

They that are contemptuously called Hereticks, are so unfortunate, that where-as Masses are said for Pagans and Infidels, and for sick horses and sheep, none are said for them. For beasts, Masses are said for money: For Infidels, some are sung upon civil considerations: But for Hereticks none are said. And there is

(d) Sacrificium laudis pro redemptione animarum.

(e) Bellar. lib. 2. de Missa, cap. 4. sect. Secundo.

Christus nunc nec mereri, nec satisfacere potest, sed tantum impetrare.

Igitur impetratio propria est huius sacrificii vis et obedientia. Et paulo post. Sacrificium ad impetrationem tendit, et simile est orationi.

(f) Vide Bellar. lib. 4. de Sacram.

Euchar. cap. 17. 18.

(g) Cap. de Sacram. altaris.

Eucharistia tantum abstergit minima peccata.

reason for it; for not only they will spend no money for Masses, but they would give money that no more Masses were sung.

CHAP. 3.

Examination of the Cardinals reasons, to prove that the Fathers call the Eucharist a Sacrifice in a proper, not in a Metaphorical sense.

THis question, which the Cardinal is so busie about, is altogether useles. For though we had granted that all the Fathers hold the Eucharist to be a true sacrifice, it would not follow that Christ is really sacrificed in it. Besides, all the old and late Doctors are not agreed about the definition of a sacrifice, which M. du Perron should have set down in the beginning, to build his proofs upon them, for without that, his proofs are to no end.

Austin, in the tenth Book of the City of God, chap. 5. calls Alms or Mercy a true sacrifice. And in the sixth chapter he defines a sacrifice, saying that (a) every action which is done to adhere unto God, is a true sacrifice. According to that definition, we must not wonder that the Eucharist is called a true sacrifice. Yet let us see what reasons the Cardinal brings.

(a) Verum sacrificium est omne opus, quod agitur, ut sancta societate inhereamus Deo.

He affirmeth that the Fathers say, and that his Majesty of Great Britain acknowledgeth, that the Eucharist is the only sacrifice of Christians, and the only one that hath succeeded all the sacrifices of the antient Law. Had he brought testimonies of the Fathers that speak so, the Reader might have seen that the Fathers speak of the sacrifice of Christs death, which indeed hath succeeded the sacrifices of Aaron; and to this most part of the Epistle to the Hebrews is imployed. For the end of the Apostle, is to shew that Christs Priesthood hath succeeded Aarons Priesthood: Which Priesthood of Christ, he makes to consist in his death only. For in the whole Epistle, he speaks not at all of the Eucharist. Or if any Father saith, that the Lords Supper succeeds alone the sacrifices of the Law, he saith that with respect to Christs death, which is represented in the holy Communion, in which we offer unto God the death of his Son, beseeching him to accept it for our Redemption. As if he said, that the only thing that we can offer unto God, is Christs death, which is celebrated in the Lords Supper.

Thus the Apostle, 1 Cor. 5. 7. saith, that Christ our Pasover is sacrificed for us, giving to Christs death the name of the Sacrament that represents it, by reason of the resemblance, and the relation that is betwixt both, and together shewing that Christs death is the true sacrifice, which hath succeeded the Pasover of the Law.

(b) Se ipsum obtulit in holocaustum pro peccatis nostris, & ejus sacrificii similitudinem celebrandum in sue passionis memoriam commendavit. (c) Holocausti ejus imaginem ad memoriam sue passionis in Ecclesia celebrandum decrevit.

Austin in the Book of the 83. Questions, in the 61. Question speaks thus, (b) Christ hath offered himself a burnt-offering for our sins, and hath instituted that the representation of that sacrifice be celebrated in memory of his passion. And in the same place, (c) He hath instituted that the image of this sacrifice be celebrated in the Church, in memory of his passion.

The Cardinal addeth, Besides, that which the same Fathers teach us, that it cannot be offered, but by those that have the character of Priesthood, sheweth manifestly that they speak of the sacrifice taken in the proper and precise signification: The absurdity of that reason appears, by bringing it into a Syllogisticall form. This is his argument, That which cannot be done but by them that have the character of Priesthood, is a true and proper sacrifice. Now the Eucharist, &c. That proposition is false. For the preaching of the Gospel likewise, cannot be done but by those that have that character. By the same reason, the Sacrament of Penitence of the Roman Church, and Confirmation, shall be sacrifices properly so called, since they cannot be conferred but by Priests and Bishops. The Cardinal should have remembered also, that in the Roman Church the immolation of the Paschal Lamb

Lamb by the ſeveral families of *Iſrael*, is held to have been a true ſacrifice, which yet was done by the heads of Families, before the tribe of *Levi* was choſen by God to exerciſe the Priſthood. And ſince that choice, hardly was there a Levite for every Family where the Paſchal Lamb was eaten. When Chriſt celebrated the Paſſover with his Diſciples, there was none. The great defect of that argument is, that it was made to prove that the Eucharist is a true ſacrifice, not to prove that Chriſt is really ſacrificed in it, which is the point in queſtion.

He goeth about to prove the ſame thing, becauſe the Fathers uſe the word *Altar*, preſuppoſing that no other ſacrifices can be done upon an Altar, but ſuch as are properly ſo called. Indeed, that which the Apoſtle *1 Cor. 10.* calls *the Table of the Lord*, is ſometimes called *an Altar* by the antient Fathers, although more frequently they call it a *Table*. But the Fathers to draw the Jews and the Pagans, make uſe of terms uſual among them, calling the Table of the Lord an Altar, in the ſame manner that the Deacons are called *Levites*, and the offerings which the people ſet upon the table *viſtims* and *ſacrifices*. In effect, the Cardinals maxime is falſe, that all that is done upon an Altar, is truly and properly a ſacrifice. For as the immolation of the Paſchal Lamb was not done upon an Altar, ſo on the other ſide, offerings of fruits and perfumes, which the holy Scripture calls not ſacrifices, were laid upon the Altar.

To the ſame end he addeth, *Since the Fathers held that the prophecies of the abolition of Judaical ſacrifices, and of the ſubſtitution of a new ſacrifice were accompliſhed in the oblation of the Eucharist; when they ſpake of a ſacrifice, they meant the proper, not the Metaphorical ſacrifice.*

I anſwer, that Chriſt ſaying in his death, *All is fulfilled*, taught us that in his death was the fulfilling of prophecies and figures. And the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* finds in the death of Chriſt the fulfilling of the ſacrifices of the Law, not in the Lords Supper, of which he makes not any mention. Saint *John* agreeth to this, chap. 19. ver. 36. where he gives a reaſon why the bones of Chriſt were left unbroken on the Croſs, namely, becauſe it was forbidden to break the bones of the Paſchal Lamb. He will have us then to find in the death of Chriſt, the fulfilling of the Paſchal Lamb. Beſides, the Cardinals maxime is falſe, that *the thing in which the fulfilling of the ſacrifices is found, is a true and proper ſacrifice*. By that reaſon, the fulfilling of prophecies ſhould be alſo a prophecy, and the fulfilling of legal waſhings and purifications, ſhould be alſo a real waſhing: Now every one knows that remiſſion of ſins figured by theſe waſhings, cannot be called *waſhing*, but Metaphorically, and in an Allegorical ſenſe. If then ſome Fathers have ſaid, that in the Eucharist we have the fulfilling of Judaical figures, they ſay it becauſe in the Eucharist the death of Chriſt is repreſented, and offered unto God for our ſins. It is eſpecially to be noted, that this argument tends to prove that the Eucharist is a true ſacrifice, not that Chriſt is ſacrificed in it.

The reaſon which he adds is of no greater ſtrength, That the Fathers expounding Daniels propheſie about the ceſſation of the ſacrifice of the Eucharist, ſhew ſufficiently, that by the ſacrifice of the Eucharist, they underſtand a true and proper ſacrifice. But nothing hinders but that *Daniel* ſpeaks of the ſacred actions of the Chriſtian Church in figurative terms, uſual in the Old Teſtament. It is the ſtile of the Prophets and Apoſtles, to call our prayers perfumes, and our bodies temples, and our thankſgivings the calves of our lips and ſacrifices. But to look to Daniels true meaning, he is propheſying of the ceſſation of the continual ſacrifice which was to happen under the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. And if ſome of the Antients take *Antiochus* for a figure of Antichriſt, they do not reſtrain the abolition of the continual ſacrifice, to the only abolition of the Eucharist, but they underſtand thereby the ceſſation of the divine Service, of which the Eucharist makes a great part: For it is ordinary to take a part for the whole. He that ſaith that Antichriſt muſt abolish the Lords Supper, thereby underſtands that he will abolish the whole outward exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, which never was without this holy Sacrament.

Of the ſame ſtuff is the reaſon which he addeth, that the Fathers diſtinguiſh the

reason for it; for not only they will spend no money for Masses, but they would give money that no more Masses were sung.

CHAP. 3.

Examination of the Cardinals reasons, to prove that the Fathers call the Eucharist a Sacrifice in a proper, not in a Metaphorical sense.

THis question, which the Cardinal is so busie about, is altogether useless. For though we had granted that all the Fathers hold the Eucharist to be a true sacrifice, it would not follow that Christ is really sacrificed in it. Besides, all the old and late Doctors are not agreed about the definition of a sacrifice, which M. du Perron should have set down in the beginning, to build his proofs upon them, for without that, his proofs are to no end.

Austin, in the tenth Book of the City of God, chap. 5. calls Alms or Mercy a true sacrifice. And in the sixth chapter he defines a sacrifice, saying that (a) every action which is done to adhere unto God, is a true sacrifice. According to that definition, we must not wonder that the Eucharist is called a true sacrifice. Yet let us see what reasons the Cardinal brings.

(a) Verum sacrificium est omne opus, quod agitur, ut sancta societate inhereamus Deo.

He affirmeth that the Fathers say, and that his Majesty of Great Britain acknowledgeth, that the Eucharist is the only sacrifice of Christians, and the only one that hath succeeded all the sacrifices of the antient Law. Had he brought testimonies of the Fathers that speak so, the Reader might have seen that the Fathers speak of the sacrifice of Christs death, which indeed hath succeeded the sacrifices of Aaron; and to this most part of the Epistle to the Hebrews is employed. For the end of the Apostle, is to shew that Christs Priesthood hath succeeded Aarons Priesthood: Which Priesthood of Christ, he makes to consist in his death only. For in the whole Epistle, he speaks not at all of the Eucharist. Or if any Father saith, that the Lords Supper succeeds alone the sacrifices of the Law, he saith that with respect to Christs death, which is represented in the holy Communion, in which we offer unto God the death of his Son, beseeching him to accept it for our Redemption. As if he said, that the only thing that we can offer unto God, is Christs death, which is celebrated in the Lords Supper.

Thus the Apostle, 1 Cor. 5. 7. saith, that Christ our Pasover is sacrificed for us, giving to Christs death the name of the Sacrament that represents it, by reason of the resemblance, and the relation that is betwixt both, and together shewing that Christs death is the true sacrifice, which hath succeeded the Pasover of the Law.

(b) Se ipsum obtulit in holocaustum pro peccatis nostris, & ejus sacrificii similitudinem celebrandum in sua passionis memoriam commendavit. (c) Holocaustum ejus imaginem ad memoriam sue passionis in Ecclesia celebrandum decrevit.

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The Cardinal addeth, Besides, that which the same Fathers teach us, that it cannot be offered, but by those that have the character of Priesthood, sheweth manifestly that they speak of the sacrifice taken in the proper and precise signification. The absurdity of that reason appears, by bringing it into a Syllogisticall form. This is his argument, That which cannot be done but by them that have the character of Priesthood, is a true and proper sacrifice. Now the Eucharist, &c. That proposition is false. For the preaching of the Gospel likewise, cannot be done but by those that have that character. By the same reason, the Sacrament of Penitence of the Roman Church, and Confirmation, shall be sacrifices properly so called, since they cannot be conferred but by Priests and Bishops. The Cardinal should have remembered also, that in the Roman Church the immolation of the Paschal Lamb

Lamb

Lamb by the several families of *Israel*, is held to have been a true sacrifice, which yet was done by the heads of Families, before the tribe of *Levi* was chosen by God to exercise the Priesthood. And since that choice, hardly was there a Levite for every Family where the Paschal Lamb was eaten. When Christ celebrated the Pasover with his Disciples, there was none. The great defect of that argument is, that it was made to prove that the Eucharist is a true sacrifice, not to prove that Christ is really sacrificed in it, which is the point in question.

He goeth about to prove the same thing, because the Fathers use the word *Altar*, presupposing that no other sacrifices can be done upon an Altar, but such as are properly so called. Indeed, that which the Apostle *1 Cor. 10.* calls *the Table of the Lord*, is sometimes called an *Altar* by the antient Fathers, although more frequently they call it a *Table*. But the Fathers to draw the Jews and the Pagans, make use of terms usual among them, calling the Table of the Lord an Altar, in the same manner that the Deacons are called *Levites*, and the offerings which the people set upon the table *victims* and *sacrifices*. In effect, the Cardinals maxime is false, that all that is done upon an Altar, is truly and properly a sacrifice. For as the immolation of the Paschal Lamb was not done upon an Altar, so on the other side, offerings of fruits and perfumes, which the holy Scripture calls not sacrifices, were laid upon the Altar.

To the same end he addeth, *Since the Fathers held that the prophecies of the abolition of Judaical sacrifices, and of the substitution of a new sacrifice were accomplished in the oblation of the Eucharist; when they spake of a sacrifice, they meant the proper, not the Metaphorical sacrifice.*

I answer, that Christ saying in his death, *All is fulfilled*, taught us that in his death was the fulfilling of prophecies and figures. And the Apostle to the *Hebrews* finds in the death of Christ the fulfilling of the sacrifices of the Law, not in the Lords Supper, of which he makes not any mention. Saint *John* agreeth to this, chap. 19. ver. 36. where he gives a reason why the bones of Christ were left unbroken on the Cross, namely, because it was forbidden to break the bones of the Paschal Lamb. He will have us then to find in the death of Christ, the fulfilling of the Paschal Lamb. Besides, the Cardinals maxime is false, that *the thing in which the fulfilling of the sacrifices is found, is a true and proper sacrifice.* By that reason, the fulfilling of prophecies should be also a prophetic, and the fulfilling of legal washings and purifications, should be also a real washing: Now every one knows that remission of sins figured by these washings, cannot be called washing, but Metaphorically, and in an Allegorical sense. If then some Fathers have said, that in the Eucharist we have the fulfilling of Judaical figures, they say it because in the Eucharist the death of Christ is represented, and offered unto God for our sins. It is especially to be noted, that this argument tends to prove that the Eucharist is a true sacrifice, not that Christ is sacrificed in it.

The reason which he adds is of no greater strength, That the Fathers expound- Pag. 911.
ing *Daniels* prophesie about the cessation of the sacrifice of the Eucharist, shew sufficiently, that by the sacrifice of the Eucharist, they understand a true and proper sacrifice. But nothing hinders but that *Daniel* speaks of the sacred actions of the Christian Church in figurative terms, usual in the Old Testament. It is the stile of the Prophets and Apostles, to call our prayers perfumes, and our bodies temples, and our thanksgivings the calves of our lips and sacrifices. But to look to *Daniels* true meaning, he is prophesying of the cessation of the continual sacrifice which was to happen under the reign of *Antiochus Epiphaneus*. And if some of the Antients take *Antiochus* for a figure of Antichrist, they do not restrain the abolition of the continual sacrifice, to the only abolition of the Eucharist, but they understand thereby the cessation of the divine Service, of which the Eucharist makes a great part: For it is ordinary to take a part for the whole. He that saith that Antichrist must abolish the Lords Supper, thereby understands that he will abolish the whole outward exercise of Christian Religion, which never was without this holy Sacrament.

Of the same stuff is the reason which he addeth, that the Fathers distinguish the

the inward sacrifices, that is, the mental commemoration, from the outward sacrifice of the Church. He presupposeth that all that is distinct or different from the mental sacrifice, and every outward sacrifice, is a true and proper sacrifice. By this reason, the oral prayer and alms which Scripture calls a sacrifice, must be a true and proper sacrifice. For they are external, and different from the internal sacrifices, consisting in the thought. After all, What strength hath this to prove that Christ is sacrificed in the Eucharist?

He goeth on, and saith that the Fathers distinguish the sacrifice of *Melchisedeck* from that of *Aaron*, by the institution of the Eucharist; and thence he inferreth, that the Fathers believed that the Eucharist is truly and properly a sacrifice. This is a reason without reason. For two Priests may differ in actions, which are improperly called sacrifices. But the Fathers make not the difference between *Melchisedeck* and *Aaron* to consist in that only, seeing that the Apostle to the *Hebrews* giveth us so many other differences between them, in the seventh chapter, without speaking one word of the Eucharist. As in that *Melchisedeck* is represented as a Priest for ever, having neither beginning of dayes nor end of life, being both King and Priest, taking tythes from *Abraham* as greater then he, and by consequent then *Levi*, and giving to *Abraham* his blessing.

He addeth that the Fathers by these words, *We offer unto thee*, meant real offerings. That's true. But all real offerings are not sacrifices properly so called, nor propitiatory sacrifices, less yet sacrifices of Christs body. The offerings which the Christian people used to offer upon the holy Table were real oblations, but our Adversaries hold them not to have been properly sacrifices, nor effectual for propitiation. Thus the Apostle saith, *Heb. 13. 15.* Let us offer unto God sacrifices of praises: Where he speaks of real offerings which are improperly called sacrifices.

The reason that follows is such another: He proveth that the Fathers acknowledge the Eucharist for a true and proper sacrifice, because they ascribe to it the service of *latria*. Never was a man more unfortunate in argumenting, then this Prelate. He presupposeth, that all wherein the service of *latria* consisteth, is a true and proper sacrifice. By that reckoning, the Lords Prayer is a true and proper sacrifice: For it is part of the Sovereign service which we present unto God. Can one build a more absurd reasoning then this? *The Lords Supper belongs to the Sovereign service which we yield unto God, Ergo, it is a true Sacrifice?* To prop that impertinent argument, he employeth the rest of his chapter. Thus all the Cardinals reasons fall with blowing upon: And all the texts of the Fathers, which he alleadgeth are found useles, since he draws false consequences from them, grounded upon false maxims.

Chap. 1.

CHAP. 4.

That the Fathers call the Lords Supper a Sacrifice, because it is the commemoration of the Sacrifice of Christs death.

THE Fathers following the stile of Scripture, use to give unto signs the name of the thing signified.

The Lords Supper then being a sign and a Sacrament of Christs sacrifice offered to God on the Cross, may with good reason be called Christs sacrifice, and the sacrifice of our price and redemption, and the sacrifice of his death and passion: This is fully represented by *Austin*, in the 23. Epistle to *Bonifacius*, *Many times we speak thus, when Easter draweth near, To morrow or the next day is the Lords passion, although it happened so many years ago, and though that passion happened but once. Thus we say upon the Lords day, This day the Lord is risen again, although so many years are past since his resurrection. Why is nobody so silly as to tax us of untruth when we speak so? but because this day is called the same day, which is not*
the

(g) θαυμα-
στον θυμα &
σφαγιον ἐξαι-
ρετον τῷ πα-
τρι καὶ ἡμεῖς
σάμνομεν, ὅ
τις α-
παίτων ἡμῶν
αὐτῶν καὶ σω-
τηρίας, μὴ
μὲν & ὅτι
ἐξ αὐτοῦ
τῆς ζωῆς, τῷ
δὲ τῷ θανά-
του ὡς ὅτι
(h) τοῦτου
διὰ τοῦ
θύματος
τῷ μυστήρι-
ῳ τῆς πίστεως
ἐκτελεῖται διὰ
συμβόλων,
ὅτι τὸ σωμα-
τὸς αὐτοῦ &
τὸ σωτήριον αἰ-
ματὸς, καὶ
τὸ θάνατος &
καὶ τὸ διαδή-
κναι παρὰ ἡ-
μῶν.

(i) Quia
passionis ejus
mentionem in
sacrificiis om-
nibus facimus
(passio est
enim Domini
sacrificium
quod offeri-
mus) nihil ali-
ud quam quod
ille fecit face-
re debemus.
(k) Simile
est, quod
Chrysostomus,
Theophylactus
& Occumeni-
us verba illa,
quod pro vo-
bis frangitur,
ita interpre-
tantur, ut in
sacrificio
Missæ Chri-
stum pati &
frangi &
immolari di-
cant.

(l) τὸ θάνατος ἐκτελεῖται ἐκείνῃ, τῇ οὐρανῇ ζωῇ, ἥ ἐξ αὐτῶν μυστήριον. (m) ἐκ τῆς οὐρανῆς τῆς ζω-
ῆς, καὶ τῆς οὐρανῆς τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ τῆς οὐρανῆς τῆς ζωῆς, ὅταν ἀκούσῃ, διὰ τοῦτο πάντες κοινῇ, ὅταν ἴδῃ ἀνελε-
κτα πᾶσι ἀμφὶ θύρας τότε ἰδούσιν διατελεῖται ὅτι οὐρανὸν αἰῶνι καὶ κενεῖται τῆς ἀρχαίας. (n) πῶς ἡμεῖς
κατακτανῶμεν & σφαγιόμεθα, σφαγιόμεθα μὲν ἀλλὰ ἀνέστησαν ποῦντες τὸ θάνατον αὐτοῦ. καὶ μὴ δὲ αὐτὸς ποῦναι
πᾶς ὅτι καὶ πολλὰ ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τῆς πτωχότητος εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκείνῳ πᾶσι & αὐτῇ ἐκείνῳ & ὅ
αὐτῶν αἰσθησόμεθα & ὅτι ὅτι ἕτερον, &c. (o) τὸ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν γίνεται τὸ τότε μυστήριον. τὸ τοῦ ποῦναι, ὅταν
εἰς ἐκείνῳ ἀνάμνησιν & ὅτι ὅτι θύρας καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὅτι αὐτῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἀνάμνησιν,
ἐργαζόμεθα θύρας. (p) Hujus sacrificii caro & sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimarum similitudinem promit-
tebatur; In passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur; Post ascensum Christi per Sacramentum memorie
celebratur.

celebrate with just reason every day the memory of his body and blood. And a little
after, (g) The Lord having offered a sacrifice, and an excellent victim to his
Father for the salvation of us all, hath commanded us to offer continually the com-
memoration thereof instead of a sacrifice. (h) And in the same place, We have received
the memorial of that sacrifice to celebrate it in his table by the signes of his body and
of his saving blood, according to the institution of the new Testament.

In the chapter before, we brought testimonies of *Austin* in the book of the
eighty three Questions saying twice in the seventy ninth Question, That the holy
Communion is the image and resemblance of the sacrifice of Christs death.
And in ch. 5. of the tenth book of the City of God, *Illud quod ab hominibus
appellatur sacrificium, signum est veri sacrificii, That which men call a sacrifice,
is the sign of a true sacrifice.* He could not speak more plainly. Note that he
saith that men call it a sacrifice, not that God calls it so.

It must not be found strange, that the Fathers call the Lords Supper the sacri-
fice of Christ, seeing that they say also that the sacrifice of the Eucharist is
Christs death.

Cyprian in the sixty third Epistle, *Because in all sacrifices we make mention
of his passion (for the Lords passion is the sacrifice which we offer) we must not do
any other thing but what he did himself.* Upon which place *Pamelius* in his
Notes freely acknowledgeth, that (k) *Chrysostom*, *Theophylact*, and *Occumenius*
interpret so these words, which is broken for you, that they say that in the sacri-
fice of the Mass Christ suffereth, and is broken and changed. Wherein he
saith true, but that this word *Mass* is not found in these Fathers.

The Lords Supper then is in the same manner the sacrifice of Christ, as it is the
death of Christ. Now the Lords Supper is not really the death of Christ; Then
it is not really the sacrifice of Christ, but by commemoration. So *Chrysostom*
speaks, (l) *While that death is a doing, that dread sacrifice, those unspeakable
mysteries.* This Father is he that speaks in the most lofty terms of this sacrifice
among all the ancient writers, and saith often, that Christ is sacrificed in the myste-
ries. In his twenty fourth Sermon upon 1 Cor. 10. he speaks thus, (m) *When this
sacrifice is brought forth, Christ sacrificed, the Lordly sheep; When thou hearest
these words, Let us pray all in common; When thou seest the double curtaines drawn,
think that heaven is opening from above, and Angels are descending.* But there is
no better interpreter of *Chrysostom* then *Chrysostom*. So he speaks in the seven-
teenth Homily upon the Epistle to the Hebrews. (n) *What then? Do we not
not offer every day? We offer indeed, but making a memorial of his death. And
that sacrifice is one, not many. How is that sacrifice one and not many? because
that sacrifice was offered once. He was carried into the holiest of holies (that is,
into heaven) This is a figure of that sacrifice. And in the same place, (o) This
is done in memory of that which was done then; For he saith, Do this in remembrance
of me. We do not another sacrifice, as the High Priest [of the Law] but we do
always the same; Yea rather we celebrate the remembrance of the same sacrifice.*
These words *Yea* rather are very expresse, and grieve our adversaries very
much.

Austin calls also very often the Lords supper a sacrifice. But he expounds
himself in the twentieth book against *Faustus* the Manichean, ch. 21. in these
words, (p) *Of this sacrifice the flesh and blood before Christs coming was pro-*

mised by the resemblance of sacrifices. In Christs passion it was exhibited in truth. After Christs Ascension it is celebrated by the Sacrament of commemoration. Could he say more plainly that the body of Christ is not exhibited, not sacrificed in truth in the Sacrament, then by saying that in his death it was exhibited in truth, but in the Sacrament it is exhibited by commemoration? This so express testimony is depraved and abused by Cardinal du Perron with an incredible licentiousness; for he soweth up a tale to it by way of interpretation. *Austin* saith. The flesh and blood of this sacrifice is promised before the coming of Christ by the victims, that is, (q) (if we must believe the Cardinal) this flesh and blood is promised in a distinct and separate being. But *Austin* speaks not there at all of that separation, but of the figure and resemblance opposed to the truth. Of this Sacrifice (saith he) the flesh and blood was promised before Christs coming by the resemblance of sacrifices, but in the passion it is exhibited in truth. But to what end is this shift, since *Austin* teacheth us in this place, that in the Sacrament the body of the Lord is not exhibited in truth but by commemoration? To that the Cardinal gives no answer.

The same *Austin* in ch. 17. of the seventeenth book against *Faustus Manichean*, (r) To eat bread, in the New Testament is the sacrifice of Christians. So much indeed is not sacrificing Christ really. And in another place, (s) Christ offered up himself in sacrifice for our sins, and hath instituted that the resemblance of that sacrifice be celebrated in memory of his passion.

The book of Faith to *Petrus Diaconus*, which is rather of *Fulgentius* then *Austin*, speaks thus in ch. 19. (t) The universal Church over all the world ceaseth not to offer a Sacrifice of bread and wine, in faith and charity. For in these carnal victims [of the old Testament] there was a representation of the flesh of Christ, which himself being free from sin was to offer for our sins, and of the blood which he was to shed for the remission of sins. But in this sacrifice [of the Eucharist] there is a thanksgiving and a commemoration of the flesh of Christ which he offered for us, and of the blood which the same God hath shed for us. It is observable that he saith that in the Eucharist there is a sacrifice of bread and wine, and that, in commemoration of the flesh of Christ. Then he did not believe that the flesh of Christ was really sacrificed in it.

In the tenth book against *Faustus* ch. 18. (u) Christians celebrate the memory of this same Sacrifice already done, by the holy oblation and participation of the body and blood of Christ.

The words of the Canon *Hoc est*, are most express in the second Distinction of the Consecration, which Canon is ascribed to *Prosper* by *Alger* and *Gratian*, (*) The immolation of the flesh which is done by the hands of the Priest is called the passion, death and crucifying, not in truth but by a significant mystery. In the same manner as the Sacrament of faith by which we understand Baptism, is faith. Can we find it strange that the Lords Supper is called by the Antients the Sacrifice of Christ, seeing that they call it also the death and Passion of Christ? The Grammarian *Suidas*, upon the word *Ecclesia* speaks thus, (x) The Church offereth up the signs of the body of Christ, sanctifying the whole lump by the first fruits. And the *Mals* calls that which the Priest offereth, gifts and presents which God blesteth and sanctifieth and createth every day. Which are not terms convenient to the body of Christ. Hence these expressions which are found in some Councils and Penitential Canons alleaged by *Burchard* in the fifth book, (y) If any vomit the sacrifice, and it be eaten by the dogs, let him do a years penance, (z) Again, Let

effusus erat in remissionem peccatorum. In isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi quam pro nobis obtulit, &c. (u) Christiani peracti eiusdem sacrificii memoriam celebrant, &c. (*) Vocatur ipsa immolatio carnis que sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate sed significantie mysterio. (x) προσφέρειν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰ πρῶτα καρπὸς καὶ δῶρα καὶ ἱερεὺς ἀναγινώσκων ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ τὸ πᾶν τὸ ἅγιον αὐτῆς. (y) Ex penitentiali Theodori & Romano. (z) Concil. Aurelian. c. 5.

(r) Manducare panem in Novo Testamento est sacrificium Christianorum.

(s) Lib. 83. q. 61.

Se ipsum obtulit in holocaustum pro peccatis nostris, & eius sacrificii similitudinem celebrandam in sue passionis memoriam commendavit.

(t) Sacrificium panis & vini in fide & charitate Sancta Ecclesia Catholica per universum orbem terrarum offerre non cessat.

In illis enim carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi quam pro peccatis nostris ipse sine peccato fuerat oblatus & sanguinis quem

every sacrifice grown mouldy with age be burnt. Again, If one hath not well kept the sacrifice, and a mouse or some other creature hath eaten it, let him do forty dayes penance. Which words should be impious, if by the word sacrifice the body of Christ were understood.

See Lombard the Father of the School of the Roman Church in the fourth of the Sentences Dist. 12. lit. G. where he sheweth by testimonies of Ambrose and Austin, that the Eucharist is called the sacrifice of Christ, because it is the commemoration of the sacrifice of the Cross, and brings no other reason for it. The place of Ambrose which he alleadgeth is this, (a) *We offer every day; and that is done in memory of his death. He is the same victim, not many. How is it one, and not many? Because Christ was sacrificed once only; But this sacrifice is done after the example of that, &c. That which we do, is done in commemoration of that which was done.*

(a) In Christo semel oblato est hostia ad salutem sempiternam potens.

Quid ergo nos? nonne singulos dies offerimus? sed ad recordationem mortis ejus, &c. Quod nos facimus, in commemorationem fit ejus, quod factum est.

2. De Consecrat. Can. in Christo ex Ambros. in Ep. ad Hebræos.

(b) Thom.

3. Parte Summæ q. 83. Art. 1. Dicendum, quod duplici ratione celebratio hujus Sacramenti dicitur immolatio Christi. Primo quia sicut dicit Augustinus ad Simplicium q. 3. Solent imagines earum rerum nominibus appellari, quarum imagines sunt, sicut cum intrantes tabulam aut parietem pictum dicimus, ille Cicero est, ille Salustius. Celebratio autem hujus sacramenti imago quedam est representativa passionis Christi, quæ vere est ejus immolatio, &c. Alio modo quantum ad effectum passionis Christi, quia scilicet per hoc sacramentum participes efficiuntur fructus Domini passionis. (c) Nihil est hoc sacramentum quam applicatio Domini passionis ad nos. (d) Pag. 926.

(b) Thomas speaks the same language. The celebration of the Sacrament is called the sacrifice or immolation of Christ for two reasons; First because, as Austin saith to Simplicius, Images are called by the name of the things of which they are images, &c. Secondly, because by the Sacraments, we are made partakers of the death of Christ. He brings no other reason for it. Himself in the exposition of St. John. ch. 6. Lesson 6. (c) *This Sacrament is nothing else but the application which is made unto us of the Lords passion.*

What more? Cardinal du Perron himself in an Assembly which was held in the Convent of the Dominicans of Paris made no difficulty to say, that the Eucharist was a sacrifice of religion instituted to apply and commemorate the sacrifice of the death of Christ, as himself acknowledgeth in ch. 6. (d) At which many were offended, expecting that he would have said rather, that the Eucharist was a sacrifice of redemption where Christ was really sacrifice for our redemption; and they said that he kept that tenet still from his father who was Minister of Gods word.

CHAP. 5.

Examination of the Cardinals shifts.

THE Cardinal in ch. 2. acknowledgeth, that the Fathers call the holy Eucharist a sacrifice of commemoration. But (saith he) it was not as for the essence but as for the end; Meaning that the Fathers understood not that commemoration was of the essence of that sacrifice, but that they spake so to express the end thereof. This Prelat knew not that the end many times is of the essence of things. Thus seeing is the end of the eye, and yet it is of the essence of it, for it enters into the definition of the eye. And cutting is the end of a knife, and yet that fitness to cut is of the essence of the knife, for it is that which makes it to be a knife. This especially is found in the Sacraments. For the end of Baptism is the washing of our sins, and yet that end is of the essence of Baptism.

Yet let us receive that distinction, as absurd as it is. For if the end of an action is not of the essence of the action, at least that end must be agreeable with the essence and nature of the action. Now they give us here an end which is incompatible with the essence and nature of Christs sacrifice. For to sacrifice Christ

Christ, and to make a commemoration of his sacrifice, are things ill agreeing together. Must we sacrifice Christ that we may celebrate the memory of the sacrifice of his death? By the same reason to remember Christs death, we must put him to death again.

The same I say of the application. For to apply Christs sacrifice to our selves we need not sacrifice him, as to apply a payment to us, we need not to pay the second time, and to apply a plaister to us, we need not have another plaister, much less do we need another plaister of a contrary or different nature. For that the sacrifice of the Mass and the sacrifice of the death of Christ are different, yea disagreeing sacrifices, it appears, because the Mass is not the death of Christ, and Christ suffereth nothing in it, and payeth nothing in it for us. The death of Christ happened but once, for it is sufficient to redeem us. But the Mass is celebrated every day, and Masses without number are sung. Many of them go to the redeeming of a soul from Purgatory. Then in the cross God visibly offered up himself; But in the Mass they say, that he offereth himself invisibly by the hands of the Priest under the *species* of bread. M. du Perron acknowledgeth that difference in ch. 6. of which the title is this, *Of the difference of the Sacrifice of Redemption made in the Cross, and of the Sacrifice of Religion made in the Eucharist*. The one then is a sacrifice of redemption, the other is not. But because herein he contradicteth the Mass, and the Council of Trent, which affirm that the Mass is a sacrifice of redemption, he goeth about to heal that wound by making two sorts of redemption, the one *original*, the other *applicative*, and fancying a sacrifice of original redemption which is the death of Christ, and a sacrifice of applicative redemption which is the Mass, which he saith to be a *perpetual salve of redemption, not original, but applicative*, there was need of new words for a new Divinity. I pass by the main fault, that he saith this without the word of God, which acknowledgeth but one redemption; for among these Prelates, Scripture hath lost her authority. But I think not that this doctrine can be tolerated in the Roman Church, which holds that the Mass of it self, and of its nature, not by application only, is a sacrifice of redemption. By the same reason then both the Gospel and Baptism should be an applicative redemption, since by them Christs redemption is applyed unto us. Besides who so will attentively consider this expression of applicative redemption, shall find that it is a *Chimera*, and a piece of gibbrish without common sense. For redemption signifieth buying again, or a ransom and payment to redeem a person. How ridiculous then should that man be that would say, that to redeem a man, there is need of two payments, the one original, the other applicative, as if the application of payment were another payment? When the Prelat spake thus, I suppose he was not in earnest, or that the strength of truth had set him on the rack, and extorted from him these dark and ridiculous words to hide himself in obscurity. For these words necessarily imply that the Eucharist is not at all a sacrifice of redemption, since by it redemption is applyed to us. Neither indeed is there any other redemption, but that which he calls *original*, even the death of Christ, unless we will forge another Gospel. And when we have turned these words every way, no other sense can be drawn out of them, but that which he impugneth, the doctrine our Churches, that the Lords supper is a sacrifice of thanksgiving, in which a commemoration is made of our redemption by the sacrifice of Christs death, and whereby the benefit of the same is applyed unto us. Which he makes evident by saying, (a) that Christ in the Eucharist is not in a condition of passion and merit. This is clearly to say, that the Eucharist is not a sacrifice of redemption. It was not then without cause, that many that heard him speak so in the Assembly in the Convent of the Dominicans, murmured, saying that this doctrine had still a relish of the old leaven, and of the stock whence he was descended.

I pass by divers faults into which the Cardinal falls by the way, as his saying in pag. 929. that the sacrifices of the Law did not confer any grace *ex opere operato*, from the work wrought, but only *ex opere operantis*, from the work of the worker; that

that is, (as he addeth) that of themselves they were of no value, and of no price or vertue, but that their whole vertue depended upon the disposition of the persons that were partakers of them. Certainly, since God had instituted these sacrifices, we make no doubt but that God gave them a salutary vertue, which proceeded not from the vertue of those that were partakers of the sacrifices, but from Gods blessing. If that doctrine of the Cardinal be true, we must say that the Sacraments of the Old Testament, instituted by God, were of no value by their nature, but that they became good and salutary by the vertue of men, not by Gods Institution.

But I cannot pass by a notorious falsification, which he committeth in the fifth chapter of the Treatise of the Sacrifice, pag. 925. where he alleadgeth the 29. Canon of the third Council of Carthage, in these words, *If any recommendation of the dead must be made in the afternoon, whether they be Bishops or Clerks, or others, let it be done by prayers only; if it be found that they that make it, be no more fasting, reserving to the morning only the recommendations made by oblation.* This last clause, *reserving to the morning only the recommendations made by oblation,* is of the Cardinals addition, and is not found in that 29. Canon.

CHAP. 6.

Other reasons for which the Fathers called the Lords Supper a Sacrifice.

(a) Orig.
contra Cel-
sum, lib. 8.
ἀνὴρ ἐὼς ἡ-
μέραν τοῦ
παρασκευῆς
τοῦ ἁγίου
πνεύματος
τοῦ κυρίου
ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ
δουλοῦ
τοῦ θεοῦ.
(b) Cypr.
Ep. 9. lib. 1.
& Serm. de
Eleemofyna.
Theodoret.
Hist. lib. 3.
cap. 12. &
lib. 4. c. 19.
(c) Suscipe
hanc immac-
ulatam ho-
stiam, quam
ego indignus
famulus tuus
offero tibi Deo
meo vivo pro
innumerabi-
libus pecca-
tis, &c.
(d) Aristoph.
Acharna-
ensib. lo-
quens de
impiis.
ἀστυ γὰρ
ἡμεῖς
τοῖς ἑσπέραις
ἔργοις ὡφεί-

Besides the foresaid reason, Why the Lords Supper is called a Sacrifice, namely, Because it is a sign and a commemoration of Christs sacrifice; and besides the reasons for which the prayers, the alms, the repentance, the sufferings for Christ, and generally every good work is called in Scripture a Sacrifice, and for which prayer is called (a) an unbloody sacrifice by the Fathers: there are particular reasons why the Eucharist was so called by the Antient. First because in the holy Communion we offer unto God the sacrifice of Christ, beseeching him to accept the merit of his death for our sins.

Also the holy Communion is a sacrifice of thanksgiving, which the Fathers have shewed enough, by calling it the Eucharist, and by consequent an Eucharistical sacrifice, that is, a sacrifice of thanksgiving. The same is confirmed by the Canon of the Mass, which calls the sacrifice, that the Priest offereth, *sacrificium laudis, a sacrifice of praises.*

Then the offerings (b) which Gods people brought in the very action of the Communion upon the holy Table, to be employed for the Lords Supper, and for the Agapes, and to feed the poor and the Clerks, being called sacrifices by the Antients, that name past to the whole action of the Communion. That expression remaineth in the Mass, in which the bread and wine not consecrated, are called a sacrifice, and an immaculate victim. For these are the words of the offertory, (c) *Receive this immaculate victim, which I a sine unworthy servant offer unto thee my living God for my numberless sins, &c.* This is said before the Consecration. Thus bread not consecrated, is offered for sins in the Mass. Which Bellarmine acknowledgeth in the first Book of the Mass, chap. 27. saying, *It must not be denied, that the bread and the wine are in some manner offered in the Mass. This appeareth first by the Liturgy. For when we say before the Consecration, Receive Holy Father this immaculate victim: Certainly the Pronoun this, sensibly sheweth that which we hold at that time in our hands.* And he sheweth that Irenaeus and other Fathers spake so, and called the bread not consecrated a sacrifice.

Also the desire of drawing the (d) Pagans (who esteemed that no Religion could be without a sacrifice; and upbraided the Christians that they had neither Altars nor sacrifices) made many of the Antients the more willing to call the holy Communion a sacrifice. This reproach, put upon the Christians by the Pa-
gans,

gans, is seen in the eighth Book of (e) *Origen* against *Celsus*, and in the Dialogue of (f) *Minutius Felix*, and in (g) *Arnobius*, as we shewed in another place.

Had the Fathers believed, that they really sacrificed Christ, they would have adored the Sacrament, which they never did: No more then the Apostles, who remained sitting or leaning at the Table. They did indeed venerate the signs and symbols, as *Theodoret* saith in the second Dialogue. And they worshipped Christ in the Eucharist, but they worshipped not the Eucharist. Wherefore they said, *Sursum corda*; *Lift up your hearts on high*; that the people might lift up their hearts to Christ residing in heaven, and not stay upon the Sacrament present to them, as if Christ had been inclosed within it. They would have made an elevation of the host, whereas only they drew (i) curtains that were spread before the Table, when they would shew to the people the Sacrament set upon the Table. They would not have given to women the Sacrament in their hand, and would not have suffered them to carry it to their homes. They would not have burnt or given to children returning from the School the remnant of the bread of the Eucharist; which were the antient customs, as we proved in another place, and will say more of it in the following controversie.

But still the safest course, is to stick close to the Word of God, and to follow the stile of the Apostle, who calls this Sacrament the Lords Supper. For from an impropriety in the language, the Church will pass insensibly to an error in the Faith.

Et lib. 7. *Quid ergo sacrificia censetis nulla omnino facienda?* Resp. Nulla. (h) (ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἑσθλα σφραγισμένη). (i) Chrysost. in 1 Cor. 10. ὅταν ἰδὼς ἀρεσκόμεθα τὰ ἀμύδιον. Et Hom. 3. in Epist. ad Ephes.

(e) Origen. in Cels. li. 8. ὁ Κρίστος ὁμοιωμένος ἡμῶς ἀπαλάματα ἔχων ἰδρυθῆς ὅτιον γέν. (f) Minut. Felix in Octavio. Cur nullas aras habent christiani, templa nulla, nota nulla simulachra? (g) Arnob. lib. 6. Consuētis nobis impietatis maximum crimen affingere quod non altaria fabricamus, non aras.



Eleventh Controversie,
OF THE
SEVENTH BOOK.

Of the
Real Prefence of CHRIST'S Body
IN THE
SACRAMENT,
AND
Of Transubstantiation.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Institution of the holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper.



IN the Question of the real presence of the Sacrament, M. du Perron leaving the holy Scripture, which can alone decide this difference, betakes himself altogether to the Fathers, who call that which we receive in the holy Communion *the body of Christ*. But since the Word of God is the only rule of our Faith, he should at least have done that honour to the Word of God, to let it speak first.

We shall begin then with the Institution of this holy Sacrament, such as Christ made it among his Apostles; To which if all would keep themselves, speaking as Christ spake, and doing as he did, this controversie would be soon ended; And a quarrel about which so much blood was spilt, would be changed into concord and a kind reconciliation.

In that institution we find, that Christ sitting at Supper with his face towards his Disciples, speaking to them in a known tongue, took bread, and having blessed it,

CHAP. 2.

That the Doctrine of the Real presence, and of Transubstantiation, is repugnant to Christs Institution. The Cardinals reasons are examined.

THe institution of this Sacrament affords us two sorts of proofs, both clear and strong : Some of them drawn from Christs words, some from the circumstances of the action.

In the words of the Institution we find, 1. That Christ took and broke bread. 2. That he gave bread to his Disciples. 3. That this bread which he gave to his Disciples, was his body. 4. That this bread is broken in the Eucharist. 5. That his blood was shed in the same. 6. That Christ gave and broke bread; to be a remembrance or commemoration of himself. 7. That the thing which is in the cup, is the Testament or Covenant of Christ. 8. That the said Covenant is in the blood of Christ. 9. That in the cup of the Sacrament, there was the fruit of the Vine. 10. That Saint Paul addeth, that it is bread which we eate in the Lords Supper, and that bread distinct from the cup. As many words, so many thunderbolts to overthrow Transubstantiation.

First proof.

First then, the Evangelists witness that *Christ brake bread*; But the Roman Church saith, That the Priest breaks no bread. For he breaks the Host, after the words which they call *consecrating words*; after which they hold that the Host is no more bread. And to perswade the people that it is the body of Christ which the Priest breaks, and not bread; the Roman Church hath put the fraction of the Host after the pronouncing of the words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, &c. Whereas Christ broke the bread before he said, *This is my body*. It was then bread when Christ broke; According to that which Saint Luke saith, *Acts 20. 7. The Disciples came together to break bread*. And Saint Paul, *1 Cor. 10. 16. The bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the body of Christ*? Wherefore when we ask our Adversaries what it is that the Priest breaks, when he breaks the consecrated Host? they find themselves shrewdly puzzled, and driven into brakes whence they cannot get out; neither do they understand themselves. For what is it that the Priest breaks? Is it bread? But they say that it is no more bread, when the Priest breaks the Host. Or doth he break the body of Christ? But themselves say that it cannot be broken, and that it remains whole in every piece of the Host. Are then the accidents broken? But it is going against common sense, to go about to break colours and flavours, and a length of bread without bread. And it is giving the lye to Scripture, which saith expressly, that it is bread which we break and eate in the Lords Supper. Besides the Roman Church pretends to offer and sacrifice unto God, that which is broken in the Mass, now one cannot sacrifice unto God, flavours, and colours, and lines. And these words, *breaking the Host*, cannot signifie the breaking of those accidents: For those accidents are not the Host or Victim for our sins. Wherefore finding no way to get out, they never answer to the purpose, and being asked what it is that is broken in the Mass? they answer that the body of Christ is broken under the *species* or accidents. But we did not ask under what the body of Christ is broken in the Mass, but only whether it be broken? And truly these words, *the body of Christ is broken under the accidents*, signifie nothing else, but that the body of Christ is not broken in effect, but that the accidents are broken.

Second proof.

The second proof drawn from the words of the Institution, is in these words, that *Christ took bread and gave it*. So it was bread which he gave. Now he gave it not but after the consecration, then it was bread after the consecration. This seems to me a strong and a clear proof, which to elude, our Adversaries either never alleadge these words, or being constrained to alleadge them, they alleadge together the following words, *This is my body*, which only they will stand upon. But the words of this Institution are true, whether they be read with one breath,

or

or that every clause be read apart. It is true then that Christ gave bread; it is true also that this bread is his body; and we must not make use of that coherence to overthrow the truth of either of these clauses. That which is most to be noted, is, that these words which say that Christ gave bread, are not the words of Christ, as the following words, but they are the words of the Apostles; who long after that Institution, declare to us that Christ, when he said, *This is my body*, gave bread.

Then the Gospel declareth, that Christ giving bread to his Disciples told them, *This is my body*. Which words say plainly, that the bread which he gave was his body, not that this bread was changed into his body by these words. These words, *This is my body*, are declarative of that which is, not effective of that which is not; and they presuppose that the bread was the body of Christ, before Christ said, *This is my body*. As also all the Antients with one consent hold, that the consecration was done, not by these words, *This is my body*, but by the prayer. And reason it self requireth, that the bread be rather consecrated by asking Gods blessing upon it, then by speaking to the bread. Besides, the word *this*, can signify nothing but what Christ held in his hand. Now our Adversaries say, that when Christ pronounced the word *this*, he had yet the bread in his hand. Then the sense of these words, *This is my body*, is, *This bread is my body*. Bellarmine here joyns with us, saying, (a) *The Lord took bread, he blessed bread, he gave bread, he said of bread, This is my body*. Since then Christ said, that this bread was his body, and that bread cannot be the body of Christ indeed, but only in figure and signification, it followeth that the sense of these words, *This bread is my body*, is, *This bread is my body in figure or Sacrament*. As the same Bellarmine acknowledgeth, (b) *These words*, (saith he) *This bread is my body, must be taken figurately, so that the bread be the body of Christ in signification, else the proposition is altogether absurd and impossible*.

I add that when Christ said, *This is my body*, by the word *this*, he understood that which he gave. Now the Gospel testifieth that he gave bread. Truly if we will believe the Gospel, we must believe these two things: The one that Christ gave bread, the other that this bread was his body. And next we must consider, how and in what sense the bread can be called the body of Christ. Which himself teacheth us soon after, saying that it is his commemoration.

Fourthly Saint Paul teacheth us, that Christ giving the bread to his Disciples, said, *This is my body which is broken for you*: Since he speaks in the present Tense, he speaks of a fraction which he did while he gave the bread. And whereas that fraction could not be real (for Christs body cannot be really broken by the Priest) he must of necessity speak of a Sacramental and figurative fraction, representing the fraction of Christs body on the Cross. Whence it followeth, that as Christs body is broken but Sacramentally, not really in the Lords Supper, likewise Christs body is but Sacramentally, not really in the Sacrament. For the body of Christ is in the same manner present in the Eucharist, as it is broken in the Eucharist. Now it is not really broken in the Eucharist, but in Sacrament, then it is really present there but in Sacrament, and (as it is said a little after) in commemoration. The corrupt Version of the Roman Church, which translates *shall be broken*, instead of *is broken*, would robb us of this proof, and keep us from knowing the sense of Christs words. Not that this is a late depravation. Neither will I tax our Adversaries to be the Authors of this falsification. Only we give them warning that they ought to correct their Version, since that depravation troubleth the sense, and obscureth the truth. And if after good warning, they continue to use a forged text to disguise the truth, they are guilty of forgery.

Fifthly, Christ saith that this blood is shed. He saith not that it *shall be shed*, but that *it is shed*: in the present, not in the future, as the Version of our Adversaries falsely translates it, *fundetur* instead of *funditur*. He speaks then of a blood-shedding which was done, while Christ was speaking. I confess indeed, that Christ speaks of the shedding of his blood, which was to be done on the Cross the

Third proof.

(a) Bellar. lib. 2. de Eucharist. cap. 19. sect. Primum.

Panem accepit, panem benedixit, panem dedit, & de pane dixit, Hoc est corpus meum.

(b) Idem lib. 1. cap. 1. sect. Nonus.

Hec sententia, Hic panis est corpus meum, accipi debet tropice, ut panis sit corpus Christi figurative, aut est plane absurda & impossibilis.

Fourth proof.

next day, But he speaks in the present, to give to understand to his Disciples, that the effusion which he was doing in the Sacrament, was a figure of that which was to be done on the Cross. The true blood of Christ was Sacramentally shed in the Eucharist.

Here our Adversaries are fore put to it, and never answer directly, or to the purpose. We ask them, Whether the blood of Christ be shed really and truly in the holy Communion? Their belief is, that it is not shed, and that it comes not out of the Lords body, nor out of his veins, and that Christs body is impassible, and that no local motion is made of the Lords blood. Yet not daring to contradict openly these words, which say in the present Tense, that Christs blood is shed when the cup is presented; they say that it is shed under the *species*, that is, Under the accidents, under the colour and the taste of Wine. But we did not ask, under what Christs blood is shed? but, Whether it be shed at all in the Eucharist? And these words *to be shed under the accidents or species*, if they signifie any thing, they signifie this, *to be shed in shew, not in effect*. Yet they continue to say, that the blood of Christ is really shed under the *species*, that is, that the said blood is shed really in shew, but not in effect, which is a manifest contradiction, and forging an effusion without motion, a real effusion of blood that stirreth not, and comes not out of the veins, a blood flowing without flowing, and without stirring. It is not then a natural effusion. But it is the natural effusion of the blood of Christ, which is the price of our redemption. And when the Apostle Heb. 9. saith, that *without shedding of blood there is no remission*, he speaks of the real and natural shedding, not of that which is done in shew, not in effect. And themselves call the Eucharist an unbloody sacrifice, acknowledging that no blood is shed in it. Then the shedding of Christs blood in the Eucharist, is a Sacramental shedding, signifying the shedding of the Lords blood on the Cross, and a commemoration, as Christ addeth. There is nothing more convenient, then to use Sacramental expressions in the Institution of a Sacrament, and in an action which is a figure, to use figures conformable to the nature of the action.

Sixth
proof.

Sixthly, Christ having given bread, saying, *This is my body*, addeth, *Do this in remembrance of me*. If this bread be given in remembrance of Christ, it is not Christ in effect, but in remembrance, as signs take the name of the things signified. Memorials are never the very things of which they renew the memory. Neither can any thing be more absurdly spoken, then that which our Adversaries say, That Christ in the Eucharist is both the sign and the signified thing; and that (c) he is the figure and commemoration of himself; as if one said, that *Alexander* is the image of himself, and that the King and the Kings picture are the same thing. And (to make absurdity superlative) that the body of Christ which is invisible in the Mass, is the figure or image of the visible body of Christ. Some visible images of invisible things may be found. But as for images, or signs, or invisible and imperceptible figures of visible things, there is none to be found; for signs and images that are invisible and insensible, signifie nothing, and by consequent are neither signs nor images.

(c) Bellar.
lib. 2. de
Eucharist.
cap. 24.
*Idem Christus
fuit figura
sui ipsius.
Et scilicet Ter-
tia. Est verè
corpus Domini
& signum
eiusdem cor-
poris.*

To this add, that (d) memory is of things past or absent. One may commemorate the actions past of a person in his presence, but that is not a commemoration of the person present, but of his actions past. The tombes of Martyrs were called memories, not to remember their bones lying there, but their past sufferings, and their absent souls. Since then this Sacrament is given in remembrance of Christs body, it cannot be Christs body.

(d) Aristot.
lib. de me-
moria & re-
minisc. c. 1.
¶ ὁ μνησθῆναι
τὸ πρὸς τὸν
τὸν παρὸν
τὸν παρὸν.

Seventh
proof.

Indeed the fraction and manducation of the Sacramental bread, and the effusion of the cup, are a commemoration of the death of Christ suffering for us, and of the shedding of his blood on the Cross. But as for the Sacrament it self, Christ saith that it is the remembrance of himself, saying, *Do this in remembrance of me*.

(e) ἡ δὲ δόξα.

Seventhly, Christ (according to Saint Pauls and Saint Lukes relation) giving the cup, called that which was in that cup the *new Covenant*, or the *New Testament*, (for the (c) Greek word signifieth both) saying, *This cup is the New Testament*.

Testament. These words give a great light to the intelligence of these words, *This is my body.* For, 1. The bread which the Lord gave, must be the Lords body in the same manner, as that which is within the cup is the New Testament. Now that which is within the cup, is not really a Testament, but in Sacrament and commemoration, as signs will take the names of the things signified. 2. Then reason it self requireth that Christ should use the same language for one kind, as for another. 3. And that to institute a Sacrament, he should speak in a Sacramental way, that his words might be conformable to the nature of the action. Then the sense of these words is, *This cup is the sign or the commemoration of the New Testament.* 4. Or else we must say that wine or blood is a Covenant, that a substance is an accident, that wine is a contract. 5. That Christ whom they put in the cup is a Testament, and so that the Testator and the Testament are the same thing. 6. That the wine is transubstantiated into a Testament. 7. That the blood of Christ is composed with Clauses and Articles, for this is proper to every Testament. 8. And that by this transubstantiation Gods Covenant was made, as if it had not been before.

They that (to avoid so many inconveniencies) will say that the blood which is in the cup is called a New Covenant, because it is a seal and a confirmation of the New Covenant, plead our cause. For by the same reason I will say, that the Sacrament of bread is called the body of Christ, because it is a seal and a confirmation to us, that the body of Christ is ours.

But the eighth observation seems to me the most evident of all, That the Lord Jesus did not only say, *This cup is the New Testament*, but added, *In my blood*, saying, *This cup is the New Testament in my blood.* Since that which is in the cup is the Covenant in the blood of Christ, it is clear that it is not the blood of Christ. *Si calix est in sanguine, calix non est sanguis.* Or if by this word *cup*, the blood of Christ must be understood, these words, *This cup is the Covenant in my blood*, will signifie, *This blood is the Covenant in my blood.* Thus the blood of Christ shall be in the blood of Christ; an absurd expression, contradicting it self: Unless they will make us here two real bloods of Christ, and two Christs, which is a prodigious impiety.

The ninth proof is drawn from these words of Christ, related by Saint *Mat.* *Ninth* *them*, that after the Lord had given the cup, he said, *I shall drink no more of this proof.* *fruit of the Vine, till I drink it new in the Kingdom of heaven.* By these words the Lord saith expressly, that what he drunk in the Sacrament with his Disciples was of the fruit of the Vine, that is, wine not blood, as the Council of Worms saith, in the fourth Chapter, (f) *It was wine in the mystrie of our redemption,*

when the Lord said, I will drink no more of the fruit of the Vine. Innocent the III. in the fourth Book of the mysteries of the Mass, chap. 27. saith the same. (g) *Now that it was wine which Christ consecrated in the cup; it appears by that which he added, I will drink no more of the fruit of the Vine.* It is true, that Saint *Luke* speaks of two cups, the one of the Pasover, the other of the holy Communion, and saith that the Lord called also the cup of the Pasover, the fruit of the Vine. But Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Mark* speak not of the cup of the Pasover, but only of the cup of the Sacrament. By consequent then, they call the cup of the Sacrament, the fruit of the Vine. They testifie also, that the Lord said these words after he had given the cup of the Sacrament. Then the Lord spake of that last cup which he had given them with, or immediately before these words: Unless we will accuse these two Evangelists, that they have unfaithfully related these words of Christ, taxing them to have inverted his words, and to have said of the cup of the Sacrament, that which the Lord said only of the cup of the Pasover. Why do we not rather believe *Matthew* and *Luke* alike, believing that Christ called each of these cups the fruit of the Vine? But that *Matthew* speaks only of the cup of the Lords Supper, because his principal end was to relate Christs words in the institution of the Sacrament?

Some not bold enough to accuse *Matthew* and *Mark*, that they inverted the Lords words, have recourse to other shifts, and say that the blood of Christ

(f) Apud Juonem part. 2. fol. 68. Vinum fuit in redemptionis nostre mysterio cum dixit, Non bibam de genimine vitis, &c. (g) Quod autem vinum in Calice consecraverit, patet ex eo quod ipse subiunxit, Non bibam a modo, &c.

is called the fruit of the Vine, because it was wine before the consecration, and because it seems still to be wine, after the consecration. These men find figures where they list, and rejecting an usual and familiar figure, conformable to the nature of the action, whereby signs take the name of the things signified, they forge other figures which are hard, violent, and false. For it is false that ever the blood of Christ was wine. It is true, that the rod of *Moses* is still called a rod, even when it was turned into a Serpent, because it had been a rod before. But the blood of Christ cannot be called wine because it was wine, for it was never wine. The same I say of the water converted into wine, *John 2. 9.*

With the like absurdity they tell us, that the blood of Christ is called wine, because it seems to be so. For that also is false. The blood of Christ never seemed to be wine. That figure should be contrary to the nature of the Sacrament, which requireth that the signs be called by the names of the things signified; but by this exposition, they make signified things, to be named by the names of the signs. Examples may be found in Scripture, of attributing the name of the signs to the things signified, but never in the institution of Sacraments.

Tenth
proof.

Finally, The Apostle immediately after the words of the institution of the Sacrament, addeth these words, *As often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shall announce the Lords death till he come. Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread or drink this cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup.* This Apostle who writ the last of this matter, and more largely then others, saith three times together, that it is bread which we eat in the Lords Supper. Now the Lords Supper is not eaten, but after the consecration. It is then bread after the consecration. The same he saith in ver. 16. of the tenth chapter. *The bread which we break, &c.* And *Act. 20. 7. The Disciples came together to break bread.* The text saith not, that the Disciples were come together to sing Mass, for it was not the language of the Apostles, but to break bread; Which language in our dayes would be ridiculous. He that going to Mass, would say, *We are going to break bread;* or, *We are going to eat the Lords Supper;* (as Saint Paul speaks, *1 Cor. 11. 20.*) should be held either an Heretick, or a distracted man.

The ordinary answer is, that the Lords body is called bread, because it looks like bread, that is, that Saint Paul speaks according to the appearance, not according to the truth. So they fill all with figures. They should have brought then some exprefs of the Apostle, where he expounds himself, that we might not be deceived: But that they do not. Besides they affirm a false thing: For the Lords body never lookt like bread. They say also, that the Lords body is called bread, because it was bread before the consecration. That likewise is false, for the Lords body was never bread. They insist also upon the Pronoun *this*, and say that Saint Paul did not say *the bread*, but *this bread*, that is, this bread of life, this bread descended from heaven, which is Christs body. But Saint Paul never spake of bread of life, nor of bread descended from heaven. These terms are found in Saint John, who writ after Saint Paul. Wherefore it is impossible that Saint Paul should have had respect to those texts of Saint John. He could not send back the *Corinthians* to a book not yet written, to have the intelligence of that he writ to them. And that bread of life mentioned in Saint Johns Gospel, is never opposed to the cup, nor distinguished from the cup. That is proper to the bread of the Sacrament. Besides, Saint Paul saying *this bread*, useth a demonstrative Pronoun, which can have no reference to any thing, but to the bread mentioned in the precedent lines, saying, *Jesus took bread and brake it.* If Saint Paul said *this bread*, not *the bread*, in another place he saith *the bread*, *1 Cor. 10. 16. The bread which we break.* There their mystical interpretation faileth them. To interpret those words of Saint Paul, *The bread which we break;* and, *As often as you eat this bread;* by these of Christ, *This is my body,* is to overthrow the nature of things, it is to take for granted that Christ is the interpreter of the words of the Apostle, whereas it was the Apostles charge to expound the words of Christ. To which add, that the Apostle writ long after that Christ had spoken these

these things, and spoke of them more copiously : Yet his words are wrested in our dayes with unusual figures, contrary to the nature of the Sacrament.

Besides, it is an error to interpret Saint Pauls words, speaking of the Sacrament, by the words of Christ, in the sixth Chapter of Saint John, where Christ speaks not of this Sacrament. For at that time the Sacrament of the Eucharist was not yet instituted. And when Christ said, *I am the bread of life*, he was already the bread of life, and so is still, as well out of the Sacrament, as with it.

Saint Pauls words, 1 Cor. 10. 16. *The bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the body of Christ* ? put our Adversaries upon the rack. Every word of that Text is contradicted by the Roman Church. The Apostle saith, that it is *bread that we break*. The Roman Church saith, that it is *flesh which cannot be broken*, and that the whole body is under every crum. The Apostle saith, that the bread which we eat, is the Communion with the body of Christ. But the Roman Church saith, that it is not the Communion with the body of Christ, but the very body of Christ. Observe also, that the Apostle in the same place, to shew how this bread is the Communion with the body of Christ, opposeth the Communion of the Table of the Lord, to the Communion of the Table of Devils. And with that Table Communion might be had, although the meats consecrated unto Devils, were not transubstantiated into Devils.

By all these proofs, it appears in what sense bread is called the body of Christ; even because it is the Sacrament of the remembrance of the same. For it is the nature of Sacraments to name signs, with the name of things signified, not to call things signified with the name of signs. Thus circumcision is called Gods Covenant, Gen. 17. 10. And the Paschal Lamb is called the *Pasover*, that is, the *passage*, Exod. 12. 11. and in many other places, because it was the commemoration of the passage of the Angel through Egypt. And the Ark is called the Lord, 2 Sam. 6. 2. And the stone which yielded water in the Wilderness, is called *Christ*, 1 Cor. 10. 4. And the cup of the Sacrament, in this very text is called *the New Covenant*. Thus then the bread is called the body of Christ, because it is the commemoration of the same, as Christ declareth, *Do this in remembrance of me*. Neither could any thing be more convenient, then in an action which is a figure, to use a figure suitable to the nature of the action,

There is more, for all that are skilled in the Hebrew tongue, know that it hath no proper word to say, *This signifieth my body*, and that instead of *signifies*, it saith is alwayes. Thus *the three branches are three dayes*, Gen. 40. 12. *And the seven kine are seven years, and the seven ears are seven years of famine*, Gen. 40. *These bones are the whole house of Israel*, Ezek. 37. 11. *The tree that thou sawest, it is thou O King*, Dan. 4. 20, 22. *And the ten horns are ten Kings*, Dan. 7. 24. *The seven heads are seven hills*. And the woman which thou sawest is the great City, Rev. 17. 9. & 18. See Gal. 4. 24.

This figure is so natural and usual, that he that would speak otherwise and use proper words, should make himself ridiculous, as if instead of a *sphere* one should say, the *representation of the Celestial spheres*.

Our Adversaries themselves make this evident, for while they will avoid this figure, so natural and so convenient to the nature of the Sacraments, they are forced to bring in a multitude of other unusual and violent figures. For by the word *this*, they understand that which is under these species, and make it an *individuum vagum*, and no certain thing. And by *this bread*, they will understand *this flesh*, or *this body*. And when Saint Paul saith, *The bread which we break*, by *the bread* they understand *the flesh*, and by *breaking*, they understand *not breaking*. For (say they) Christs body remains whole in every piece: Thus when the Lord saith, *This cup is the New Testament in my blood*; they forge (h) two bloods of Christ, the one in the cup, the other shed on the Cross, the one being in the other, making Christ to say, *This blood is the New Testament in my blood*, as if the blood of Christ were in the blood of Christ.

Thus when Christ said, *I leave the world*, John 16. 18. and, *I am no more in the world*, John 17. 11. *And me you have not alwayes*, John 12. 8. And when Peter

(h) Bellar.
lib. 1. de
Euchar. cap.
11. sect. ad
quartum.
Sanguis acci-
pitur duo-
bus modis in
his duobus
locis.

said

said of Christ, that *the heaven must receive or contain him, until the times of the restitution of all things*; Acts 3. 21. to make these texts to agree with the doctrine of the Roman Church, which saith that the body of Christ is alwayes present in earth in a million of places, in Altars, in boxes, in stomachs, &c. so that he is far more present in earth, then he was before his Ascension, and is not contained in heaven; they say that Christ in those texts spake of his visible presence, and that when he said, *I leave the world, and am no more in the world*, we must supply *visibly*: This tayl they sow up, and add this gloss of their own, without the Word of God: And speak against common sense; For they speak as if one swore that he hath no money, reserving this secret meaning, *none that you can see*.

Certainly, to have Christ invisibly, is to have Christ. That man should be a lyar, that would say, that he hath no money. because his money is hidden, or that he hath no soul, because his soul is invisible, or that he goeth out of the Town and leaveth it, whereas he remains hidden in the Town. They make then Christ to leave the world, and yet to stay in the world; to go out of it, and yet not to stir out of it: And that the heaven contains the Lords body, as Saint Peter saith, and yet that body is out of heaven, and is not contained in it.

No Painter with his anticks can come near their extravagancies and prodigious licence in wresting Scripture, and forging figures, for which neither Grammar nor Rhetorick ever found any name.

Circum-
stances.

The circumstances of the action, time and persons give here a great light. 1. When Christ instituted the Lords Supper, his body was not yet glorified, but was infirm, passible and mortal. By consequent, to give unto Christ a body without place; and yet in an hundred thousand places, having a length without extent, in vain do they alleadge that the body of Christ is glorious. For it was not glorious as yet, when he gave the bread, saying, *This is my body*. By consequent, they give us two bodies of Christ at the same time, clad with contrary qualities, the one glorious and impassible, the other infirm and passible. The one having a place, the other having none. The one sitting at the Table, speaking and stirring his hands, the other in the mouthes and stomachs of his Disciples, not speaking, and not able to change place, because he was not in any place. The one having a certain extent of length, and the parts of his body different in seat, the other having no extent, and having all his parts under the same point of the Host. If they were two bodies of Christ, which of the two was our Saviour? If it was but the same body, how can the same body be contrary to himself? The same man can in the same time be poor and rich, great and small, but in divers respects, that is, when he is compared with divers persons. He may be great, compared to a Dwarf, and small compared to a Giant. But here they attribute contrary things unto Christ at the same time, without comparing him to any other but himself.

It is most important to observe, that Christs body is presented to us in the Lords Supper, for the food of our souls; Not as he is now glorious and impassible, but as dying for us, and suffering for our redemption. *As often as you eat this bread, (saith the Apostle) you shall announce the Lords death*. Wherefore also the bread is broken, to signifie his body suffering on the Cross. Then is Christ, whether in the Sacrament, or out of the Sacrament, the food of our souls, when we apprehend him dying for us, and delivering himself to death, for the life and salvation of the world, John 6. 51.

In vain then do they go about to cover all the absurdities arising out of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, by saying that the body of Christ is glorious, seeing that we apprehend him in the Sacrament as infirm, and dying, and in the lowest point of his ignominy.

2. It is considerable also that as Christ made no elevation of the Sacrament, so the Apostles made no adoration of that which Christ held in his hands, but remained sitting at the table. Neither is it to any purpose to reply that they did not adore Christ, because they had him continually with them; for they had ne-

ver

ver eaten him, and never been present at such a sacrifice. Now every sacrifice of necessity implyeth adoration.

3. It is also a notable circumstance that Christ in the holy Communion ate and drank with his Disciples. According to the doctrine of the Roman Church, he ate his own body. He had his head in his mouth; His whole body entred into his stomach; This implyeth a thousand contradictions, which we have represented in another place. And that work of eating himself being more miraculous then his conception, resurrection, and Ascension, yet our Adversaries can produce no benefit of the same, and cannot tell us how it conduceth to our redemption, that Christ ate himself, yea and drank his bones and flesh, since they teach that the body was whole in every drop of the Chalice.

4. We must not omit that our adversaries hold with *Austin* and *Hierome* that *Judas* took the Sacrament, and ate with the other Apostles. Now the Gospel witnesseth that the Devil entred into him when he sate at the table. If our Adversaries must be believed, the body of Christ, and the Devil entred together into *Judas*. These two guests should have been ill together. And we must believe besides that the ill guest, the Devil prevailed.

5. To avoid so many absurdities there is no other way, but to say with the Evangelists that Christ gave bread, and that the Disciples are bread, and drunk the fruit of the vine; and that this bread is called the body of Christ, because it is the commemoration and the sign of the same, according as the Sacraments and signs are commonly named with the name of that they signifie and represent. As *Austin* saith in the 23. Epistle to *Bonifacius*, *The Sacraments, by reason of the likeness, are commonly named with the name of that they signifie or represent.* And against *Adimantus*, ch. 12. (i) *The Lord made no difficulty to say, This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body.* And *Theodore* in the first Dialogue (k) *The Lord gave unto the sign the name of his body.* (l) *Again, Christ hath honoured the visible signs with the appellation of his body and blood, having not changed their nature, but added grace unto nature.* And *Tertullian* in the fourth book against *Marcion*, ch. 40. (m) *This is my body, that is, the figure of my body.* And *Maximus* who commented on *Dionysius*, speaking of that which is received in the Sacrament, (n) *These things (saith he) are signes and not the truth.* Of which testimonies we shall speak more exactly hereafter.

Out of all that we have said it appeareth, how ill grounded the reason of Cardinal *du Perron* is, who alleadging these words, *This is my body*, clipt and curtailed, weighing neither what goeth before nor what comes after, saith that *this very thing that the Lord said, This is my body, and did not expound how it was his body, sheweth that these words need no explication, and therefore must be taken according to the outward literal sense, not according to a hidden indirect and Allegorical sense.* For we have shewed how clearly these words, are expounded in the Gospel, in that it is said that Christ gave bread, and that in remembrance of him, and that the Lord hath drunk the fruit of the vine with his Disciples, and that it is bread which we eat in remembrance of his death, and in that the Lord calls the cup his Covenant, although it be but the Sacrament or the sign of his Covenant. And how expresse and excellent is *St. Pauls* exposition whereby he expoundeth these words, *This is my body*, saying, *The bread which we break is it not the communion of the body of Christ?*

Yet suppose that in the Gospel these words, *This is my body*, are not expounded, doth it follow thence that there is no figure in the *it*? When Christ said; (*) *I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman*, he added no exposition to it, yet our Adversaries acknowledge a figure in that expression. And whereas after he had said, *This is my body*, he said, *This cup is the new Testament*; they are constrained to acknowledge a figure in it. Yet the Lord added no exposition to it. May more, that when figures are clear, familiar, and usual, that man should be ridiculous that would trouble himself to expound them. He that shewing the picture of *Julius Caesar* saith, *This is Julius Caesar*, saith enough to be understood; And he should shew himself a shallow brained man if he added, *By Julius*

(i) Non dubitavit dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui. (k) τὸ μὲν σῶμα τὸ τῷ συμβόλῳ τῷ θεῷ ὁμοῖον τὸ ὅτι τῷ σωματι. (l) τὰ ὁρατὰ σύμβολα τῷ τῷ σωματι ἐν αἰσιν ματρὸς ἀποφαντικὰ ἐν τῷ οὐκ ὁρατῷ ἀλλὰ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. (m) Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei. (n) σύμβολα ταῦτα ἐν ἑκ ἀλλήλων. (*) Joh. 29. 1.

(*) Pag.
367.

Julius Cæsar I understand, not his person, but his picture. And our Adversaries feigning to avoid all figures in these words wrest them into a figurative sense, since by the word *this*, they understand not that which Christ held in his hand (for according to their belief he held bread yet at that time) but an *individuum vagum*, and that which lyeth under the accidents. So that by the word *is*, they understand *shall be*, or *shall become*. (*) And the Cardinal himself saith, that by the word *this* is understood that which Christ held when he had made an end of pronouncing the words; Whereby he interfereth himself with a contradiction. For when Christ said *this*, he had not yet made an end of pronouncing. The Cardinal then ought to have said, not that which Christ held, but that which he was to hold after pronouncing. Truly in that matter the Adversaries stumble at every step, and the contrary of that they say must alwayes be understood. They say that the host is round, yet they know that Christ is not round, and that the accidents are not the Host, or victim for our sins. They speak of making an elevation of God, yet they know that God cannot be elevated. They speak of the Sacrament of the body of Christ, whence it follows that the Sacrament is not the body of Christ. They say that the Sacraments are sacred signs, and yet say that they worship the Sacrament: It is the nature of those that defend an error, to say, and unsay, and desiring to be believed, yet they believe not themselves.

That which the Cardinal addeth, that *the thing which our Lord held in his hand before the pronouncing of these words*, This is my body, was not the body of Christ, That, I say, is false, and the spring of the whole error. For it was not by these words that Christ consecrated the bread but by the prayer and blessing which went before. And it is clear that these words, *This is my body*, are not words which make bread to become the body of Christ, but words declaring that the bread was his body already. All the Antient Fathers agree in that, and hold that the consecration is made by prayer and invocation. *Justin Martyr* in the second Apology calls that which we receive in the Eucharist, (o) *a food consecrated by the prayer of the Word proceeding from God*. *Austin* in book 3. ch. 4. of the Trinity, (p) *That which is taken from the fruits of the earth, and consecrated by the mystical prayer*. (q) *Theodore* in the second Dialogue brings in an heretick, and advocate of Transubstantiation speaking thus, *The signes of the body and blood are other before the Priests invocation, but after the invocation they are changed*. (r) *Origen* in book 8. against *Celsus*, *We eat loaves by prayer made a body which is a certain holy thing*. (s) *Irenæus* book 4. ch. 4. *The bread receiving Gods invocation is no more common bread but the Eucharist*.

Basil in the book of the holy Ghost, ch. 27. calls the words of Consecration, *τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰσηματὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναθέσει τῷ ἁγίῳ*, the words of invocation when the bread is shew'd.

(t) And the Canon *Corpus* in the second Distinction of the Consecration, *We call the body and blood of Christ that which being taken from the fruits of the earth, and consecrated by the mystical prayer, is rightly taken by us for spiritual salvation, in memory of the Lords passion*. And which is more, that great builder of Decrees and Canons, *Innocent the III.* (u) in the fourth book of the mysteries of the Mass ch. 6. holds that Christ did not consecrate by these words, *This is my body*, but by his divine vertue before he pronounced these words. Yet this day the Greek Church consecrateth by prayer, as *Bellarmin* acknowledgeth in book 4. of the Eucharist, ch. 12. §. *Habemus*.

The Cardinal goeth on, *A substantial attribute* (saith he) *cannot be said substantially of a subject, of which it was not said before, unless either the subject be substantially changed, or the subject have taken some other substance in an hypostatical union*. By these words he presupposeth the thing in question, namely

(o) οὗτο
τις δὲ ἐν
Χρῆστί τῷ λόγῳ
τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῷ
ἐνχαριστή-
σαι ἡτοίμα-
(p) De fru-
ctibus terre
acceptam &
prece mystica
consecratam
(q) ἀλλὰ
ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ
ἐκκλησίας
ἐν τῇ ἀναθέ-
σει τῷ ἁγίῳ
(r) ἀγνός
ἐστὶν οὗτος
ὁ λόγος ὅτι
μα γινώσκουσιν
διὰ τὸν ἐν-
χλὼ, ἀγνόν.
(s) Qui
est à terra
panis, percipi-
ens invocati-
onem Dei,
jam non
communis
panis est,
sed Eucha-
ristia.
(t) Corpus
& sangui-
nem Christi dicimus illud, quod de fructibus terre acceptum & prece mystica sanctificatum recte sumimus, &c.
(u) Alii dixerunt, quod & Sacramentum consecit, & formam instituit post benedictionem, cum dixit, Hoc est corpus meum, &c. Quibus illud videtur obistere, quod prius fregit quam dixerit, Hoc est corpus meum.

that

that this word *body* is substantially, attributed to that which Christ held, that is, to the bread: But that we deny, and he brings no proof for it.

Upon that false presupposition all the rest of the chapter is grounded, and by consequent doth not concern us. By the way this Prelat gives us an excellent proof of his exquisite learning, in these words, *When the water pots of the Architrclin were filled up.* He speaks of the Architrclin, as if he had been a man of that name, and the owner of these water pots. Or if he takes not these words for a proper name, it is evident howsoever that he knew not what the office of the (x) Architrclin was. For if he had known it, he had known also that those water pots were none of his. The office of the Architrclin was to wait in a feast, to give order to the kitchen and to the serving of the meat and to taste the wine. He did not sit at the table but went up and down the house, doing the same in mean houses as stewards do in great houses. See *Chrysostom Hom. 21. upon John.* Every house of the Jews had such water pots for the legal washings and purifications. As it is seen, *Job. 2. 6.* and they belonged not to the care of the Architrclin, who had the ordering of the feast. By the same reason the tablecloth dishes and plate might have been called the Architrclins goods.

(x) De Architrclino vide Græcorum catenam; & Theophylactum in cap. 6. Joh. Chrysost. hom. 11. in Johan. ubi ait, Architrclinum nihil adhuc gustavisse & convivio omnia recte disponerentur.

CHAP. 3.

Of the sense of John 6. and of the Spiritual manducation of the body Of Christ, and how many absurdities and inconveniencies follow the oral manducation of Christs flesh taught in the Roman Church.

Our Adversaries being cast by the words of the institution, and convinced to have altogether corrupted it, think to find a refuge in *John. 6.* where Christ many times calls himself the bread of life, and saith that his flesh is meat indeed, of which whosoever eateth shall live for ever.

I can hardly perswade my self, that when they use that text to prove Transubstantiation they speak in good earnest. 1. Whereas it is clear, & many of our Adversaries acknowledge it, that Christ speaks not there of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which was not yet instituted when Christ said these things, but of the spiritual manducation by faith in the death of Christ, which is the true food of our souls. How could the Apostles have understood that the Lord spake to them of the Lords supper, which was not yet, & of which he had never spoken one word to them? 2. Wherefore also in the whole chapter there is no mention of table, or cup, or supper, or commemoration of his death. 3. As many lines as treat of that matter in that chapter, so many lies do they ascribe unto Christ, when they will have him to speak there of the Lords supper. For Christ promiseth there to the Capernaits to give them his flesh to eat; Now he never administred the Lords supper unto them. 4. Note also that when Christ spake these words he was already the bread of life, although the Eucharist was not yet instituted, for he speaks in the present tense, saying, *I am the bread of life, and I am the bread which came down from heaven.* He was then the bread of life, as soon as he came down from heaven. 5. It is evident that he speaks there of a manducation without which no man can be saved, when he saith in verse 53. *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, you have no life in you;* Now many are saved that never received the Lords supper. 6. It is evident also that he speaks of a manducation without which none can be saved, when he saith in verse 54. *Whoso eateth my flesh, hath eternal life.* He speaks not then of the manducation of the Sacrament, which is eaten by many wicked and reprobate. One may indeed eat the bread unworthily, as the Apostle saith, *Whosoever eateth this bread unworthily;* But one cannot eat the flesh of Christ unworthily, since that manducation is done by faith, and eating is believing. For one cannot believe in Christ unworthily, seeing that in that faith our worthiness consisteth

1 Cor. 11.

sisterth. 7. For that by eating and drinking, we must understand believing, Christ shews it in verse 35. *I am the bread of life, he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.* There manifestly drinking is put for believing, since that he saith that by believing thirst is quenched. And verse 47. *He that believeth in me hath everlasting life, I am that bread of life.* Where he sheweth that this bread is taken by believing. For because he that believeth on him hath everlasting life, he gathereth thence that he is the bread of life. 8. Wherefore also he giveth warning that his words are spirit and life, that is, they are spiritual and quickening, and that they quicken not unless they be taken in a spiritual sense. 9. If these words of Christ, *I am the bread of life,* are prest literally and taken as our Adversaries will have these words taken, *This is my body,* it will follow that as, *this is my body,* signifieth, *This is transubstantiated into my body,* also *I am the bread* signifieth, *I am transubstantiated into bread.* 10. Also these words of verse 56. *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him,* are very considerable. For many eate the Sacrament, yet Christ dwells not in them, nor they in Christ. 11. And if to make Christ to dwell in us, we must swallow him down with our mouth, and throat, by the same reason Christ must swallow us down, that we may dwell in him. 12. And when Christ saith, verse 63. *The flesh profiteth nothing, the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life,* if by the word *flesh,* he understand carnal sense and humane reason, thereby he takes off our spirits from all carnal and gross sense, and will have his words taken in a spiritual sense. But if by the word *flesh,* the Lord understands his own flesh, as (a) *Aquinas* and many after him take it, he declareth to us that his flesh eaten with the mouth (as the Capernautes did imagine) would not conduce at all for their salvation. As also our Adversaries acknowledge that many that take the Sacrament, are damned nevertheless. But as for the manducation mentioned in this chapter, Christ declareth in verse 54. that *whosoever eateth his flesh hath eternal life.* 13. If in these words of verse 53. *Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you,* the Lord speaks of communicating in the Sacrament, it is certain that the Roman Church depriveth the people of life by denying them the cup. For he saith, *Except you drink my blood, you have no life in you.* To say that the people take the blood in the host, is no answer, for taking the blood thus is not drinking; Now Christ saith *Except you drink.* If eating the host be drinking, then the Priest drinks twice in the Mass. 14. The Lord addeth in verse 56. *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him.* Can they say that the profane receiving the Sacrament dwell in Christ? 15. In vain do they press these words of verse 56. *My flesh is meat indeed,* to exclude all figures, for figurative words may be true. Christ saith, *I am the true vine,* Joh. 15. 1. And God is the true *spring of life,* Psal. 36. which yet are figurative expressions. And when *Austin* in the third book of the Christian doctrine, ch. 16. saith that eating the flesh of Christ is a figurative expression, our Adversaries to elude that testimony say, that in these words of Christ, besides the figure there is truth also:

That Christ used that expression must not be found strange; For when the Jews of Capernaum asked of him bread from heaven like unto manna, he takes thence occasion to speak to them of another bread from Heaven, and of better meat. In the same manner as two chapters before from the water of the well (where he met the Samaritan woman) he takes occasion of speaking to her of another water which he gave, and which whosoever drinketh shall never thirst. To this join that of the unbelieving Jews, he useth to speak in parables and simile's as St. *Matthew* saith ch. 13. v. 34. *Without a parable spake he not unto them.*

This is so evident that many of our Adversaries as (b) *Gabriel Biel*, *Cusanus*, *Cajetan*, *Tappernus*, *Hesselius*, *Jansenius* and *Ferus*, take our part, and hold, that in this ch. it is not spoken of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but of the spiritual manducation by faith. Pope Innocent the III. is of the same opinion, for these are his words in book. 4. ch. 14. of the Mysteries of the Mass. (c) *The*

Lord

(a) Thom.
Lect. 8. in
Joh. 6.
Caro non pro-
destinacquam,
intelligitur
de carne
Christi.

(b) Gabriel
Biel Sect. 84.
in Can.
Missæ. Cu-
san. Epist. 7.
ad Bohemos.
Cajetan in
part. 3. qu.
30. Art. ult.
Tappern. in
explic. art.
15. Lovani-
ensium, Hes-
selius de
Commun.
sub utraque
specie. Jan-
sen. cap. 59.
Concordiz.
Ferus in
Joh. 6.

(c) *De spi-*
rituali come-
stitutione Domi-
nus ait, Nisi
manducaveri-
tis carnem
fili hominis
&c. Hoc mo-
do corpus
Christi soli
boni come-
dunt.

Lord speaks of the spiritual manducation saying, *Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you. In this manner the godly alone eat the body of Christ.*

Thomas the Angelical Doctor in the seventh Lesson upon John 6. expounding these words of the Lord, *Except you eat my flesh, you have no life in you.* (d) If (saith he) this relates to the spiritual manducation, this sentence is without any doubt. For that man spiritually eateth the flesh of Christ and drinketh his blood, who is partaker of the unity of the Church, which is done by Charity, &c. He that eateth not, hath not life, &c. But if that relates to the Sacramental manducation, there is a doubt in that which is said, *Except you eat my flesh, you have no life in you.* He finds the first exposition clear and true; In the second he finds doubt and difficulty.

Wherefore Austin upon Psal. 98. personates Christ speaking to his Disciples, lest they should mistake his words, (e) *You shall not eat this body which you see, and shall not drink that blood which they that shall crucify me will spill.* I have recommended a Sacrament unto you, which being taken spiritually shall quicken you.

The same in the book of sentences collected by Prosper in the 341. sentence. (f) *He that is in discord with Christ, eateth not his flesh, and drinketh not blood, though he take the sacred sign of so great a thing indifferently every day for the judgement [or condemnation] of his presumption.*

This good Doctor in the 25. and 26. Treatise upon John, expounds this sixth chapter of that Gospel, in which exposition not only he speaks never a word of the Transubstantiation, nor of the oral eating of Christs body, but also keeps off the reader from that thought as much as he can, as I will shew in ch. 11. of this controversie, where also we shall see that all the Fathers understood it so.

So it is understood in the Canon *Ut quid* in the second Distinction of the Consecration. (g) *Why dost thou prepare thy teeth and thy belly? believe and thou hast eaten, for believing on him is eating the bread. &c. He that believeth on him eateth him.* We shall see hereafter that the Fathers hold that the wicked eat not the body of Christ, (h) Austin saith that these words, *Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, you have no life in you,* are a figure that commands us to communicate unto the passion of our Lord, and to lay sweetly and profitably in our memory that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us. He saith not only that in these words of Christ there is a figure, but he expoundeth also how that figure ought to be understood, namely that eating Christs flesh is meditating his death and delighting to remember that Christ is dead for us, an exposition which Cardinal du Perron approveth not. Yet Cardinal Bellarmine in the first book of the Eucharist, ch. 7. (i) expounding these words of Job. 6. *He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst,* saith, that these words belong not properly to the Sacrament, but to the faith of the Incarnation. Cardinal Tolet upon John 6. goeth so far as to say, that (k) *Infants in their Baptism are in some sort partakers of Christs body, that is, as for the thing signified, and may be said to eat the flesh of Christ, and to drink his blood.*

Truly I never saw nor read any of the Romanist Doctors, but acknowledged that there is a spiritual manducation, which is done, not with the mouth of the body, but with faith. For Christ is the food, not of bodies, but of souls; and is received by believing, not by chewing; nor with the mouth, but with faith. To feed a body with words and songs, and to feed a soul with meats taken by the mouth, are things equal in absurdity. Christ is the bread of children in which

cave. *Qui credit in eum, manducat eum.* (h) De doctrina Christi. l. 3. cap. 16. (i) Verba quæ citantur, non pertinent ad Sacramentum proprie, sed ad fidem Incarnationis. (k) Infantes in baptismo aliquo modo participant corpus Christi, nempe quantum ad rem significatam, & dici possunt carnem Christi manducare & bibere sanguinem ejus.

(d) Notandum, quod hæc sententia potest referri vel ad spirituales manducationem: vel ad sacramentalem. Sed si refertur ad spirituales, nullam dubitationem habet sententia, &c. i vero ad sacramentalem dubium habet quod dicitur. (e) Non hoc corpus quod videtis, manducatur; & bibitur sanguinem, quem susceperunt, qui me crucifixerunt. Sacramentum quod vobis commendavi, spiritualiter intellegendum vivificabit vos. (f) Qui discordat a Christo, nec carnem ejus manducat, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, etiam tanti rei Sacramentum ad judicium suæ presumptionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat. (g) Ut quid parās dentem & ventrem? Crede & manducasti. Credere enim in eum, hoc est panem & vinum man-

dogs have no part. Nor as the bread of the Sacrament of which profane men and hypocrites participate. Christ is not eaten by his enemies. Christ is that bread which whosoever eateth hath eternal life. That bread not only feeds the living but also gives life unto the dead.

If we compare these two sorts of manducation, you shall find that the spiritual manducation by faith, of which our Adversaries speak with contempt, is beyond all comparison more excellent then that which is done with the mouth. For without the oral manducation a great number of persons are saved, but without manducation by faith none can be saved. And with the oral manducation, a great number of persons are damned, but whosoever hath eaten the flesh of Christ is saved. He that believeth on him hath eternal life.

And if after you have compared them you join them together, you shall find that the manducation by the mouth is good and profitable only by reason of the spiritual. But if it be without the spiritual it is hurtful, and whosoever takes the bread of the Sacrament unworthily takes his condemnation. If there be two things, whereof the one is hurtful without the other, it is easie to judge which of the two is the more excellent.

Wherefore *Austin* acknowledgeth no other manducation of the flesh of Christ but the spiritual, for opposing it to the oral manducation of the Sacrament, he calls it the true manducation. As in book 21. of the City of God, ch. 25. (l) *The Lord sheweth what it is to eat the body of Christ, not in Sacrament only, but in truth.* And in the same place, *Non solo Sacramento sed re ipsa manducaverunt corpus Christi. They have eaten the body of Christ, not only in Sacrament, but also in truth.* And *Thomas* in the seventh Lesson upon *John 6.* speaking of him that spiritually eates the body of Christ saith, (m) *This is he that eates the body of Christ, not only sacramentally, but also in truth.* Speaking so, is saying that eating Christ in the Sacrament is not eating him in truth nor in effect, and that hypocrites and profane men receiving the Sacrament eate not the body of Christ truly or in truth.

Yea, the very Council of *Trent* in Session 13. ch. 8. acknowledgeth that spiritual manducation which is done even without the Sacrament, by faith. (n) *Some* (saith the Council) *eat this bread spiritually only, and by a lively faith.* So let no Romanists hereafter laugh at this spiritual manducation as an imaginary thing.

Rather let them consider, how their real and oral manducation of Christ gives them occasion to say many things of him which are unworthy of the Majesty of the Son of God. (o) They dispute what becomes of the body of Christ when the consecrated host is eaten by rats or other beasts, or when the Priest or a sick person casts it up again. They are in great care what becomes of Christ carried away by mice, and why he did not hinder them to come near him. If they say that when the mouse draweth near the host, the substance of bread returneth, then the mouse hath made a second transubstantiation.

(p) Pope *Innocent* the III. in the first book of the mysteries of the Mass moveth this question, If a man happens to have nothing in his belly but consecrated hosts, that is, nothing but the body and blood of Christ, and upon that a laske take him, what his excrements shall be, and what matter they shall be made of? And *Durandus* (q) *If one having taken nothing but the Eucharist, is taken with a laske or vomit, that is bred by the accidents and humors.*

To which add this doctrine (r) that a Priest by the words of Consecration can transubstantiate many basketfulls of bread, and so undoe a baker; And that he may turn whole butts of wine into blood.

(t) And the doctrine of the Council of *Trent*, that the consecration is not done if the Priest hath no intention to consecrate, which intention since the people must

(l) *Ostendit quid sit non sacramento tenus sed re vera corpus Christi manducare.*

(m) *Hic ille est, qui non sacramentaliter tantum sed re vera corpus Christi manducat.*

(n) *Quidam manducant hunc panem spiritualiter tantum & viva fide.*

(o) *Innocent. III. Papa lib. 4. de Mysteriis Missæ. c. 11.*

(p) *Idem cap. 16. Quod si secessus aut vomitus post solam Eucharistie perceptionem eveniat, &c.*

(q) *Durand. Rationali lib. 4. cap. 41. Quid si forte secessus aut vomitus per solam Eucharistie perceptionem adveniat, ex accidentibus & humoribus generatur.*

(r) *Tolet. de intruc. Sacerd. lib. 2. cap. 25. Posset consecrare Sacerdos multos copiosos panis, & vini dolium, si præsentia ista haberet.*

(t) *Conf. Trid. Sess. 7. Can. 11.*

ghes, and can have no assurance of it, but by conjecture, it followeth that they must believe at a venture, that the Host of the Mass is Christ, and bestow a conjectural worship upon it, or adore it conditionally, saying, (u) (as Pope Adrian the VI. teacheth) *I adore thee, if the Consecration be well made, and if thou art Christ*. But whether it be Christ or no, it is left to conjecture.

I pass by a thousand other absurdities and inconveniencies which attend this doctrine; (x) as that in the Host the accidents are without a subject, that is, there is length in it, but nothing that is long; whiteness, and nothing white; colour, and nothing coloured; and as the Doctors say, *Quantitas sed non quantum, & accidentia que non accidunt, simitas sine naso, claudicatio sine crure*.

And their saying that the (y) Priest makes God with words, and createth his Creator, and makes a body, which is before it be made. And that Christs body being already in heaven, the Priest makes him on earth; as if while Philip is studying at Paris, some body begot him at Rome. So that Christ begins to have a new being besides the natural, namely a Sacramental being, as they speak, which is offered in the Mass for a propitiatory sacrifice. We thought that one person could have but one being, and that the only natural being of Christ, was the price of our redemption.

Also that doctrine makes the body of Christ more spiritual then spirits. For souls, though they fill no place, and be not circumscriptively in a place, yet they are but in one place, and cannot be separated from themselves, nor far from themselves. But as for Christs body in the Mass, they are not contented to say, that he is in no place, and fills no space, and hath no extent; so that all his parts are under one point only, and that head and feet in the Host, differ not in situation; So far as to hold, that if any had dipt a pin in the Chalice, the Lords body should be whole in the drop remaining at the pins end; And if any had dipt the hair of his upper-lip in the consecrated Chalice, the whole body of the Lord should remain hanging at the end of every hair: But to make the absurdity most superlative, they make Christs body separated from himself, remote from himself, higher and lower then himself, being in heaven and upon Altars, not in the space between. All that is covered with the Almighty power of God, without any regard to his Wisdom, or to his Truth, or to his Word, which saith, *that Christ is like unto us in all things but sin*. By these inventions, that good Word of God is impugned, and the glory of the Son of God exposed to ignominy. For by that doctrine, Christ being fallen into the mire, cannot rise out of it, and may be stolen and stabbed, as the Jesus of Billettes of Paris, and cannot save himself from Mice. Wherefore there was need that the *Cantela* or *Caveat*'s of the Mass should make a provision against these inconveniencies. All that to raise the dignity of Priests, who by that doctrine can make God, and have Christ in their power locked up in a box, doing things that all the Angels and Saints together cannot do, for they cannot make Christ, nor create a thing which is already.

Thus they have overthrown the nature and the end of this Sacrament: For Sacraments are signs. Having then abolished the signs, they have abolished the Sacrament. For the bread and wine being no more, nothing but accidents in the air remain, which have no relation nor conveniency with the substance of Christs body. They abolish also the end of this Sacrament, which is not to bring down the body of Christ to us, but to raise up our hearts to him.

mediante me.

Whence he inferreth that Priests are Gods.

(u) Adrianus Quodlibet. q. 10. Suppos. 2. pag. 70. Concilium Constantiense excusat simplices adorantes hostiam non consecratam, quia tacite implicatur conditio; si consecratio sit recte facta, &c. Et Diabolus sic transfiguratur, ut credatur Christus, & jubet se adorari, si sic adoret, Adoro te, si tu es Christus. (x) Innoc. III. lib. 4. de Myster. Missæ. *Est enim hic color & sapor quantitas & qualitas, cum nihil alterutro sit coloratum, aut sapidum, aut quantum & quale.* (y) Gabriel Biel speaks thus in the fourth lesson upon the Canon of the Mass. *Qui creavit me (sifas dicere) dedit mihi creare se. Qui creavit me sine me, creatur*

CHAP. 4.

How and in what sense the Fathers alleadged by the Cardinal, call the Sacrament the body of Christ, and say that Christs body is made in the Eucharist, and that we eat his flesh in it. Answer to the Cardinals depravations.

AFTER we have heard the heavenly Oracle, and understood what was the institution of the Lord Jesus, if we would decide this difference by the testimonies of men, we should offer a disgrace to the eternal Son of God, and subject divine authority to mans judgement. Especially seeing that the Word of God is so clear in this point, that bringing light to it from other places, is like lighting a candle to see whether it be day.

Wherefore we desire the Reader not to mistake our end, when we alleadge the Fathers, either in this, or in other questions. We do it not, to ground the heavenly truth upon the testimonies of men, but to defend the antient Fathers against the injustice of our Adversaries, who wrest the Fathers, and set them upon the rack, to force them to bear testimony for untruth, and make them speak contrary to their mind.

Neither do we alleadge them in this question, to be interpreters of the words of Christ and his Apostles. For where the Word of God interprets it self, there needs no other interpretation. But we alleadge them, to wipe off from us the ordinary calumny, that we oppose the consent of Antiquity, as though our belief were but of late date, or as if that which was from the beginning could be new. For although our belief be grounded upon the only Word of God, yet it is a singular delight and content unto us, when reading the Fathers of the first age, we find in them the same things that we teach, and perceive that we are hated for a doctrine which was believed by them, whom the Romanists make a shew to reverence.

Cardinal *du Perron* in the fourth chapter, brings many testimonies of Fathers for the real presence of Christs body. He begins by Authors not to be received, *Damasceus*, *Euthymius*, *Theophylactus*, and *Anastasius Sinaita*. Of whom the first writ about the year of Christ, 470. the second in the year 1118. the third in the year, 1070. and the last about the year, 630. all long after the time of the four first Councils, to which the Cardinal had said, that he would confine himself. Yet let us see whether they say any thing that may prejudice us.

These Authors then observe, that the Lord said not, *This is the figure of my body*, but *this is my body*. Who knows not that, seeing that all the Evangelists that speak of this institution, affirm so much? I say more. For I maintain that the nature of the action required that he should speak so. For he instituted a Sacrament, wherefore it was convenient that he should use Sacramental words, and follow the stile of Scripture (which is to give unto the sign, the name of the thing signified, when it speaks of Sacraments.) And that in a figurative action, he should use figurative words, conformable to the nature of the action.

He adds a testimony of *Chrysostom*, and another of *Gaudentius*, both to this purpose, *Christ said*, This is my body; *Let us believe it, and see it with the eyes of the Spirit. Truth knows not untruth*. So much we also believe, but with the expositions which Scripture brings. And Scripture teacheth us, that Christ gave bread unto his Disciples; That we eat bread in the Lords Supper; That the same bread is his body; That the cup is the New Testament in his blood, and by consequent is not really his blood. That the bread which we break, is the Communion of the body of Christ; That the Disciples came together to break bread, who yet neither could nor would break the natural body of the Lord; That the cup which the Lord drunk with his Disciples, was the fruit of the Vine; That it is the remembrance of him; That we eat bread to announce his death; That Christ ascended

ascended to heaven, and left the world, and is no more in the world; That heaven contains him; That he is like unto us in all things but sin; That Christ did not lift up the Host; And that his Disciples, whose example we ought to follow, did not worship it. After that, alleading *Euthymius* or *Theophylactus*, late Greek Authors, separated from the communion of the Romā Church, is deriding God to abuse men.

The Cardinal adds a place of *Ambrose*, but he corrupts it, making *Ambrose* to say, in the ninth chapter of the book of those that are initiated into mysteries, *The Lord Jesus himself cryeth, This is my body; before the blessing of the heavenly words, he is named another kind, after the consecration he is called the body of Christ.* This passage is unfaithfully translated. There is in *Ambrose*, *Ante benedictionem verborum celestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus Christi significatur.* That is, *Before the blessing of the heavenly words, another kind is named; after the consecration, the body of Christ is signified or represented.* The Cardinal hath translated, *he is named another kind*, instead of *another kind is named*, to make way for the depravation of the following Clause, where he translateth *significatur*, is called, instead of, *is signified*, or *represented*. Which falsification he colereth with the allegation of another text of *Ambrose*, which he quoteth not, where *Ambrose* saith, that *Christ was signified the Son of the highest*; but there also *signifying* is not *calling*, but *declaring* or *manifesting*. Should not that man shew himself to be out of his right sense, that would say, that God is *signified* Almighty, instead of saying that he is called Almighty? Or that *Virgil* was *signified* Prince of the Poets, instead of saying that he is so called?

But that we may not lose time in confuting all the allegations of the Cardinal out of the Fathers, where the Sacrament is called *the body of Christ*, and where they say that by the consecration, the bread is made the body of Christ, it is necessary to shew the sense & intent of the Fathers, & to know their stile. For they speak so clearly of this matter, that they leave us no reason to doubt of their intention.

I say then, that the Fathers following the traces of the holy Scripture, speak of three sorts of bodies of Christ. First of his natural body, which was crucified for us; and of two myttical bodies, the one of them the Church, which Scripture often calls the body of Christ, the other his Sacramental body, which we receive in the Lords Supper. Wherein also the follow they stile of Scripture, which useth to give unto the signs, the name of things signified by the signs.

Austin in the third Book of the Questions upon *Leviticus*, qu. 57. (a) *The thing that signifieth, useth to be named by the name of the thing that it signifieth.* And in the 102. Epistle to *Exodus*, (b) *Sometimes the thing that signifieth, takes the name of the thing that it signifieth.*

The same Father applyeth this rule to the Eucharist, in the 23. Epistle to *Boniface*, (c) *Was not Christ once sacrificed in himself? and yet he is sacrificed unto the people in a sacred sign, &c. That man lyeth not, who being asked, answereth that he was sacrificed.* For had not the Sacraments some likeness unto the things of which they are Sacraments, they should not be Sacraments at all. Now because of that likeness, they take most often the names of the things themselves.

And in the twelfth Chapter against *Adimantus*, (d) *The Lord made no difficulty to say, This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body.* Of which place we shall see hereafter a notorious depravation by our Cardinal.

The Roman Decree, in the second Distinction of the Consecration, in the Canon *Hoc est*, (e) *The heavenly bread, which is the flesh of Christ, is in its way, called the body of Christ, although to speak truly, it be the Sacrament [or sacred*

(a) Solet rei que significat, ejus rei nomine, quam significat, nuncupari.

(b) Aliquando res que significat, nomen ejus rei, quam significat, accipit.

(c) Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in se ipso? & tamen in Sacramento, non solum per omnes Pasche sollemnitates, sed omni die populus immolatur.

Si enim Sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum, quarum Sacramenta sunt, non habent, omnino Sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, Sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita Sacramentum fidei, quod Baptismus intelligitur, fides est. (d) Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui. (e) Cælestis panis qui Christi caro est, suo modo vocatur corpus Christi, cum re vera sit Sacramentum corporis Christi, illius videlicet, quod palpabile mortale in cruce positum est; vocaturque ipsa immolatio carnis que sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate sed significante mysterio.

(f) Et ibi
Glossa,
Cœleste Sa-
cramentum,
quod verè
representat
Christi carnem,
dicitur corpus
Christi sed
impropiè,
verùm dicitur
suo modo,
sed non rei
veritate sed
significante
mysterio;
ut fit sensus,
vocalur
Christi cor-
pus, id est,
significatur.

(g) Hec enim Sacramenta sunt, in quibus non quid sunt, sed quia ostendunt, semper attenditur, quoniam signa sunt rerum aliud existentia, aliud significantia.

(h) Ea de-
mum est
miserabilis
anime ser-
vitus signa
pro rebus
accipere.

(i) ut autem litteram sequi & signa pro rebus, quæ his significantur, accipere servilis infirmitas est, ita inutiliter signa interpretari male vagantis erroris est.

(k) πέντηκαν
ὄνομα πρὸς
μα πρὸς τὸ
αἷμα τὸ
τὸ βλέποντες
ταβολή. ὁ
ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ
τεθνηκώς
ab Ecclesia n
veritatis tmen

sign] of the body of Christ, even of him who being visible, palpable and mortal, was put on the Cross. Then he brings an example, that the immolation of the flesh of Christ, which is done by the hands of the Priest, is called the Passion, the Death, and Crucifixion of Christ, not according to the truth of the thing, but in a significant mystérie. Upon which the Gloss of the Doctors speaks rarely, (f) *The heavenly Sacrament* (say they) *which truly representeth the flesh of Christ, is called the body of Christ, but improperly. Yet it is so called, not according to the truth of the thing, but by a significant mystérie. So that the sense is, that it is called the body of Christ, because it is signified.* Certainly great is the strength of truth, and I wonder how our Adversaries suffer such a Gloss, in such an authentick book, whereby their doctrine is so clearly condemned.

Wherefore *Austin* in the third Book against *Maximin.* chap. 22. layeth down that maxime about Sacraments. (g) *These things (saith he) are Sacraments in which it is not regarded what they are, but what they signifie. For they are signs which are one thing and signifie another: That is, Baptism is water, and signifieth the blood of Christ; and the Eucharist is bread and wine, and signifieth the body and blood of Christ.*

Wherefore also, in the third Book of Christian Doctrine, chap. 5. he giveth warning that Christians should take heed of mistaking the signs for the things signified. (h) *It is (saith he) a miserable bondage of the soul, to take the signs for the things.* And in the ninth Chapter, *As to follow the letter, and to take the signs for the things signified, is a servile infirmity, so to interpret the signs uselessly, is an ill wandering.* This is directly the sickness of the Roman Church, which worshippeth the Sacrament, as if it were Christ himself, and takes the sign for the thing signified.

Theodore is very pregnant upon this point. In his first Dialogue, entitled, *the Immutable*, he giveth the exposition of these words, *This is my body*. (k) *The Lord* (saith he) *hath given unto the sign, the name of his body*; and sheweth how sometimes the name of the thing signified is given unto the sign, as when the Lord called bread his body, and sometimes the name of the sign is given to the thing signified, as when he calls himself the bread and the vine. (l) *Our Saviour* (saith he) *hath made an exchange of names, and hath given to his body the name of the sign* (that is, when he called himself the bread) *and gave to the sign the name of his body*, (namely when he said, *This is my body*) *and so he who called himself the Vine, called the sign* (that is, the wine) *his blood*.

And a little after, (m) *His will was, that those that participate of the divine mysteries, should not regard the nature of things that are seen, but that by the exchange of the words, they should believe the change that is done by grace. For the same that called his natural body meat and bread [John 6.] and called himself the Vine, [John 15.] the same hath honoured the visible signs with the name of his body and blood, having not changed their nature, but added grace unto nature.* Here two things are very considerable : The one, that he denyeth that in the holy Communion, Christ hath changed the nature of bread and wine : The other, that he makes these words, *I am the Vine*, like unto these, *This is my body*, and saith that it is an exchange of words, and that in the first the name of the sign is given to the signified thing, and in the second, the name of the signified thing, is given to the sign.

For these causes, the Preface prefixed to the Roman Edition of the Dialogues of *Theodoret*, giveth this excuse for *Theodoret*, (n) Perhaps *Theodoret* may seem

worshy

worthy of some pardon, because in his time the Church had not yet publish any thing about that point. And it is less to be wondered at, if while he is disputing vehemently against hereticks, being carried away with his zeal to defend the truth, he doth sometimes lean too much on the contrary side. And the Jesuit Gregorius de Valentia in the book of Transubstantiation (o) doth reject the authority of Theodoret, and saith that Theodoret was also noted of other errors in the Council of Ephesus. And in the same place, Before that question was openly agitated in the Church, it is no wonder if one or two, or some number also of the Ancients have believed and written less considerably and truly of that matter. In the same place he puts Gelasius and John of Constantinople among the Fathers that have spoken amiss of that matter. Of whom we shall speak hereafter.

We owe to the Jesuit Jacobus Sirmundus the works of Facundus an African Bishop, who lived in the time of the Emperor Justinian. in book 9. ch. 5. p. 404. he saith that it may be said in some sort, that Christ hath received the adoption of children, because he received the Sacraments or sacred signes of the same, when he was circumcised, and when he was baptised. Which he illustrateth by the example of the holy Communion, in which the Sacrament of the body of Christ is called the body of Christ, although it be not the body of Christ, but because it contains the mystery of his body. These be his own words, (p) It is (saith he) as the Sacrament of Christs body and blood, which is in the consecrated bread and cup, is called his body and blood, not that this bread to speak properly is his body, and this cup his blood, but because these things contain the mystery of his body & blood. Wherefore also the Lord himself called the blessed bread and cup which he gave to his Disciples his body and blood. Wherefore as the godly receiving the Sacrament of his body and blood, are well said to receive the body and blood of Christ, so Christ may well be said to have received the adoption of Children, when he received the Sacrament of that adoption. I owe a commendation to the fidelity of this Jesuit, for had he been of no better conscience than his fellows, he would have suppressed or corrupted that text; where these words especially are to be observed, that the consecrated bread is not (to speak properly) the body of Christ, nor the cup his blood, but the mystery or Sacrament, that is, the sacred sign of the same.

But nothing brings more light to the intelligence of the expressions of the Fathers, which say that what we receive in the Communion is the body of Christ, then to observe that they put a difference between the body which is received in the Sacrament, and the body which was crucified for us, and that in this matter (as I said before) they take the word body of Christ in three senses, sometimes for his natural body which was crucified for us, sometimes for his mystical body which is the Church, sometimes for his sacramental body administered in the holy Communion.

Clement Alexandrinus in the second book of the Pedagogue ch. 2. (q) There is a twofold body of Christ, the one his carnal body whereby we are redeemed from corruption; the other his spiritual, by which we are anointed; and participating with the Lords incorruption is drinking the blood of Jesus.

Hierom upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, (r) The flesh of Christ is understood two ways, either that spiritual and divine flesh, of which he saith himself, My flesh is meat indeed; or that flesh which was crucified, and that blood which was shed by the soldiers spear. And note that this place is alleadged in the Roman Decree in the second Distinction of the Consecration.

In the same Distinction these words of the same Father are alleadged, (s) It

(o) Cap. 7. S. Quod si Theodoretus de aliis quibusdam erroribus notatus est in Concilio Ephesino. Et paulo ante.

Atque quam questio illa de transubstantiatione in Ecclesia paulam agitatur, minime mirum est, si unus aut alter, aut etiam aliqui ex veteribus minus considerate & recte hac de re senserint. & scripserint.

(p) Facund. l. 9. cap. 5. pag. 404. Sicut Sacramentum corporis & sanguinis ejus quod est in pane & poculo consecrato, corpus ejus & sanguinem dicimus, non quod proprie corpus ejus sit panis, & poculum sanguis, sed quod in se mysterium corporis ejus & sanguinis continent. Hinc & ipse Dominus benedictum panem & calicem quem discipulis tradidit, corpus &

sanguinem suum vocavit. Quocirca sicut Christi fideles Sacramentum corporis ejus & sanguinem accipientes, corpus & sanguinem Christi recte dicuntur accipere, sic & ipse Christus sacramentum adoptionis cum suscepisset, potius recte dici adoptionem filiorum suscepisse. (q) ὁ θεὸς τὸ σῶμα τῆς κρείττης· τὸ μὲν δὲ αὐτῷ σαρκὸς καὶ φθορᾶς ἀλλοτρίου· τὸ δὲ πνευματικόν· καὶ ἀθάνατον· καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ μὲν τὸ αἶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ κρεῖττον ἀποδοτικόν. (r) Ex. Hier. in Ep. ad Eph. lib. 1. Can. Dupliciter. Dupliciter intelligitur caro Christi, vel spiritualis illa atque divina de qua ipse ait caro mea vere est cibus; vel caro ea qua crucifixus est, & sanguis qui militis effusus est lancea. (s) Ex Hieron. in Levie. Can. De hac. De hac quidem hostia que in Christi commemoratione mirabiliter fit, edere licet. De illa vero quam Christus in ara crucis obtulit, secundum se nullus edere licet.

is lawful indeed to eat of that host, which is done wonderfully in commemoration of Christ. But it is lawful to none to eat that host in it self, which Christ offered on the altar of the Cross.

(c) Dist. 2. de Consecra-
tione Can-
Corpus.
Corpus &
sanguinem
Christi dici-
mus illud,
quod de fru-
ctibus terre
acceptum &
prece mystica
fructificationem
recte sumitur
ad salutem
spiritualem in
memoriam
Dominice
passionis.
(u) Spiritu-
aliter intelli-
gitur quod
locutus sum,
Non hoc cor-
pus quod vi-
detis mandu-
caturus estis,
bibitari san-
guinem quem
fusi sunt
qui me cru-
cificant. Sa-
cramentum
aliquid vo-
bis commen-
davi, quod
spiritualiter
intellectum
vivificabit
vos.
(x) Sicut
ergo cælestis
panis qui
Christi caro
est, suo modo
vocatur cor-
pus Christi,
cum revera
sit Sacramen-
tum corporis
Christi, &c.
non rei veri-
tate sed sig-
nificante
mysterio. Et
ibi Glossa.
Dicitur cor-
pus Christi,
sed improp-
rie. unde
dicitur suo modo, sed non rei veritate sed
significante mysterio. (y) Aug. in Psal. 33. Ipse se portabat quod in modo cum
diceret, Hoc est corpus meum (z) Epist. 23. Secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus
Christi est. (a) Ex Photii Bibliotheca Edition. August. pag. 415. ἡτοι γὰρ τὸ εἶδος τὸν λαμβαν-
ομένων ὁμοία χρεῖται ὅτις αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς αἰσθητοῦ καὶ τῆς νοητοῦ ἀδιαίρετον αὐτὸν χρεῖται.
(b) Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione congestum.

And in the same place, (c) We call the body and blood of Christ, that which be-
ing taken from the fruits of the earth, and consecrated by the mystical prayer, is
rightly taken by us for spiritual salvation, in memory of the passion of
the Lord. Is there any thing of all that can be said of the body crucified
for us? Is it a body of Christ taken from the fruits of the earth? Can the cruci-
fied body of Christ be consecrated by prayer? He speaketh then of the Sacra-
mental body of Christ.

Yea Pope Innocent the III. in book 4. of the Mysteries of the Mass, ch. 36.
distinguisheth these two sorts of flesh or body of Christ. The form of bread
(saith he) comprehendeth both the one and the other flesh of Christ, the true and the
mystical.

Austin in many places calls that which we receive in the Lords Supper the body
and blood of Christ. Yet upon Psalm 98. he brings in Christ speaking thus,

(u) You shall not eat this body which you see, and shall not drink the blood which
shall be shed by those that shall crucify me. I have recommended a sacred
sign unto you which being spiritually understood shall quicken you. Himself in Ser-
mon 53. de Verbis Domini. Pene quidem sacramentum omnes corpus ejus dicunt,
Almost all call Christs body that which is the sacrament or sacred sign of the
same.

The Canon Hoc est in the same Distinction saith as much, (x) The heavenly
bread which is the flesh of Christ is called the body of Christ in its way, although
in truth it be the sacred sign of Christs body. Here we have plainly two bodies of
Christ, the one natural which was crucified for us, the other Sacramental which is
a sign and sacrament of the other; and as the Gloss saith upon that Canon, It is
named Christs body but improperly; wherefore it is said, in its way, not according
to the truth of the thing. Note that the Canon speaks of a body which in some
sort is the body of Christ. Which would be absurdly said of the natural body of
Christ, namely, that it is the body of Christ in some sort.

Thus Austin upon Psal. 33. saith, (y) that the Lord carried himself in some
sort when he said, This is my body. And in Epistle 23. (z) The Sacrament of
Christs body, is Christs body after a certain manner. Would any man say that
Christs natural body is his body after a certain manner? Is it not as much
as if Austin said, that the Sacrament is not really the body of Christ?

Ephrem Patriarch of Antioch speaks plainly of a body of Christ received in
the Eucharist, which is not in substance the natural body of Christ. (a) The body
of Christ (saith he) which the believers receive loseth not his sensible substance
(that is, the substance of bread) and is not separated from the intelligible grace.
Thus also Baptism being altogether spiritual and only, keeps the propriety of his
sensible substance, even of water, and loseth not that which it was. Note that
he makes the body of Christ which changeth not substance, to be the same thing
in the Eucharist as the water in baptism.

Cyprian is very express upon this, for speaking of that body of Christ which is
administred in the Sacrament, he ascribes things to it which cannot be proper to
the natural body of Christ. In Epistle 76. (b) Bread made and composed with
the union of many grains, the Lord calls his body. It is then the body of Christ
even when it is compounded with many grains. And he saith that by this body
of Christ compounded with many grains, the people, that is, the Church must be
understood; For such was the opinion of that Father, and of Austin also

(c) when

(c) When (saith Cyprian) the Lord calls his body the bread compounded with the union of many grains, it signifieth that our people, which he bore, is united together. And when he calls his blood the wine prest out of many clusters and grains, and gathered together, he signifieth our flock also which is gathered by the mixture of an united multitude. And upon that he asketh of the heretick Novatianus, Whether he be joynted to that bread of the Lord which is the Church, and whether he be mingled in that cup of Christ, that is, (as he expounds himself) If he retaines the unity of the Church? How remote is that language from the Doctrine of the Roman Church? He that believed that Christ in the Sacrament bore the people in his hands, and that this bread which he calls his body, and this wine which he calls his blood, was the Church, and would that every Christian should make part of that bread, was very far from believing that the bread was transubstantiated into the natural body of Christ. It is plain then that he puts in the Eucharist another body of Christ then his natural body which was crucified for us, even a mystical and sacramental body. Note that he saith not, that the bread made up of many grains is become his body, but that he calls his body that, which is bread made up of many grains.

The same Father in the sixty third Epistle, where he disputes against those that put nothing but water instead of wine in the cup of the Lords Supper, maintaineth that there must be water in the cup mingled with wine. One of his reasons is, that by the wine Christ is understood, and by the water the people. (d) If (saith he) one offers nothing but wine, the blood of Christ begins to be without us; but if the water is alone, the people begins to be without Christ. This Father puts the people in the cup as well as Christ. Now he was not so bereaved of reason as to think that the people was really within the cup. He did not then believe that Christ was in it really, since he puts Christ and the people alike in the cup.

Austin followed Cyprian in that opinion, when in the twenty sixth treatise upon St. Johns Gospel, speaking of the words of the Jewes murmuring and saying, How can this man give us his flesh to eat? He saith (e) They quarrelled among themselves, because they understood not the bread of concord. And a little after, speaking of these words, He that eateth my flesh, hath eternal life: he giveth this exposition, By this meat and drink, the Lord will have the society of his body and members to be understood, that is, his holy Church of the predestinated, &c. This Father saying that the body of Christ which we eat in the Lords Supper is the Church of the elect, saith by consequent: that this body which we eat is not really the natural body of Christ, but another mystical and Sacramental body. (*) And in book 22. of the City of God, ch. 10. he gives a reason why they make not the sacrifice of Christs body to the martyrs, because themselves are the body of Christ.

Cyprian especially seems to me to speak very plainly, and to put in the Eucharist another body of Christ then that which was crucified for us, and another blood then that which was shed on the Cross, when he saith in the sixty third Epistle, (f) The Lords body cannot be meat alone and water alone, unless both be joynted and kneaded together to make with them solid bread.

Who will think that this holy Doctor was so void of reason as to think that Christs natural body was made of meal? Yet his words are very express, that Christs body is made up of meal. Whence it is plain that he speaks of the Sacramental and mystical body, not of the natural body of Christ. (g) And in the same Epistle he saith, that the blood of Christ is wine not water.

Origen spake thus in the same time upon Matth. 15. where after a long

(c) Nam quando Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione conglutatum, populum nostrum quem portabat indicat ad natum. Et quando sanguinem suum vinum appellat de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque unum coactum, egerem item nostrum significat commixtione adunata multitudinis copulatum. Si Novatianus huic pani Dominico adunatus esset, si Christi pocula ipse commixtus esset, &c. (d) Epist. 63. contra Aquarios seu Hydroparastatas. Si vinum tantum quis offerat, sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis. Si vero aqua sit, solas plebs incipit esse sine Christo. (e) Litigabant utique ad invicem, quoniam panem tantum die non intelligebant. Et paulo post. Hunc itaque cibum & poculum societatem vult intelligi corporis & membrorum.

suorum quod est Ecclesie predestinatis & vocatis, &c. (*) Ipsum sacrificium est Corpus Christi, quod non offertur ipsis, quia hoc sunt & ipsi. (f) Nec corpus Domini potest esse farina sola & aqua sola, nisi unum, adunatum fuerit & capulatum, & panis unus compage solidatum. (g) Sanguis Christi non aqua est utique sed vinum.

bread of the Eucharist, which Jesus Christ our Lord hath appointed to be done in memory of his passion.

(p) *Irenaus* in his fifth Book speaks the same language. Because we are his members, and are fed by the creature, and that he affords us his creature, making his Sun to rise, and his rain to fall according to his pleasure, he hath affirmed that the cup which is a creature, whereby he makes our bodies to grow, is his body. I enter not into an examination of the reason of *Irenaus*, whereby he gathereth that the cup is the body of Christ, because it is a creature whereby our bodies are fed and grow. Which Platonical opinion, that God is the soul of the world, and all creatures are Gods body, *Astin* confuteth in the fourth Book of the City of God, chap. 12. Only I say, that *Irenaus* shews thereby that he believed that it was bread still, not Christs natural body in substance. For it would be a prophane belief, to think that our bodies are fed and fattened, and growing with the substance of the body of Christ; That would be sending Christ to the draught, and exposing him to a strange ignominy; And that without profit, since after that manducation, bodies will die nothing the less. The following words of *Irenaus*, confirm the same thing. (q) When then the cup mingled and the bread broken receiveth the Word of God, it is made the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, from which the substance of our flesh is increased and made up. Truly our Adversaries seem to me injurious to that Martyrs memory, affirming that he believed that our bodies are fed and made up with the flesh of Christ received in the Sacrament. Observe these words, the blood and body of Christ, wherewith the substance of our bodies is increased and made up, that one may not think that he speaks of the bread before it be consecrated. This word increased especially, is troublesome to the Cardinal, wherefore he translates it strengthened, which is an evident corruption.

The same in the fourth Book, chap. 34. speaking of the Eucharist, saith, that (r) we must offer unto God the first fruits of his creature. And that the Church alone offereth that pure oblation unto the Creator, offering unto him of his creature with thanksgiving. To which words, whereby he expresseth plainly that what the Church offereth in the Eucharist, is the creature and work of the Creator, and fruits of the earth, he addeth other words, that call these creatures, and these fruits of the earth (that is, bread and wine) the body of Christ. (s) How (saith he) can they be certain that the bread upon which graces were said, be the body of the Lord and the cup his blood, if they acknowledge him not the Son of the Maker of the world, that is, the Word by which the wood bears fruit; and springs run down, and the earth gives first the blade, then the ear; and then the full corn in the ear? This Father affirmeth, that our bodies are fed with the body and blood of the Lord, which cannot be attributed to Christs natural body, but to the Sacramental body, which *Irenaus* describes as a creature of God, who makes the ground to bear fruit. And note these words, that the bread upon which thanks or graces are said, is the Lords body. For he saith not that the bread becomes or is changed into the body of the Lord, but that the bread is the body of the Lord, yea that bread which is a creature, and which the earth hath produced by the virtue of the Creator. I examine not here, whether the reason of *Irenaus* be solid, whereby he inferreth that the bread is the body of Christ, because Christ is the Word whereby the earth bears fruit, and brings Wheat, of which that bread is made; for by that reason all creatures, and the world in general, should be the body of God, which is the opinion of the (t) Platonicians, of *Tully*, of *Pliny*, of *Virgil*, that God is to the world; that which the soul is to the body. I say only that *Irenaus* in the alleddged place speaks of a body of Christ, which cannot be the body crucified for us, for the crucified body of Christ was not produced by

(p) Quoniam membra ejus sumus, & per creaturam nutrimur, coeumurque autem nobis praebeat, Solem suum oriri faciens, & pluviam quomodo dum vult, cum calicem qui est creatura corpus suum confirmavit, ex quo nostra auget corpora.

(q) Quando ergo & mixtus calix & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia sanguinis & corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur & consistit carnis nostra substantia.

(r) Offerre Deo oportet primitias ejus creaturae. Et ibidem. Hanc oblationem Ecclesia sola puram offert fabricatori, offerens ei cum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus.

(s) Quomodo autem sanabitur ea, nisi per gratiam actus sui corpus esse Domini sui & calicem sanguinem ejus, si non ipsum fabricatori Maximi filium

dicunt, id est, verbum ejus, per quod lignum fructificans, defluit fontes, & dat [terra] primo quidem fructum, post deinde spicam, deinde plenum triticum in spica? (t) Platon Philo de Timaeo, lib. 2. & ipse Longin. de div. Aug. 1. 30. in Faustum Manichaeum. Cicero somnio Scipionis, & de natura Deorum. Aspicite hoc sublime candens quod vocant Jovem. Virg. Aeneid. 6. Principio caelum & terras, &c.

the earth, is none of the fruits of the earth, and our bodies get neither food nor increase by it.

It is evident also, that he believed that these fruits of the earth, or creatures which he calls the body of Christ, have that virtue, that the thanksgivings or blessings which are said over them in the Lords Supper, make the bodies which are fed thereby, to become partakers of immortality.

(u) Offerimus Deo que sunt ejus, &c. Quemadmodum enim qui est à terra panis, percipiens vocacionem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia, ex duobus rebus constans, terrena & celestis; sic & corpora nostra percipientia Eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia. Offerimus ei non quasi indigenti, sed gratias agentes donationis ejus, & sanctificantes creaturam. Quemadmodum enim Deus non indiget eorum que à nobis sunt, sic non indigemus offerre aliquid Deo. Sicut Solomon ait, qui miseretur pauperis, facietur Deo. (x) In his Book against Du Plessis, pag. 188. (y) Eschines in Timocratem.

He addeth, (u) We offer unto God of his own goods, preaching conveniently the communication and unity of flesh and spirit. For as the bread which is of the earth, receiving the vocation [or invocation] of God is no more common bread, but the Eucharist composed of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly; so our bodies receiving the Eucharist, are no more corruptible, having the hope of resurrection. He joyns in the Eucharist, the earthly thing with the heavenly, wherefore also he saith, that this bread is no more common bread, but still he calls it bread. To understand by the earthly thing, the body of Christ, as the Cardinal (x) understands it, is to oppose the stile both of Scripture and Fathers, which call the body of Christ, the bread come down from heaven, and debasing the dignity of Christs body, and denying the signs to be part of this Sacrament, since they are neither the earthly nor the heavenly thing.

Irenæus goeth further, for following that discourse of the bread and wine which the Church offereth unto God, he saith that these things are offered unto God, not because he hath need of them, for (saith he) *Deus non indiget eorum que à nobis sunt*, God hath no need of the things that come from us. It is clear that by the things that come from us, he understands bread and wine, and the fruits that the earth brings. Wherefore also he reckons alms among them; for he addeth, Whereas God hath no need of the things that come from us, we have need to offer something to God, as *Solomon* saith, *He that sheweth mercy to the poor, lends to God upon usury*.

Before I go further, I cannot forbear to shew the Cardinals learning in Greek. The Greek text of *Irenæus* is lost, and we have nothing but the Latine Version, which is none of the best; In that version there is, *Jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia ex duobus rebus constans, terrena & celesti*. The Cardinal corrects that version, and saith that there is not in the Greek *ὑποσύνθετος*, that is, which is composed, but *ὑποσύνθετος*, which is a preterit Participle, and must be translated which was composed. This is a woful ignorance, for as *compositus* in Latine is preterit, and yet is alwayes understood in the present; likewise *ὑποσύνθετος* signifieth, which is composed, not which was composed. Thus *Col. 1. 17.* *πάντα ἐκ αὐτοῦ ὑποσύνθετα*, is translated in the version of the Roman Church, *Omnia in ipso constant*. And *2 Pet. 3. 5.* *ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ὑποσύνθετοι*, *Terra de aqua consistens*. And *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in the first Book of the Pedagogue, chap. 6. *ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν ὑποσύνθετος ὁ κόσμος*, *The Church like a man, is composed with many limbs*. According to the Cardinal, we should say that the Church hath been composed with many limbs, but that is so no more. And so in other compositions, (y) *ἑστῆς ἐν κρίσει*, *stantes in judicio*. And *ἡσυχίας χρόνος*, *mores sedati & compositi*. In a word, that preterit Participle hath alwayes a signification of the present Tense, as in Latine these words, *mortuus*, *sepultus*, *caesus*, *vestitus*, *fractus*, &c. Can a man speaking like the Cardinal, have any relish of the Greek tongue?

But to return to our matter, it appeareth by the fore-alleadged places of *Irenæus*, that he speaks of another body, then Christs natural body.

The same appears, in that the Fathers speak often of pieces, and parts, and a residue of Christs body; a thing which may be said of the Sacramental, not of the natural body of Christ, which cannot be divided in pieces, and of which no residue is found. How prophane or brutish should that man be, that would ask for a piece of Christ? *Eusebius* in the sixth Book of his History, speaking of *Serapion* sick to death, saith that a Priest sent him by a little boy, a little piece of the Eucharist. May one say, that he sent him a piece of Christ? Or should he have sent him the Eucharist by a little boy, if he had believed that it had been the Lords body?

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in three senses, one natural and two mystical, the Church and the Sacramental bread, which is indeed a symbolical body, but sanctified by the divine vertue of the Son of God. Wherefore they call these fearful mysteries the holy bread, the heavenly bread, the bread come down from heaven, whereby Christ is made ours, so that we dwell in him, and he in us. But this makes nothing for Transubstantiation, and incloseth not the natural body of Christ under the elements.

We must not think strange, if sometimes the Antients attribute to this Sacramental body, things that are proper to the natural, as to have suffered for us, and to have been bruised on the Cross. For it is the stile both of Scripture, and of the Fathers, to attribute unto signs, that which is proper only to things signified. As when we shew the Kings picture, we say, Here is the man that won such and such battails, who dyed in such a place, or in such a year.

Now it is easie to conceive, how and in what sense *Chrysostom* so often inculcates, that we eat, and break, and see the body of Christ in mysteries; and why (k) *Hierom* in the Epistle to *Heliadorus* saith, that the Priests make the body of Christ with their sacred mouth. *Hierom* was not so dull as to believe that Priests could make the natural body of Christ: That would be putting Priests above Christ, and ascribing a power unto them, greater then that of all the Angelical power. A body which is already, cannot be made while it is. *Hierom* speaks of the Sacramental body, which is made by the prayer of the Consecration. For himself told us before, that none can eat of the body of Christ crucified.

The Father which seems to be most favourable to our Adversaries, is *Ambrose*, who in the fourth book of the Sacraments, chap. 4. inculcates often, that the bread becomes Christs body by the consecration. *It is not Christs body* (saith he) *before the consecration; but after the consecration, I tell thee, It is Christs body.* Whereupon he alleadgeth many examples of the transmutations made by Gods power: For example, that we were old creatures, but are now become new by consecration: That Christ was born of a Virgin, contrary to the order of nature: That *Moses* with his rod divided the Sea: That a piece of wood cast by *Moses* into bitter waters, made them sweet: That *Elisba* made iron to swim above the water. Whence he inferreth, that God is powerful to make this bread to be the body of Christ by the consecration. But in all these, there is no more then what we say. For we know, that by the consecration the bread becomes the body of Christ, yet remaining bread still, and without any change of the substance of bread, as when a piece of wax becomes the Kings Seal, and yet remaineth wax still. Saint *Ambrose* saith so much expressly in the same chapter, where he begins his dispute in these words, (l) *Let us establish this, how that which is bread can be the body of Christ.* So that he will have it to be together, both bread and the body of Christ. And a little after, (m) *If there was such a vertue in the word of the Lord Jesus, that the things that were not, should begin to be, how much more shall it be effectual in making things that were, to be, and to be changed into other things?* These words are very pregnant, that the bread is changed into a thing that was not, and yet continueth to be that which it was before, that is, bread. And this expression of *Ambrose*, is set down in the very words which we alleadge here, in all the antient editions. And so is alleadged in the Decree of *Tuo Carnutensis*, in the second part, chap. 7. And by *Gratian* in the second Distinction of the Consecration, in the Canon *Panis*. By *Lombard* in the fourth Book of the Sentences, Dist. 10. in the letter D. By *Thomas* in the third part of the Summ, Question 78. Article 4. Not according to the falsification of some new Editions of *Ambrose*, which have omitted *sint quæ erant*, in which words lieth all the strength of the sentence. To the same purpose are these words of the same chapter, (n) *As thou didst drink the likeness of his death, thou drinkest also the likeness of his precious blood.*

The Cardinal (o) answereth that the end of *Ambrose* (saying, *If there be such strength in the Word of the Lord, to make things that were not, to have a beginning of being, how much more can it make things that were, to be, and to be changed into other things?*) was to say, that if the Almighty power of God could make things pass from the

(k) Absit ut de his quicquam iniustum loquar, qui Apostolico gradus sacerdotum Christi corpus sacro ore conficiunt.

(l) Hoc igitur astruamus, quomodo potest, qui panis est, esse corpus Christi.

(m) Si tanta vis in sermone Domini Jesu, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quæ erant, & in aliud commutentur?

(n) Sicut similitudinem mortis bibisti, ita similitudinem pretiosi sanguinis bibis.

(o) Du Perron against M. du Plessis, pag. 237.

the not being to the being, it may with more reason, preserving them in the universal latitude of the being, make them pass from one kind of being to another. By these words he saith, that God in the Eucharist preserveth the bread in a latitude of Universal being, which the Roman Church believeth not. Also it is hard to comprehend how the substance of bread being abolished, a thing which is no more, is preserved in the universal latitude of being. These are his ordinary Chimera's to amuse the Reader, when he finds himself run aground. By the same reason, when God turned the waters into blood, and the rod into a Serpent, these waters and that rod remained in being in the latitude of the universal being: And by consequent, these examples can no more be opposed, or compared by *Ambrose* as less miraculous, with the change which is made in the Eucharist.

(p) Upon that the Cardinal useth to make many exclamations, and to ask To what purpose is it to bring examples of the creation of the world, of the transmutation of creatures, and of the unspeakable generation of Christs body, to prove that it was in our Lords power to make the bread of the Eucharist to be the sign of his body? (p) *De Perron a-*
gainst du
Plessis, pag.
285.

By speaking thus, he makes us speak against our sense. We say not that *Ambrose* had alleadged these examples to prove that the bread is the sign of Christs body. We know well that he believed something more, as we also do. He believed that the bread remaining bread, was the body of Christ, and that by an ineffable mysterie; that bread remaining bread, is made unto us the body of Christ. And that by this participation Christ is made ours, and we are conjoynd with him, which is the doctrine of the Apostle, saying, *The bread which we break, is not the Communion of the body of Christ?* It is bread then, not flesh in substance: It is bread which is broken; not a body which cannot be broken. And by eating this bread, we communicate by faith with the natural body of Christ, but we eat not that natural body with our mouth and teeth. It is a divine work, which to express, *Ambrose* stretcheth his wit, and swells in lofty words as much as he is able: Neither must we wonder that in such a Divine and Spiritual matter, he hath much ado to express his conceit. Besides, if we consider what examples *Ambrose* alleadgeth, we shall find that well nigh all speak of a change without transubstantiation, and without production of any substance, as the regeneration of the godly, the Sea divided by *Moses*, the waters of *Mara* sweetned, the iron swimming upon the water.

Yet we have in the following chapter of the same book of *Ambrose*, the terms of the publike service, (q) *The Priest saith, Let this oblation be accounted unto us, reasonable, acceptable, which is the figure of the body and blood of the Lord.* This word *figure* displeased the Roman Church; for now that clause is found in the Canon of the Mass, saving only the word *figure*, which was put out, as favouring heresie. (r) The Cardinal saith for answer, that the Roman Church acknowledgeth a figure in the Eucharist. That figure (if he may be believed) lieth in that the accidents (which fraudulently they call *species*) veil the body of Christ. I answer, that the Cardinal believeth not that this figure is the sacrifice or oblation which God layeth to our account for our sins, and which is reasonable and acceptable, as it is said in the words of the ancient service. Had not this word *figure* been displeating to the Roman Church, it had not been put out. Besides, the accidents of the bread, cannot be figures of the body; a roundness without any round subject, cannot be a figure of the Lords body which hath an humane form. Figures help to know things signified by these figures. But our Adversaries say, that these accidents cover the body of the Lord, and hinder the sight and knowledge thereof.

He answers in the second place, that this clause of the ancient Service, is before the consecration, and when there is nothing yet upon the Altar, but the simple figure of Christs body. It was impossible for the Cardinal to write this, without acting against his own conscience. For although that clause was pronounced before these words, *This is my body*; yet the Roman Church believeth not that the Priest asketh that the bread not consecrated be the offering which may be put

(q) *Ambros.*
lib. 4. de
Sacram. c. 3.
Dicit sacerdos;
Fac nobis
hanc oblati-
onem ascri-
ptam rationa-
tilem, accepta-
tilem, quod
est figura
corporis &
sanguinis
Domini Jesu
Christi.
(r) In his
book against
du Plessis,
pag. 288.

(f) *Tibi offerimus hoc sacrificium laudis pro redemptione animarum.*

to our account before God. Thus before the consecration, the Priest saith that he (f) offereth a sacrifice of praise for the redemption of souls, which cannot also be said of the bread not consecrated, which is not offered unto God for our redemption. It is evident then, that the Priest speaking thus, regardeth the sacrifice which he undertaketh to do, and for which the Roman Church holds that the Mass is instituted, without regarding the time, either before or after the consecration. And that this word of *Figure* was blotted out, when the quarrel was moved about Transubstantiation, that it might not be perceived that this sacrifice is no real sacrifice, but the sacrifice of the Lords Passion in figure and commemoration.

(r) *Anne benedictionem verborum celestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur.*

(u) in his book against du Plessis of the Eucharist, pag. 294.

(x) *Significamus.*

(y) *Beneficium divini sanguinis testis est, in cuius typum nos calicem mysticum percipimus.*

The same Ambrose, in the book of those that are initiated into mysteries, ch. 9. speaks thus, *It is a true flesh which was crucified, and which was buried. It is then also truly the Sacrament of that flesh. The Lord Jesus himself cryeth up, This is my body.* (r) Before the blessing of the heavenly words, another kind is named. After the consecration, the body of Christ is signified. The same Father upon chap. 11. of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, hath these words, *Quia morie Domini liberati sumus, huius rei memores in edendo & potando, carnem & sanguinem quae pro nobis oblata sunt significamus.* That is, *Because we are delivered by the death of the Lord, we remembering that by eating and drinking, signifie the flesh and blood of the Lord which were offered for us.* (u) Cardinal du Perron to elude this notable authority, puts out the comma after *potando*, and translateth this place in this manner; *By eating and drinking the flesh and blood, we signifie the things that were offered for us.* The absurdity of that traduction is evident. For what are the things offered for us, but the body and blood of Christ? Here is then the jolly version of the Cardinal, *By eating and drinking the flesh and blood, we signifie the flesh and blood*: Thus that which signifieth, and that which is signified, shall be all one. Wherefore this falsification being not able to subsist alone, the Cardinal adds another depravation, and instead of (x) *significamus*, translates *declare*, as if Ambrose said, *we declare the things offered*, which wants common sense. But Ambrose in the following lines confirms our interpretation: For speaking of Christs blood, he saith, (y) *This blood is a witness of the divine grace, in figure of which we receive the mystical cup of blood.*

In vain do they object unto us some sentences of the Fathers, which say that the thing that we receive in the Sacrament, is the true body of Christ that was crucified for us. For the Sacramental body, is the true and natural body of Christ in Sacrament and Commemoration: As the statue that represents *Julius Cesar*, is the true *Julius Cesar* represented, even the Conqueror of *Gauls*, he that overcame *Pompeius*, not another imaginary person. And the Fathers that expound these words, *This is my body*, by *This is the sign or figure of my body*, understand the true and natural body of Christ, and give to the Sign, the name of the thing signified.

So much will serve, (I think) to shew in what sense the Fathers have called that which is broken and given in the Communion, the body of Christ, and to prove that they do not take alwayes this word of *body of Christ*; for the body crucified for us, but sometimes for the Church, sometimes for the Sacramental and mystical body which is given in commemoration of the natural body of Christ. The books of the Fathers must be read with care, and with an equitable and prudent judgement. He that reads them, must know the stile of the times, the occasions, the customs, the circumstances, and the connexion of their sentences, referring all to the analogy of faith, bringing a favourable interpretation to it. If they say that the bread is the body of Christ, or that by the consecration the body of Christ is made, they speak of the Sacramental body, which they distinguish in a thousand places from the natural. But when sometimes they say, that the thing given in the Eucharist is the true body of Christ, themselves warn us that the name of the thing signified is given unto the Sign, and that this bread is the true body of Christ, that is, the Sacrament or Sign of the true body of the Lord.

But in the matter in hand especially, the Fathers take care to explain their mind, teaching that the substance of bread and wine remains after the consecration; As we shall shew in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. 5.

That the Fathers did not believe transubstantiation, but believed that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the consecration.

THe word of Transubstantiation is a monster which the corruption of the last ages hath hatcht, bred, and reared up. It was establisht by an Article of Council in the year 1213. in the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent the III.* For of the change of the substance of bread into the substance of Christs natural body, there is no trace in the Fathers of the first ages, well understood, and faithfully alledged. For the transmutation of which *Justin Martyr* speaks in the second Apology, is not the transmutation of bread into the Lords body, but the transmutation of the symbolical and sacramental body of Christ into our flesh by the digestion of bread. Wherefore also *Irenæus* in the forealledged place saith not only that our bodies are fed by it, but also that they get increase by the same.

Leo the I. Bishop of Rome, in the twenty third Epistle to the Clergy of *Constantinople*, speaks of a change which is done in the Lords Supper; not of the change of bread into the substance of Christs body, but of the believers into the flesh of Christ. (a) *In the mystical distribution of the spiritual meat, this is distributed, this is taken; that we receiving the vertue of the heavenly meat, be changed into the flesh of him that was made our flesh.*

In the second Dialogue of *Theodoret* it is said indeed that the sacred signs are changed by the consecration, and become the body of Christ; but it is an Eurychian heretick that speaks, who by a pretended transmutation of the bread and wine goeth about to establish the transmutation of the humane nature of Christ into the divine, as we shall see hereafter.

We have already seen how *Justin*, *Irenæus* and *Cyprian* call bread and wine and fruits and creatures of God, that which is given and received in the Lords Supper.

Origen upon *Matth. 15.* speaking of the Eucharist, (b) *That which is sanctified by the word of God, and by prayer, doth not of its nature sanctifie him that useth it; for if it were so, it would also sanctifie him that useth it unworthily. And a little after. (c) If all that entereth into the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught, this meat also which is sanctified by the word of God, and by prayer, as for that which is material in it, goes down into the belly, and is cast out into the draught.* And a little after he makes this conclusion of his discourse. Let this be said of the typical and symbolical body. In this place of *Origen* observe that he speaks of the bread consecrated and sanctified by the word of God, that the faith that it sanctifieth not of its nature, and that, as for the matter of it, it goes out into the draught. Things which cannot be attributed unto the true body of Christ, for it sanctifieth of its nature, and is not cast out into the draught. And cannot also be attributed to the accidents of bread, as roundness and whiteness; for these accidents are not the matter of bread, and are not sent into the draught. This can be attributed to nothing but the bread which by

Origen is called a symbolical and figurative body. Of the truth of his testimony none can doubt seeing that it is in the Editions set out by our Adversaries, and that the famous *Sixtus Senensis* hath inserted it whole in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

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ejicitur, & ille cibum qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei perque obsecrationem, juxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, & in secessum ejicitur, &c. Et hac quidem de typico symbolicoque corpore.

Wherefore Cardinal *du Perron*, after he hath made some shew of doubting of the truth of this testimony, yet saith that he will not touch that string, but extends his oratory upon *Investives* against *Origen*, and sets forth his errors at large, saying that the alleadged place, is a particular whimsy of the Spirit of *Origen*, which he forgeth against the common doctrine of the Church. And upon these words of *Origen* that the bread consecrated by prayer, is cast out into the draught, he crieth out (d) *Shut up your eares, Christians*; as if these words were read with the eares. I acknowledge indeed that *Origen* with his many excellent virtues, and his rare doctrine, had many errors. But I may say also that never any mans writings were more narrowly scanned, or past through a more rigid and violent censure then those of *Origen* suffered, (e) by those that lived after him, especially by *Ephiphanius*, *Hierom*, and *Theophilus of Alexandria*, out of their animosity against *Ruffinus* and *John of Jerusalem*, who were *Origenists*. Wherefore the name of *Origen* is so far from weakening the authority of that place, that it rather increaseth the strength of it and addeth weight to it. For if *Origen* writing so, had taught against the belief of the Orthodox Church, so many exact and partial examiners would not have omitted it. Yet none of the Antients reproved him for speaking so. For not only *Austin*, a meek and impartial man, and *Theodoret*, who have made a description of the errors of *Origen*, but even *Epiphanius* and *Hierom*, the enemies of *Origen*, never put that among his errors that his doctrine about the Eucharist was not sound. The silence of the enemies of *Origen*'s memory is in this point a manifest and publick approbation of his doctrine.

Here the Cardinal raiseth his style, and brings forth out of a Paschal Epistle of *Theophilus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* the condemnation of *Origen* upon the point of the Eucharist. For (saith he) *Theophilus* condemns him for teaching that the Holy Ghost sets not inanimate things on work, and worketh neither in them, nor by them. And upon that alleadgeth thus the words of *Theophilus* (f) *Origen* considereth not that the mystical waters in the Baptism are consecrated by the coming of the Holy Ghost; And that the bread of the Lord by which [ostenditur] is served or represented the body of the Saviour, and which we break for our sanctification, and the cup, which are set upon the table, these things being inanimate, are sanctified by the invocation and coming of the Holy Ghost. I know not where the Cardinals mind was wandering when he mustered up these useless proofs, yea such as are against him. *Theophilus* doth not find fault with *Origen* for denying the Transubstantiation of the bread, nor for saying that the bread of the Lords Supper, as for the matter, goes to the draught, and sanctifieth not by its nature; nor for calling the consecrated bread a symbolical and figurative body; But for saying that God employeth not inanimate things and sanctifieth them nor. May not God sanctifie inanimate things without transubstantiating them? Doth he not sanctifie the water of Baptism, though it remain water still? Doth *Theophilus* reprove *Origen* for not believing that the water of Baptism is transubstantiated? Certainly the Cardinal takes here his measures amiss. Yea he brings an authority of *Theophilus* which saith expressly that the bread of the Lord sheweth or representeth the body of Christ. But who was that *Theophilus*? (g) One of the most perverse and corrupt Bishops of all the ancient ages. A man acting sometimes against, sometimes for the Anthropomorphites; a persecutor of *Chrysostom*, and the cause of his death. A man without faith and without conscience. But let us come to other witnesses.

Theodoret in the first Dialogue intituled the *Immutable*, disputeth against an Eutychiean who maintained that the humane nature of the Saviour was changed by a substantial change into the divine nature, and defended his error with the example of the pretended transmutation of the bread of the Eucharist into the substance of the Lords body. *Theodoret* answereth him thus. (h) *The Lord who had called*

(d) In his book against du Plessis, p. 222.

(e) Vide Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 12.

(f) Non recogitas aquas in baptismo mysticas adventum sancti Spiritus consecrari, panemque Dominicum quo Salvatoris corpus ostenditur, & quem frangimus in sanctificationem nostram, & sacrum calicem, qui in mensa collocatur, & utique in anima sunt, per invocationem & adventum sancti Spiritus sanctificari.

(g) Vide Socratem l. 6. c. 2. & 7. & 9. & 11. Et Socratem l. 8. c. 2. 12. 13. 14.

(h) ὁ ὃς δὲ τὸ εἶναι ὥμα εἶναι καὶ ἄρτον προσπαρέωσας καὶ εὖ πάλιν ἑαυτὸν ἀμπελον ὀνομάσας ἐτὶ ταῖς θρωπείαις σύμβολα τοῦ σώματος καὶ εὐχαριστῶ προσηγορίᾳ τιτίμηκεν, ἢ πῶς φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ πῶς χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεὶς.

meat and bread that which is naturally his body, and who again called himself a wine, honoured the visible signs with the appellation of his body and blood, having not changed their nature, but having added grace unto nature. So many words, so many proofs. It was much said already that God had honoured the signes, even the bread and the wine with the name of his body. But he saith more, affirming that the Lord hath not changed the nature of these signs, which is fighting directly against transubstantiation. We must remember that the dispute betwixt the heretick and *Theodoret* was about the change made in the substance, that *M. du Perron* may not say that by the nature the accidents only are understood.

The heretick did not speak of accidents, but maintained by the example of the change made in the Eucharist, that the substance of the human nature of Christ by vertue of the incarnation had been changed into the substance of the divine nature. It had been unreasonable for *Thodoret* to affirm against that heretick that the accidents were not changed, seeing that the question is of the change in the substance.

A little before, he had said, (i) *Our Lord hath made an exchange of names, and hath given to his body the name of the sign* [namely when he said *I am the bread*] *and to the sign the name of his body*, namely when he saith, *This is my body*. Nothing can be more clear and expre's.

In the second Dialogue intituled the *Inconsondable*, *The divine mysteries are* (k) *signes of the true body*. By speaking so, he saith clearly enough that the divine mysteries are not the true body.

A little after, the *Enrychian* having said that (1) *as the signes of the body and blood of the Lord are other before the invocation of the Priest, but that after the invocation they are changed, so the Lords body after the assumption is changed into the divine substance, which is the language of the Roman Church of our dayes.* *Theodoros* answereth him ; *Thou art taken by the net which thou hast woven ; For even after the consecration, mystical signs change not their own nature, for they remain in all their ; first substance figure & form, and are visible and to be handled as before. But they are understood to be the things which they were made, and are believed and venerated as made that which they are believed to be.*

To these words of *Theodore* which are most urgent against the Roman Church, namely that the *mystical signes after the consecration do not change nature but remain in their first substance* : (m) *M. du Perrou* answereth in a way more to be admired then praised. For arming his wonted ignorance in Greek with boldness, he giveth to the words of *Theodore* a new interpretation, rejecting that of *Gentianus Hervetus*, followed by *Bellarmine*, by *Gregorius of Valentia*, and generally by all our adversaries that have written of this question. *Theodore* saith that the *mystical signes after the consecration do not change nature.* *οὐ μεταβάλλει τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ τὴν θεοῦ*, that is, (as our Adversaries translate) *manent enim in priore substantia & figura & forma.* But the Cardinal, the worst Grecian of them all, translateth, *for they remain in the signe and form of the first substance.* Can any thing be devised more absurd and more repugnant to the Greek? To translate as he doth, there should be in the Greek, *οὐ μεταβάλλει τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ τὴν θεοῦ τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν.* Besides he contradicteth *Theodore*, makes all his reasoning ridiculous, and makes him answer out of purpose. For, as I said, the dispute was about the change in the substance, the heretick proving by the example of the transmutation of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ, the transmutation pretended by the Eutychians of the humane nature into the substance of the divine nature. *Theodore* to contradict them, saith not that the accidents, the figure and the outward form of bread remain, but that the substance of bread remains after the consecration. It being the question to shew that after the incarnation the substance of the flesh of Christ remaineth, *Theodore* should speak against reason and against himself, if, to shew that, he alledged that the substance of the bread being changed, the accidents and the outward shew remain. That would have been pleading directly the Eutychians cause, who said that

the substance of Christs flesh being changed, the accidents and the outward appearance remain. But the Cardinal, that he may have the honour to say some new thing; will have the Reader to believe that he understood the Fathers better then any, and rejecteth the interpretation of all the men of his Church that writ before him.

The same Theodoret in the third Dialogue intituled the *Impassibilia*, disputeth thus against the Eutychians. (n) *If the flesh of Christ was transformed into the nature of the Godhead, to what purpose do [Christians] participate to the signs of his body? For the figure is in vain when the truth is abolished.*

The same reason *Tertullian* useth against the *Marcionites* in ch. 40. book 4. against *Marcion*. (o) *Christ* having taken bread and distributed it to his *Disciples*, made it his body, saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body. Now there would have been no figure, had he not been a true body. He means that no figures and no representations are made of things that are not.

Among our Adversaries those that go more roundly to work, blame *Theodore* openly. We heard before how he is condemned by the Jesuit *Gregory de Valentia*, in the Preface of the Roman Edition prefixed before the Dialogues of *Theodore*. Our Cardinal also taunts him, and speaks contemptuously of him in these words. (p) *Though Theodore, having some remnant of the leaven of Nestorianism, which he was accus'd to favour, should speak of the Eucharist (which was one of the chief arguments whereby the doctrine of Nestorius was impugned) less really and reverently, than it might be wish'd, the wonder were not very great.* This is an unjust brand put upon that excellent man. His books purge him of that blame, in which there is not one spot of Nestorianism. So far he is from it, that in the Catalogue which he hath made of Hereticks he puts *Nestorius*, and impugneth Nestorianism with all his power. Yet the Cardinal being prone to have a better opinion of *Theodore*, goeth about to excuse him, saying, he spake thus obscurely, because he might not be understood by the Catechumens. This Cardinal alwaies takes things in the contrary sense. In the second Dialogue *Theodore*, being asked by the Heretick, (q) *How dost thou call the gift which is presented before the Priests invocation?* answereth *We must not speak clearly, for perhaps some are here that are not yet initiated, that is, some Catechumens: whereupon the heretick saith, Let then the answer be in enigmatical terms.* Wherefore *Theodore*, that he may not speak clearly, answereth, that *this gift which is offered is meat made up with such seeds*, instead of saying *It is bread*. Thereby it appeareth that he spake obscurely, for fear that saying plainly that it was bread, he should make the meat contemptible which was laid upon the sacred table. But the Cardinal takes this in the quite contrary sense, that *Theodore* did not speak of this Sacrament in terms high enough, and would not discover that high mystery of Transubstantiation before Catechumens.

We have a book of Pope *Gelasius* (for the title saith so much) against *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, where this sentence is found; (r) *Truly the Sacraments which we take of the body and blood of Christ, are a divine thing; wherefore also by them we are made consorts of the divine nature, and yet it ceaseth not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine. And indeed the image and the likeness of the body and blood of Christ, are celebrated in the action of mysteries.* Our Adversaries receive this authority, and admit it as true and not falsified, and have inserted this book in *Bibliotheca Patrum*. But they dispute who is this *Gelasius*, whether it was Pope *Gelasius*, as the title of the book saith, and as it appeareth by *Fulgentius* who transcribes many passages out of it in his answer to the questions of *Ferrandus Diaconus*, especially in the answer to the second question. Or whether it be *Gelasius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* of whom *Hierom* speaks in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers, as *Bellarmin* and *Gregorius de Valentia* are of opinion. Or whether it be *Gelasius Cyrenensis*, as *Baronius* holds; which are all ancient Authors approved by the Roman Church. (s) *Gregorius de Valentia*

[illegible]

Christi, diuina res est, propter quod & per eadem diuina efficiuntur consortes naturæ. Et tamen esse non definit substantia vel natura panis & uini. Et certe imago & similitudo corporis & sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. (6) Lib. de Transub. cap. 7. Sect. quod si. Neque Gelasius ille fuit author falsi clamoris; Non igitur nobis debeat pæcorum ejus nodi testimonium præjudicare.

speaks

speaks of that Author with contempt, saying, *That Gelasius was not an Author famous enough; wherefore such testimonies of some few Authors of that sort, howsoever they may be expounded, can bear us no prejudice, seeing that we have a cloud of other most grave witnesses for the truth of transubstantiation.*

(t) Cardinal du Perron hath bestowed upon this only place of *Gelasius* four and thirty great pages, and upon the three fore-alleadged texts of *Theodores* threescore and two; making the Readers miserable that seek the truth by those ways. For whereas there are about fifty controversies between us and the Roman Church, upon the only question of the real presence, a thousand places may be alleadged out of the Fathers. Upon each of which texts if a great book must be made, when shall we have a decision but of one question? This is the fruit of not being content with Scripture, which decides a question in one word, because it is God that speaks. The worst is, that those thirty four pages are imployed about nothing. For after he hath quarrelled with that book of *Gelasius* about things that concern not the question in hand, in the end he returns to the common answer, that when *Gelasius* said that the nature and substance of bread and wine remain, by the substance the accidents must be understood, that is, the colour, the figure, and the taste of bread, yet without bread. Where is conscience? Yea where is common sense? These men would make beasts of us, or study to be such themselves. For who ever heard that the substance is an accident? A thing far from all reason, especially in this dispute of *Gelasius* against the Eutychians, who maintained that the substance of Christs body was changed into the substance of the Godhead. For the question was not about the change of accidents. Had not *Gelasius* been out of his sense, if he had granted to the Eutychians the transubstantiation of the substance of bread, and affirmed only that the accidents of bread, the colour, the figure and the taste remain in the Eucharist? Had he not thereby yielded the bucklers to the Eutychians? who said the same thing of the incarnation, by which they affirmed that the substance of Christs body is changed into the Godhead, although the outward shew of the body remained, using the example of the Eucharist to confirm their error.

Ephrem Patriarch of *Antioch* speaks thus. (u) *The body of Christ which the believers receive, loseth not his sensible substance, and is not separated from the intelligible grace. Baptism also being altogether spiritual only keeps the propriety of this sensible substance which is water, and loseth not that which it was.* This is one of the most expresse places to this purpose. For first it sheweth in what sense the Fathers call the bread the body of Christ. Also it saith positively that this body doth not lose its sensible substance, that is, the substance of bread. And to give more light, it brings the example of Baptism, teaching us that as the sanctified water yet remains water, likewise that body which is given in the Sacrament, yet remains bread.

To this join that notable testimony of *Facundus* which we alleadged before, That we call the body and blood of Christ that which is the Sacrament of his body in the consecrated bread and cup. (x) *Not that the bread is properly his body and the cup his blood, but because they contain the mystery of his body and blood.*

Chrysostom is fervent in amplifications and hyperbolical words, so far as to say that we make the Altar red with blood, that we set our teeth in Christs flesh, that we hugg him with our embraces, that spiritual fire floweth from the sacred table; that there we receive fire reacht with tongues by a Seraphin. That we are mingled and kneaded with Christ; that we embrace his Cross, and put our fingers in his wounds. That Christ suffereth in the Eucharist. That his bones are broken in it. And that Christ drunk his own blood. Words which being literally taken, should be absurd, even in the judgement of our Adversaries. And the Cardinal who sets forth the testimonies of the Fathers with so much ostentation, could not beleive them. But let us hear *Chrysostom* speak

(t) In the book of the Eucharist against M. du Plessis pag. 563.

(u) Ex Bibliotheca Photii pag. 415. Edit. Augustanz. το σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου οὐ μεταβάλλεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ μένει, ὡς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ βάπτισμῳ. (x) Facundus lib. 9. cap. 5. p. 404. Non quod proprie corpus ejus sit panis, & poculum sanguinis, sed quod mysterium corporis ejus sanguisque continentur.

Irenæus in the third book chap. 34. (f) *How should they know that the bread over which graces were said, is the Lords body?*

Justin in the Dialogue against *Tripbon*. (g) *It appeareth in this Prophecy concerning the bread which our Lord Christ gave us in memory of his Incarnation.*

Ignatius in the 76. Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, εἰς ἀγνῶσιν πάντων ἐσθίουσιν. *One bread is broken to all.*

Cyprian in the 76. Epistle, (h) *The Lord calleth his body the bread made up with the conjunction of many grains.*

Dionysius surnamed *Arcopagite*, in the book of *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, chap. 3. (i) *He layeth open that which is celebrated by the signs holily set forth; for having uncovered the bread which was covered and whole, and having broken it in many pieces, and distributed the cup which is one, he doth figuratively multiply the unity.*

Basil in the 27. chap. of the book of the Holy Ghost. (k) *Which of the Saints hath left us in writing the words of invocation when the bread of the Eucharist and the cup of blessing are shewed?*

In the first Tome of the Councils we have an Epistle of *Julius* the first Bishop of *Rome*, which saith, That (l) *Christ in the institution and recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Sacrifice, hath given bread and wine to his Disciples, in which he hath recommended his body and his blood.* Observe that he saith, not only that the Lord gave bread and wine to his Disciples, but also that he distinguisheth the bread and wine from the body of Christ.

Ephrem speaks the same language: (m) *Consider diligently how the Lord, having taken the bread in his hands, blest it and brake it, for a figure of his immaculate body, and blest the cup for a figure of his precious blood, and gave it to his Disciples.*

Thus also *Hierom* alledging *Jovinian* in the second book, (n) *The Lord to give a figure of his blood, did not offer water but wine.* And so *Cyprian* in the sixty third Epistle, (o) *It was wine which the Lord called his blood.* And in the same place, *The body of Christ is not meal only.*

Aufin in the third book of the *Trinity*, ch. 10. (p) *Bread made purposely for that, is consumed in receiving the Sacrament.*

Fulgentius and *Beda* alledge these words of the same Father, (q) *That which you see is bread and a cup, as also your eyes announce him unto you. But the instruction which your faith requireth, is, that bread is the body of Christ.* In the same place he declareth what that body of Christ is. (r) *If thou wilt (saith he) understand what the body of Christ is, Hear the Apostle saying to the believers: You are the body of Christ and his members. If then you are the body of Christ and his members, your mystrie is laid upon the Lords table.* So far was that Father from believing the transubstantiation of the bread into the natural body of Christ.

Cyrrillus of *Alexandria* upon *John* 4. in the fourteenth chapter, (f) *He gave to his believing Disciples pieces of bread, saying, Take, eat, this is my body.*

Gaudentius (t) *By the element of wine his blood is well exprest; Because where he saith in the Gospel, I am the true vine, he declareth sufficiently that his blood is all the wine which is offered in the figure of his Passion.*

sanguinem suum commendavit. (m) *Ephrem* Ad eos qui filii Dei naturam scrutari volunt. *Inspece diligenter quomodo sumens manibus panem benedixit, ac frangit in figuram immaculati corporis sui, calicemque in figuram pretiosi sanguinis sui benedixit & tribuit discipulis suis.* (n) *In typo sanguinis sui non obtulit aquam sed vinum.* (o) *Vinum fuit quod sanguinem suum dixit.* (p) *Panis ad hoc factus in accipiendo Sacramento consumitur.* (q) *Fulg. l. de Baptismo Æthiopis moribundi.* *Beda* in 1 Cor. 10. ex sermone Augustini ad infantes. *Quod ergo vidistis, panis est & calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciant. Quod autem fides vestra postulat insinuenda, panis est corpus Christi, &c.* (r) *Corpus Christi si vis intelligere, audi Apostolum dicentem fidelibus, Vos estis corpus Christi & membra, &c.* (s) *Credentibus discipulis fragmenta panis dedit, dicens, Accipite & Manducate, hoc est corpus meum.* (t) *Gaudet in Exod. Tractatu 2. de Paschate, Recte enim vini specie tum sanguis eius exprimitur, quia cum ipse in Evangelio dicit, Ego sum vitis, vera, satis declarat sanguinem suum esse omne vinum quod in figura passionis eius offertur.*

(f) *Quomodo conflabit eis eum panem in quo gratie attæ sunt, corpus esse Domini sui? &c.*

(g) *Εν τῷ τῷ τεσσάρων τῶν ὁρίων ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐδόξεν ἡμῖν ὁ ἡγεῖται & ἡγεῖται, &c.*

(h) *Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adnatione congestum.*

(i) *ὁ ὁ δὲ ἡγεῖται ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, &c.*

(k) *τὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνακαλύψαντες καὶ*

(l) *ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνακαλύψαντες καὶ*

(m) *ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνακαλύψαντες καὶ*

(n) *ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνακαλύψαντες καὶ*

(o) *ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνακαλύψαντες καὶ*

(p) *ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνακαλύψαντες καὶ*

(q) *ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνακαλύψαντες καὶ*

(r) *ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνακαλύψαντες καὶ*

(s) *ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνακαλύψαντες καὶ*

(t) *ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνακαλύψαντες καὶ*

Neither do the Fathers only speak so, but even the Canon of the Mass; for it was made when transubstantiation was not yet invented. Whoso will consider what the words of the Priest are after the Consecration, shall easily acknowledge that they are prayers which were good sometimes, when they were said over bread and wine, and other gifts of the people laid upon the table, but that they are become absurd and contrary to the Priests intention ever since they have been pronounced upon an host, which they pretend to be the Lords body.

After the words of consecration, the Priest offering the host unto God, saith, (u) *Over which things be pleased to look with a propitious and serene face as thou wert pleased to accept the presents of Abel thy just child.* What doth he mean by these things? Can he understand Christ who is but one? And who ever called Christ these things? And how can they without offering an outrage to the Son of God, beseech God that the sacrifice of his only Son be as acceptable unto him, as once the sacrifice of *Abel* was, who offered a beast? For observe that he compareth not the devotion of those that offer, with the devotion of *Abel*, but that which the Priest offereth with the gifts which *Abel* offered.

The Priest addeth, (x) *We beseech thee Almighty God, command that these things be carried up by the hands of thy holy Angel into thy high Altar.* This also cannot be applied unto Christ; for Christ needs not the mediation of Angels to be carried up or presented to his Father. The Priest having thus prayed that the Angel should carry up these things, why doth he not stay till the Angel carry them away, but eats them presently after?

The following words especially are considerable. The Priest saith, (y) *By Christ our Lord, by whom O Lord thou createst alwayes all these goods unto us, thou sanctifiest, quickenest, and blesest them.* Let them tell us what *all these goods are.* Is it Christ? But what reason to call Christ these goods? yea all these goods, as if there were great many of them. Besides the Priest speaks of goods which God createth alwayes, and which he quickeneth and sanctifieth alwayes. Nothing of that is proper unto Christ. And that which is the strangest of all, the Priest saith that God createth these goods alwayes by Jesus Christ. Doth God create alwayes Jesus Christ by Jesus Christ? Doth God quicken and bless Jesus Christ by Jesus Christ? But if by *all these goods* the Priest understands bread and wine, how unreasonable is it to demonstrate the bread and wine by saying *these goods*, when that bread and that wine are no more? and to call those goods that which is brought to nothing? How unreasonable is it to give thanks unto God for creating bread and wine, yea for creating that bread and that wine, which is no more when the host is worshipped, and when they pretend to sacrifice the eternal Son of God? and to speak of offering unto God bread and wine which are not, when the spirits of the people should be bent to glorifie God, for redeeming us by the sacrifice of the death of his Son.

The Reader who hath yet some liberty of judgement left, will consider this, and bewail the misery of our age, and the thick darkness which Satan hath cast upon the clarity and simplicity of the Gospel. For when we alledge the word of God, which alone ought to rule us, they turn it wholly into figures. So that when Scripture saith that we eat bread, and break bread, and that we drink the fruit of the vine, and that Christ in his humanity is no more in the world, and is gone, we must understand that it is not bread that we eat, that it is not bread that we break, that it is not the fruit of the vine that we drink; and that Christs body hath not left the world, but remains in it invisibly.

Now to defend these interpretations, they have recourse to the Fathers as infallible Judges: But when those Fathers are produced which say that the substance of the bread remains after the consecration, and affirm with the Apostle, that we eat and break bread, then they will create more figures, and the Fathers must be understood in a contrary sense. For these Doctors by the substance will have us to understand the accidents, and by bread and wine the shew of bread and wine; And to distract or overwhelm the spirits that seek for instruction, they will make a great volume upon one only passage of a Father. O miserable age!

(u) *Supra
qua propitio
ac sereno
vultu
respicere
digneris, ut
accepta habe-
re dignatus
munera pueri
tui justii Abel.*

(x) *Supplices
te rogamus
Deus omni-
potens, jube
hac praesenti
per manus
sancti Angeli
tui in sublime
altare tuum.
(y) Per quem
Domine haec
omnia semper
nobis bona
creas, sancti-
ficus, vivifi-
cas, benedixis.*

age! Why are mens spirits intangled in a labyrinth without issue, instead of resting with simplicity of faith upon Christs institution, by speaking and doing as he did? For so we might be all agreed.

Here truth is so strong, that it hath fetcht many confessions from the prime men among our Adversaries, who acknowledge that there is nothing in Scripture that obliges us to believe Transubstantiation; Which they ground only upon the Authority of the Roman Church. Cardinal Cajetan expounding these words, *This is my body*, saith, *In the Gospel nothing is found that obliges us to believe the conversion of bread into the body of Christ.* (2) *The other point* (saith he) *namely the conversion of bread into the body of Christ, is not expounded in the Gospel, but we have expressly received it from the Church.* Bellarmine alledgeth Scotus saying, (a) *That there is no Text in Scripture so expresse as to compell us evidently to believe transubstantiation, if we had not the declaration of the Church.* To which opinion Bellarmine joyns his own; for he adds, *That which Scotus saith, is not altogether improbable.* For although Scripture seem to us clear enough to convince a modest man, yet it may be doubted with good reason whether the thing be so, that most learned and most acute men, of whom Scotus is one, have been of a contrary opinion. In the same place he reproveth Scotus for saying that before the Council of Lateran held in the year 1225. Transubstantiation was not an Article of faith. For he believeth, with others, that the Roman Church can make new Articles of faith. Melchior Canus saith the same as Cajetan and Scotus in the third book of Theological places, chap. 3.

Señt. Non dissimili. Scotus dicit non extare ullum locum Scripturæ tam expressum ut sine Ecclesiæ declaratione evidenter cogat Transubstantiationem admittere. Atque id non est omnino improbabile, &c.

(2) Cajet. in summam Thomæ, part. 3. q. 75. Art. 1. Alterum quod Evangelium non explicavit, & expresse ab Ecclesiæ accepimus, scilicet conversionem panis in corpus Christi. (a) Bell. lib. 3. de Euch. c. 23.

CHAP. VI.

What is the signification of the word Sacrament: And in what sense the Fathers call the Eucharist the body of Christ.

THE word *Sacrament* according to the property of the Latin tongue, signifieth a pawn or money deposited in a Court for the parties pleading, with that condition that the party that is cast, must lose also the money deposited.

Also *Sacramentum* in the good Latin Authors, is as much as an oath: And thence comes the French word *Serment*: But more commonly by the word *Sacramentum*, that oath was understood which a Souldier took unto his General.

When the Latin tongue began to decay, the Old Christians called *Sacrament* any mysterie, any doctrine that was hidden and sacred, and the intelligence thereof was not exposed to every mans sight. In that sense the vulgar version received in the Roman Church, takes the word *Sacrament*. Thus the (a) incarnation of the Saviour. (b) The will of God. (c) The Statue of Nebuchadnezzar. (d) The mysterie of the great harlot. (e) The union of Christ with his Church, are in the Greek text of Scripture called *Mysteries*, and in the vulgar version *Sacraments*.

But in the end use hath so prevailed, that the word *Sacrament* signifies a sacred sign of Gods Covenant in Christ, instituted by God in his Church; and such are Baptism and the Lords Supper. In this sense the Latin Fathers, and the Roman Church of this time, and ours take the word *Sacrament*: For we willingly comply with the usual words, so that the truth of things may remain; understanding no other thing by this word *Sacrament*, but that which Scripture (f) calls a sign, a seal, and a commemoration.

Austin in the fifth Epistle to Marcellinus, saith, *That Signs when they belong to divine things, are called Sacraments.* And in the fifth book of the City of God,

(a) 1 Tim. 3. 16. (b) Eph. 1. 9. (c) Dan. 2. 27. (d) Rev. 17. 7. (e) Eph. 5. 32. (f) Gen. 17. 21. Rom. 4. 11. 1 Cor. 11. 24. (g) Signa cum ad res divinas pertinent, Sacramenta appellantur.

(h) Sacrificum visibile est invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est sacram signum.

(i) Lombard. l. 4. Dist. 1. Sacramentum est invisibilis gratie visibile forma. Et Sect. Apud. Sacramentum nomen genericum significat signum rei sacre. Et cap. 9. Sect. Primo.

(k) August. contra Maximinum. l. 3. c. 22. Hec Sacramenta sunt in quibus non quid sim, sed quid ostendant, semper attenditur. Quoniam signa sunt rerum, aliud existentia, aliud significantia.

(l) Epist. 23. ad Bonifacium. Si sacramenta

quandam si-

multitudinem carum quarum sunt Sacramenta non haberent, omnino Sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, Sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, Ita sacramentum fidei fides est. (m) Sacramentum tantæ rei non nisi ejusdem rei vocabulo significavit.

God, ch. 5. (h) *The visible sacrifice is a sacrament of the invisible sacrifice, that is, a sacred Sign.* And against the adversary of the Law and the Prophets in the second book, chap. 9. *Sacramenta, id est sacra signa.* And Lombard (i) the Master of Sentences, defineth thus a Sacrament, *Sacramentum est sacra rei signum, A Sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing.* He saith also that it is a form or outward shew of an invisible grace. And Bellarmine in the first book of the Sacraments, chap. 7. The word *Sacrament* signifies a sign of a sacred thing. Wherefore when the Fathers call the Lords supper the *Sacrament of the body of Christ*, by these words they understand that the Lords Supper is the sacred sign of the body of Christ. It is a great abuse to call the body of Christ a Sacrament; for it is making the body of Christ a sign of himself, and a figure of himself. As if the King were the picture of himself, and the Kings person the picture and image of his person.

Wherefore *Austin* will have us to lift up our minds from the Sacraments, that is, from the visible signs, to the things signified. (k) *These things* (saith he) *are Sacraments, in which we have regard alwayes, not to that which they are, but to that which they represent; because they are signs of things, which are one thing and signify another.*

For that reason the same Father denieth that the Sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ but *after some manner*, and according as the signs by reason of the resemblance are called with the name of the things signified, (l) *If the Sacraments* (saith he) *had not some resemblance with those things whereof they are Sacraments, they should not be Sacraments at all.* Now because of that resemblance they take more often the names of the things themselves. As then the Sacrament of the body of Christ is *after some manner* the body of Christ; and the Sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ; so the Sacrament of faith (meaning Baptism) is faith. And in the same place upon that the Apostle calls Baptism a burial, Rom. 6. he saith that (m) *Saint Paul could not express the Sacrament of so great a thing, but by the name of the same thing.* Where it is clear that by the Sacrament he meaneth the sacred sign.

Wherefore every time that it is spoken in *Austins* books of the Sacrament of the body of Christ, the true interpretation is to translate *the sacred sign of the body of Christ.*

CHAP. VII.

That the Fathers not only call that which we receive in the Eucharist, sign, figure, symbol, type, and antitype, and commemoration; but also teach that the words of the Lord are sacramental, that is, that in these words the name of the thing signified is given to the sign.

There is nothing more frequent in the books of the Fathers then to call the Eucharist a sign, a figure, and a type of Christs body. *Austin* in the third book, cap. 4. *Paul could by signifying preach the Lord Jesus Christ, otherwise by his tongue, otherwise by his letters, otherwise by the sacred sign of his body and of his blood.*

(a) Potuit significando predicare Dominum

Jesum Christum; aliter per linguam suam, aliter per Epistolam, aliter per Sacramentum corporis & sanguinis ejus.

And

And in the twenty sixth Treatise upon John, speaking of the body of Christ; (b) *The sacred sign of this thing, (even the unity of the body and blood of the Lord) is prepared, &c. And is taken at the table by some to life, and by some to perdition. But the thing it self, of which it is a sacred sign, turns unto life to every man that is partaker of the same, and to none unto perdition.*

And upon Psal. 98. he personates Christ speaking thus, (c) *Understand spiritually that which I said unto you: You shall not eat this body which you see, and shall not drink the blood, which they that crucifie me, shall spil. I have recommended a sacred sign unto you, which being spiritually understood, shall quicken you.*

And in the eleventh Sermon of the words of the Lord, (d) *Did the wicked Judas, the seller and betrayer of his Master, abide in Christ, and Christ in him? although he eat and drunk the first sacred sign of his flesh and blood done by his hands, with other Disciples.*

And in the twenty sixth Treatise upon John, (e) *He that abideth not in Christ, and in whom Christ abideth not, doubtless neither eateth his flesh, nor drinks his blood spiritually, although he pless the sacred sign of the body and blood of Christ carnally and visibly with his teeth.*

Tertullian in the third book against Marcion chap. 19. (f) *Christ hath called bread his body, that thereby thou maist understand that he hath given to bread the figure of his body. Pamelius in his notes upon Tertullian, is much vexed with this sentence, and saith that perhaps these words were added by some other. Yet he acknowledgeth that he found it in the Manuscript of the Vatican, and that it is found in all Editions.*

The same Tertullian in the fourth book, chap. 40. (g) *Christ having taken bread and distributed it to his Disciples, made it his body, saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body. Now it had not been a figure, if he (that is Christ) had not been the body of truth [or the true body.] An empty thing as a ghost [or illusion of the fancy] could not be capable of a figure. He disputeth against the Marcionites who denied that Christ was a true body, and made of him an illusion of the fancy, a meer ghost. Tertullian proveth that Christ hath a true body, because he was figured by the ceremonies of the Law, and by the figure of the Lords Supper, when he said, This is my body: that is, the figure of my body. For a thing which is not truly, cannot be represented by figure. Which is the same reason that (h) Origen and Theodoret used against those that denied the truth of Christs body, as we shall see hereafter.*

Here the Cardinal is struggling and sweating. And to avoid the strength of these words so express, *This is my body, that is, the figure of my body*, he finds in Tertullians words an *Hyperbaton*, that is, a transposition of words out of their due order: Confessing thereby that these words make for us, unless they be put out of order. Then he would have this clause thus mended, *This is my body, that is* (if we must believe him) *this, namely the figure of my body, is my body.* Is not that abusing God and men? Should he have thus turned the words of Tertullian upside down to make him say things which even the Roman Church believeth not? For the Roman Church believeth not that the figure of Christs body is Christs body. Wherefore that exposition needs another exposition. So after he had changed and overturned Tertullians words by an extravagant exposition, he doth afterwards change his own exposition into another. Tertullian (saith he) meaneth that the bread which in the Law was the figure of our Lords body, is in the Gospel the body of Christ. To that second exposition he should have added a third; for this second exposition as well as the third, speaks against the belief of the Roman Church, which believeth not that the bread is the body of Christ: nor that the bread which under the Law was a figure, is under the Gospel the true

suum corpus appellans ut & hinc jam eum intelligas corporis sui figuram panem dedisse. (g) Accipiem panem & distributum discipulis corpus suum illud fecit, dicendo hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non esset nisi veritatis esset corpus. Ceterum vacua res quod est phantasma figuram capere non posset. (h) Orig.

body

(b) Hujus rei sacramentum, &c. Res vero ipsa cuius Sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium quicunque ejus participes sunt.

(c) Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducatur estis, & bibitur sanguinem quem fusi sunt qui me crucifixerunt.

Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos.

(d) Numquid & Judas quamvis primum ipsum manibus ejus confectum Sacramentum carnis & sanguinis ejus cum ceteris Discipulis manducaret & biberat, mansit in Christo, aut Christus in eo?

(e) Qui non manet in Christo, & in quo non manet Christus, procul dubio nec manducat spiritualiter carnem ejus nec bibit ejus sanguinem, licet carnaliter & visibilibus premat dentibus sacramentum corporis & sanguinis Christi.

(f) Panem

(g) Accipiem panem &

(h) Orig.

body of Christ. If in *Tertullian* one *Hyperbatick* passage be found, a thousand may be found that are not so. And how unlike is it that in these words, *This is my body, that is, the figure of my body*, there is an *Hyperbaton*? Can any man speak more clear and more natural words? Besides, by putting thus *Tertullian* upon the rack, he takes away the strength of *Tertullians* argument, who because this bread is the figure of Christs body, proveth that Christ hath a true body; since figures are images of things that are truly. And if *Tertullian* in the same chapter speaking of the figures of the Law, saith that the bread under the Old Testament was a figure of Christs body, it followeth not that it is no more a figure of Christs body under the New Testament. The word *snisset* regards the time in which Christ instituted his holy Supper. For *Tertullian* writ about one hundred and seventy years after: As if he said, *Christ would not have instituted the figure of his body, if he had not a true body.*

*Theodore*t in the first Dialogue, *The Lord gave to the sign the name of his body.* There is in the Greek, that the Lord hath given to the *symbole*, the name of his body. *Gontian Hervet* translateth. (i) *He hath given to his body, the name of the symbole and the sign, and to the symbole the name of his body.*

Maximus in his Greek Notes upon *Dionysius* expounds this word *symbole*, saying (k) that it is *some sensible thing taken for an intelligible thing, as bread and wine for the immaterial and divine food and gladness.*

The same *Maximus* speaking of the Eucharist, opposeth the symbols to the truth, *συμβολα ταυτα, κ, κ, αληθιας. These things are signs, not the truth.* It is the style of the Greek Fathers as *Bellarmin* acknowledgeth, saying, (l) *Dionysius in the first chapter of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and other Greek Fathers call Sacraments Symbols, that is signs,*

Thus *Ensebius* in the eighth book of the Demonstration, having said, that Christ gave to his Disciples the symbols of his dispensation, addeth (*) *commanding to celebrate the image or figure of his own body.* All this ought to have kept Cardinal *du Perron* from his cold Criticisme upon the word Symbol.

The same *Theodore*t in the same place, (m) *The Lord hath honoured the visible signs with the name of his body and blood, having not changed their nature, but added grace unto nature.*

And a little after, (n) *Tell me truly, of what dost thou think the sacred meat to be a sign and figure?* The answer is, *It is a sign of the body and blood of the Lord.*

And in the second Dialogue, (o) *Tell me then the mystical signs which are offered unto God by the Priests, of what are they signs?* The heretick whose name is *Eranistes* answereth, *Of the body and blood of the Lord.* Observe by the way that *Eranistes* in the Dialogues of *Theodore*t, signifieth a contributor, as one that payeth his shot, not a beggar, (p) as our Cardinal thinks. It is a Conference where the heretick contributes what he can. It is true that *Eranist* sometimes signifieth a beggar, as the same *Theodore*t saith in the beginning of his Dialogues. But in the same place he declareth that in these Dialogues, he takes that word for a contributor.

*Theodore*t addeth, (q) *If then the divine mysteries are signs or images of the true body, &c.* There is in the Greek *antitypes*, calling those things *antitypes* which he had called a little before *symbols* or *signs.*

And in the same place, (r) *The mystical signs do not change nature, no not after the consecration, for they remain in their first substance, figure and shape.* And a little after, to shew that the change is not in the thing, but in the word, he makes *Eranistes* to say (†) *The mystical sign changeth name, &c.*

(i) τὸ μὲν
σώματι τὸ
τὸ συμβόλου
τὸ εἶκον
ἵσταται. τὸ
ὃ συμβόλου
τὸ τὸ σώμα-
τις.
(k) σύμβολον
εἰδωτόν τι
ἀντὶ νοητῆς
ἀγαλαξίας
ῥώμενον διὸν
ἀντὶ τῆς
ἀύλας τρέφῃς
ἐν εὐφροσύνης
ἐρετῇ κ
οὐκ οὐκ.
(l) Dionysius
c. i. Eccles.
Hierarchie
& alii Pa-
tres Græcis
Sacramenta
vocatant sym-
bola, id est,
signa.
(*) τὴν
ἐκείνην τὴν
ἐν τῷ σώματι
τῷ πο-
τῷ εἶδαι ὡς
κατασκευασ-
(m) τὰ
ὑφ' ἡμῶν
συμβολα
τῇ τῷ σώμα-
τις κ
ἀματῷ
προσηγορία
τετιμημένα
τὴν φύσιν
μεταβαλόν,
&c.
(n) εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν
τῆς ἀληθείας
τίνος ἢ τῆς
σύμβολον κ
τύπον τῷ
παραγίαν προῶν
τίνων ἐστὶν σύμβολα; Ἐγὼ τὸ δεσποτικὸν ῥήματις κ ἀματῷ.
(p) Du Perron against du Pleſſis p. 504.
(q) εἰ τίνων ἀντίτυπα ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια τῷ ὄντι σώματις. (r) ἐν δὲ τῷ τὸν ἀμασμέν τὰ μυστήρια
(σύμβολα τῆς οὐσίας ἐξίστα) φύσεως μένει γὰρ ἐν τῇ προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τὸ εἶδος κ τὸ ῥήματις. (†) τὸ μυστικὸν
σύμβολον προσηγορίαν ἀμείβει.

Clement in the fifth book of Apostolical Constitutions, chap. 16. (u) Having given us the mysteries figurative of his precious body and blood, &c. he went up into the Mount of Olives. And such was the thanksgiving that used to be said in his time in the participation of the Lords Supper. (*) We give thee thanks, our Father, for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us; and for the precious body, of which we do these signs by his command to announce his death.

Origen in the third Dialogue against the Marcionites; (x) If Christ was without flesh, and without blood, as these men contend: of what flesh, of what body, and of what did he administer the signs and images, even the bread and the cup, and commanded his disciples to renew by them his remembrance? It is the same reason that Tertullian useth in the fourth book against Marcion chap. 40.

Dionysius surnamed the Arcopagite, in the third chapter of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, calleth six times that which is upon the sacred table, and given to the communicants, signs or symbols.

(y) Ephrem. Consider carefully how the Lord taking the bread in his hands, blest it and broke it, for a figure of his immaculate body, and gave and distributed to his Disciples the cup for a figure of his blood.

Ambrose in the fourth book of the Sacraments, chap. 5. affirmeth, that in his time this clause was in the publick service. Make this oblation to be set to our account, acceptable and reasonable, which is the figure of the body and blood of the Lord. Which words were said indeed before the consecration; but they ask of God, that the thing to be consecrated, be received as an acceptable offering. For our Adversaries themselves acknowledge, that the bread not consecrated cannot be the oblation which is put to our account, and is accepted before God for our sins.

The same Father upon 1 Cor. 11. (z) Because we have been redeemed by his death, we remembering that, in eating and drinking signify the flesh and blood which are offered for us. And in the same place, (a) The blood is a witness of the divine benefit; For the figure of which, we receive the mystical cup of blood for the preservation of the body and soul.

Macarius in the twenty seventh Homily, (b) In the Church bread and wine are offered to be antitypes or figures of his flesh and blood, and they that participate to the bread which appeareth, eat spiritually the flesh of the Lord.

Eusebius in the first book of the Demonstration, chap. 8. (c) We celebrate the memory of this sacrifice upon the table, by the signs of his salutary body and blood, according to the Laws of the New Covenant.

And in the same place, (d) He gave to his Disciples the signs of the divine dispensation, commanding to celebrate the figure of his own body, otherwise to make the image of his own body. A place where the word symbol is expounded to be a figure or image.

And in the fifth book of the Demonstration; ch. 3. (e) First our Saviour and Lord, then all the Priests that have followed him in all Nations, celebrating the holy spiritual service according to the Ecclesiastical Ordinances, signify unto us by the bread and wine, the mysteries of his body and blood.

Gregory Nazianzen praising his Sister Gorgonia, commends her devotion for reserving in her hand some part of the signs of the precious body of the Lord.

(z) Quia morte ejus redempti sumus, hujus rei memores, in edendo & potando, carnem & sanguinem que pro nobis oblata sunt significamus. (a) Quia beneficii divini sanguis testis est. In cujus typum nos calicem mysticum sanguinis ad tuitionem anime & corporis percipimus. (b) ὡς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποστολῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντίτυπου τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος· καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀπὸ πνευματικῆς τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ἐδίδον. (c) τὰς δὲ διὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν μυστικῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ συμβόλων, τὰς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αἱμάτων καὶ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου δαδῆται, &c. (d) τὰ συμβόλα τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ διοικήσεως τοῖς αὐτοῖς παρέδωκε μαθηταῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν ἱερῶν σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν ἐκκλησιαστικῶς. (e) πρῶτον ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τὰ διὰ αὐτοῦ πάντες ἱερεῖς ἀναπύοντες τὰ ἐν τῇ τῶν πνευματικῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν διακονῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ ἀντιτύπον μυστικῶς.

(f) If

(f) εἰ
πὲρ τῆς
ἀντιτύπῃ
τῆς πύλης
(ἀματ)
ἢ τῆς ἀμα-
τῆς ἢ χεῖ-
ρὸς ἀντιτύπῃ
τῆς τοῦ στα-
ναίοντος
τοῦ σώματος
&c.

(g) μετα-
ληψάμεθα
τὸ πᾶν
τοῦ μὲν το-
κῆρος ἐπὶ εἰ-
ς τὸ πᾶν
συμμότερον
τὸ δὲ νομικὸν
πᾶν (πλ-
μας) καὶ λι-
γὲν τὸ πᾶν
ἐν τῷ στα-
ναίοντος
&c.

(h) Respe-
ctam vini
speciem tum
sanguis ex-
primatur.

(i) Ibid.
Rationaliter
in eo figura
corporis Chri-
sti.

(k) Benedi-
ctus, etiam
passurus, ul-
timam nobis
commemora-
tionem sive
memoriam
dereliquit.

Quemadmo-
dum si quis peregre proficiscens aliquod pignus ei quem diligit relinquit, ut quotiescunque illud videt possit ejus be-
neficentiam et amicitiam memorare. (l) In typo sanguinis sui non obtulit aquam sed vinum. (m) εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ
δαυὶδ ὁ ἱσθὸς, τὴν δὲ σὺμβολα τὰ τελέμματα, ὅσα δὲ ὁ νόμος (συνδ) αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναμνησκόμενος ὅτι
ἀπὸ δαυὶδ ἐστὶν ἡμῶν. (n) Dedit sui corporis imaginem vel effigiem aut typum discipulis, haud amplius admit-
tens & acceptans Legis cruenta sacrificia. (o) ἀποστέφει ἢ ἐκκλησία τὰ τῆς ἀματῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀματῆς
(σὺμβολα).

(f) If sometimes her hand had treasured up some of the antitypes or signs of the pretious body or blood of the Lord, she mingled it with her tears.

That custom of giving leave to women to carry away in their hands some of the bread and wine of the Lords Supper, and to keep it, was a proof that they believed not Transubstantiation in those dayes. For in those dayes it would be thought an horrible profanation to suffer a woman to touch the Host: Wherefore Gregory calls that which his sister carried away, the antitypes or signs of the body and blood of Christ. And that which is more remarkable, is, that Gregory saith, that she received Baptisma a little before her death. Which is a proof that she carried away the Sacrament without eating of it.

The same Gregory in the second Oration of the Passeeover, speaks thus of the Eucharist, (g) We shall participate of the Passeeover; which indeed is yet in figure, although more evidently then in the antient Passeeover: for the Legal Passeeover (I make bold to say so) was a more obscure figure of a figure. He saith that the Passeeover was a figure of the Lords Supper, as a less clear figure is a figure of another more exprels figure.

Gaudentius in the second Treatise upon Exodus, (h) With good reason his blood is exprest by the element of wine. Again (i) In the bread, the figure of Christs body is reasonably understood.

Hierom upon 1 Cor. II. (k) When he blessed, even going to suffer, he recommended to us the last commemoration or remembrance. As if one going on a journey should leave some token to him whom he loveth, that whensoever he seeth it, he may remember his benefit and love. Should Christ have left himself for a token and a remembrance of himself?

The same Hierom against Jovinian, (l) The Lord did not offer water but wine for a type of his blood.

Chrysostom upon Matthew in the eighty third Homily, (m) If Jesus died not, of what is this celebration a symbol and sign? Seest thou how carefull he was that we should alwayes remember that he died for us?

Procopius Gazarius upon Gen. 49. (n) He gave to his Disciples, the image, or likeness, or type of his body, receiving no more the bloody sacrifices of the Law.

Snidas upon the word ἐκκλησία, (o) The Church makes an offering of the signs of the body and blood of Christ.

Austin is beyond all the Fathers in evidence upon this subject. To him therefore I reserve a chapter by himself.

CHAP. VIII.

Some passages of Austin, wherein he teacheth that Christs words, This is my body, and Except you eat my flesh, &c. are figurative. The Cardinals answers are examined.

Austin (a) in the third book of Christian doctrine, ch. 15. having said that the precepts of Gods Word which command to do a good work, or forbid to do a wicked work, must not be figuratively understood; And those precepts which seem to command an evil work, or forbid a good work, are figures, and that the words must be figuratively understood; brings for example the commandment of eating the Lords flesh and drinking his blood: these are his own words; *Except you eat (saith Christ) the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you. He seems to command a crime or a wicked act. It is then a figure, commanding to communicate to the Lords passion, and to lay in our memory sweetly and profitably that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us.*

The Cardinal made a great book purposely upon the testimonies which we alledge out of Austin, where he spends forty eight long pages about the exposition of this last passage. Before he enters upon the matter, he makes a little pedantical exord out of Virgil, *Nunc animis opus Aenea, nunc pectore firmo*, as having a hard combat to achieve.

His discourse is both long and intricate, and needs an Oedipus to unriddle it. But in that long discourse he answers not the two things wherein lyeth the whole strength of that place. The one is that Austin expounding these words, *Except you eat my flesh, &c.* saith not only that these words are typical, but also declareth very expressly that in that text by eating the flesh of the Lord and drinking his blood we must understand communicating unto the death of Christ, remembering with pleasure and profit that Christ was crucified for us. An exposition which neither he nor the Roman Church approveth. For when we say to our adversaries, *Since Austin tells us that these words are figurative, expound us that figure, and express it in plain words;* their answer is that the figure lyeth in that the flesh of Christ is not eaten grossly and visibly by bits, like flesh of the shambles, but that it is taken whole in a miraculous way under the species of bread. But that is not Austins exposition, who will have the figure to consist in this, that eating the flesh of Christ signifieth a mans meditating in his memory the Lords death and passion. If Austin spake ill by speaking so, why doth the Cardinal trouble himself to excuse him? and if he spake well, why are we blamed for speaking as he did?

The other thing that we observe in Austins words is that the exposition which our adversaries give to it, tends to establish the real manducation which is done with the mouth in the Sacrament. But Austin in this passage would take us off from all oral manducation, and keeps us altogether to that which is done with the heart and by the memory and meditation of his death.

To which add that Austin holds that these words, *Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, you have no life in you*, taken literally, enjoyn a wicked act. Now there is no lesse wickednesse in swallowing a whole mans flesh then in eating it bit after bit. For either way, it is devouring Jesus Christ; which thought Austin would put far from us, putting instead of it, not the sacramental manducation, but the serious and profitable meditation of our Saviours passion.

If the exposition which our adversaries give to that figure be considered, it will be found that they acknowledge no figure at all; for to eat Christ in the Host, according to their belief, is a real, not a typical manducation.

Let the pious Reader sadly consider what will become in the end of Christian Religion, seeing that the Word of God is removed from the people, and the

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people

(a) Si preceptiva locutio est aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam jubens, non est figurata. Si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare, figurata est. Nisi manducaveritis, inquit, carnem filii hominis & sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis, facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura est ergo precipiens passioni Dominice esse communicandam, & suavititer atque utiliter recordandum in memoria quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa & vulnerata sit.

people sent back to the reading of the Fathers where they understand nothing; and that they which probably might get some intelligence in them, are kept back from it, being discouraged and confounded by the infinite length and labour, since upon one only place of a Father a whole book is made. If the decision of our differences lyeth upon that issue, when shall we have done examining some twenty thousand passages of the Fathers alledged on both sides? And if we stand to the Cardinals expositions, they shall be found a hundred times more obscure then the text of the Fathers which he takes in hand to expound. Oh wretched men that cast themselves purposely into a darknesse without end, and into a maze of uncertainty, to avoid the clarity, certainty, and brevity of the Word of God!

(b) Fol. 168.

Figura est ergo (dicit hereticus) precipiens, &c. Petavius upon Epiphanius saith that these words [dicit hereticus] are not found in his manuscript.

(c) *Non enim Deus dubitavit dicere Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui.*

Fulbertus Carnutensis (b) in his Sermon against the Jews, takes a shorter way, and makes this place of *Austin* advantageous to the Roman Church, by the addition of two words, alledging thus St. *Austin*; *Except you eat the flesh of the son of man and drink his blood, you have no life in you; It is then a figure [will the heretick say] commanding, &c.* Our Cardinal made conscience to follow him in that depravation. But he followed his example in the following passage.

Austin in the 12. ch. of the book against *Adimantus* speaks thus, (c) *The Lord made no difficulty to say, This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body.* Other Advocates of Transubstantiation answer, that the Roman Church denieth not that in the Eucharist we receive the sign of the Lords body; but they say that it is a sign joyned with the truth. But that answer cannot subsist: For *Austin* saith not only that Christ gave the sign of his body, but teacheth also how these words, *This is my body*, must be understood. *Austin* declareth that the Lord by his body understood the sign of his body. An Exposition esteemed heretical by the Roman Church, and for that we sustain so much hatred.

Cardinal du Perron not able to bear the strength of that reason, hath recourse to his boldness in depraving, and doth like *Fulbert* in the forealleged place. For he puts in these words of his own according to you, which turn this clause into a contrary sense, making *Austin* to say, *The Lord made no difficulty to say this is my body, when he gave, according to you, the sign of his body*; as if *Austin* spake according to the sense of the *Manicheans*.

Had we used the fourth part of that licence, we should be called *Forgers, Atheists, Ungodly, impudent*; for these are the flowers of their ordinary oratory. But for my part, that I may spare this Prelats memory, I will impute this fault to extremity of grief and despondency to see his game go against him.

I maintain that it is most false that *Austin* spake according to the sense of the *Manicheans*, and affirm that the sense which he puts upon *Austins* words, is contrary to his intention, which I must open to the Reader.

The *Manicheans* affirmed that there was two Gods, the one good, the other evil; and said that the evil god was author of the Law, and the good, author of the Gospel. To make good their opinion, they laboured to make the Law to justle against the Gospel, and to find contrariety between them. Among other contrarieties they marked this, that the Law said that the soul is in the blood, and therefore forbade eating of blood, saying *Deut. 12. 23. Be sure that thou eat not the blood, for the blood is the life.* To this they opposed this sentence of the Gospel, *Matth. 10. 28. that none is able to kill the soul*, although it be certain that men can shed and disperse the blood. *Austin* answereth two things to that objection. That either when the Law saith that the blood is the soul, it speaks only of the blood of beasts, or that it is a typical locution, which according to the custom of Scripture, attributes unto the sign the name of the thing signified; in the same manner as Christ said *This is my body*, when he gave the sign of his body. And in the same manner as the Apostle said that the stone was Christ, because it was a sign or figure of Christ. These are the very words of *Austin*, (d) *As for that which is written that the blood of the beasts is the soul of the same; besides what I said already, that I care not what becomes of the soul of a beast, I may also expound that this command [which forbids eating of blood, because the blood is the soul] is put*

(d) *Non ex eo quod scriptum est sanguinem pecoris animam ejus esse, præter id quod supra dixi non ad me pertinere quid agatur de pecoris animæ, possum etiam interpretari præceptum illud in signo esse positum; Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui.*

in

in sign; [that is, because the blood is the sign of the soul] For the Lord also made no difficulty to say, *This is my body*, when he gave the sign of his body. And to confirm that exposition, he adds in the same chapter that other example, *The stone was Christ*, of which words he saith that the sense is, *The stone signified Christ*. St. Austin will have these locutions, *The blood is the soul*, and *This is my body*, and *The stone was Christ*, to be alike; and he teacheth that the name of things signified in these expressies is given unto the signes. For he addeth in the same chapter, (c) *That which the Law saith that the blood must not be spilt, but eaten because the blood is the soul, we say that it is put as many other things; and almost all the Sacraments of these Scriptures are full of signs and figures of the future preaching which now is declared by our Lord Jesus*. For so is blood the soul, as the stone was Christ, as the Apostle saith, *They drunk of the spiritual stone that followed them*, and the stone was Christ. Now it is known that the children of Israel, the stone being smitten, drunk water in the wilderness; of whom the Apostle spake when he said these things: and yet be said not the stone signified Christ, but this stone was Christ.

Let us apply these last words to the subject in hand, since Austin joyneth these examples; and let us say that the Lord saith not *This signifieth my body*, but, *This is my body*; in the same manner as the Apostle said not *This stone signifieth Christ*, but *This stone is Christ*; For (saith Austin) the Scriptures are full of such figures. Will the Cardinal have that to be the language of the Manicheans? And since Austin saith that in these words, the stone was Christ, the sign is named with the name of the thing signified; why shall we not say the same of these words, *This is my body*, since these two examples are set together by Austin, and that the one serveth to clear the other?

To make the abuse extream, the Cardinal by this addition, according to you, chargeth Austin of calumny. For it was not the belief of the Manicheans that the bread of the Eucharist was the sign of the body of Christ. The Cardinal himself saith so much (f) unwittingly, when he saith that the Manicheans believed that Christ had no true body. For how could those that deny the truth of Christs body, believe that bread in the Eucharist was a sign of a thing that is not? And if Austin spake according to the opinion of the Manicheans when he expounded Christs words *This is my body*, by these, *This is the sign of my body*; we must say also that the stone was Christ, because according to the opinion of the Manicheans, not according to truth, it signified Christ. For Austin sets these two texts together as much alike.

To this notable text we joyn another more expresse yet, out of the 23. Epistle to Boniface. Austin labours to shew to Boniface that Baptism may be called faith, because it is the Sacrament or sacred sign of faith, according as the signs use to take the name of things signified. Among other examples he brings the Lords Supper which is called the sacrifice of Christ, although it was but the sign and commemoration of the same, It being certain that Christ was never sacrificed but once. In the same manner as the Lords day is called the day of the Lords resurrection, as if he did rise again every Lords day, because upon that day the memory of Christs resurrection is celebrated; and in the same manner as the sign of the sacred body of Christ is in some respect the body of Christ, being so called because of the resemblance or representation. These are then the very words of that good Doctor, whereby he proveth that Baptism may be called Faith, because it is the Sacrament or Sacred sign of Faith.

(g) We often speak in this manner; When Easter draweth nigh, we say that to

die Dominico dicimus, Hodie Dominus resurrexit, cum ex quo resurrexit tot anni transierint. Cui nemo tam ineptus est ut nos ita loquentes arguat esse mentitos, nisi quia istos dies secundum illorum quibus hæc gesta sunt similitudinem nuncupamus, ut dicatur ipse dies qui non est ipse, sed revolutione temporis similis ejus, & dicatur illo die fieri propter sacramenti celebrationem quod non illo die sed jam olim factum est? Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in semet ipso? & tamen in Sacramento, non solum per omnes Pascha solemnitates, sed omni die populo immolatur. Nec utiq; mentitur qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari. Si enim Sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sunt Sacramenta non haberent, omnino Sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumq; ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quandam modum Sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est; Sacramentum sanguinis Christi, sanguis Christi est, ita Sacramentum fidei fides est.

(c) Illud quod Lex dicit, &c. quia sanguis est anima, esse postum dicimus, sicut alia multa; et pene omnia scripturarum illarum sacramenta signis et figuris plena sunt futurae praedicationis, quae jam per Dominum nostrum Jesum declarata est. Sic enim sanguis anima quomodo petra erat Christus, sicut dicit Apostolus, Bibebat de spirituali sequente eos petra; Petra autem erat Christus. Non est autem filius Israel; petra percussa bibisse aquam in eceum; de quibus loquebatur Apostolus cum hæc diceret, nec tamen ait, Petra significabat Christum; sed ait, Petra erat Christus.

(f) Ch. 6. of his book of the passages of St. Austin p. 38.

(g) Sape ita loquimur ut Pascha propinquante dicamus, crastinam vel perendinam esse Domini passionem, cum ille ante annos multos passus sit. Nempe ipso

morrow or the next day is the Lords passion, whereas he suffered many years before. Thus upon the Lords day we say, this day the Lord rose again, although so many years past since he rose again. Why is none so silly as to tax us of untruth when we speak so, but because we call these dayes after the likeness of those dayes in which these things were done? so that this day is said to be the same day which is not the same, but the like by revolution of time; and by reason of the celebration of the Sacrament that thing is said to be done that day which was not done that day, but was done a long time before? Was not Christ once sacrificed in himself? and yet he is sacrificed in the Sacrament, not only in all the Easter-solemnities unto the people, but every day. Neither doth that man lye, who, being asked, answereth that he is sacrificed. For if Sacraments had not some resemblance with those things of which they are Sacraments, they should not be Sacraments at all. And from that likeness commonly they receive the name of the things themselves. As then the Sacrament of the body of Christ is in some sort the body of Christ, and the Sacrament of the blood of Christ the blood of Christ, likewise the Sacrament of faith (that is baptism) is faith.

We have seen before that *Austin* told us in many places that this word *Sacrament* is as much as a Sacred sign; so that the true exposition of these words, *Sacramenta plerumque ex hac similitudine ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt*, is this, *The sacred signes more often by reason of that resemblance take the name of the things themselves*. And these words, *secundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est*, must be thus translated, *The sacred sign of the body of Christ is in some sort the body of Christ*. Now to make us understand in what sort the Sacrament of Christs body is the body of Christ, he giveth many examples, namely that it is as every year two dayes before Easter they say, *This day is the passion of the Lord*; and as every Lords day is the day of Christs resurrection; And as the Baptism is Faith. In which expresses he faith that the Sacraments are named with the name of the thing signified.

(h) In his 2. book of the Eucharist against du Plessis in the 22. Authority, ch. 3.

(h) The Cardinal in a long perplexed discourse faith very little. This is the summary, *That the Sacrament hath two relations with the body of Christ. The one as he is dead under the formal object of immolation. The other as he is glorious under the formal object of manducation. And that in the first respect the Sacrament is not that which it representeth, but only in the second; and that Austin speaks in the alledged place, of the Sacrament in the first respect only.*

(i) Of this we spake before in the Controversie of the Sacrifice.

By these words the Cardinal manifesteth his opinion which he declared in the Convocation of the Clergy held in the Convent of the Dominicans of *Paris*, in a full audience: (i) namely that Christ is not really sacrificed in the Eucharist. He tells us then that these words *Christ is sacrificed in the Mass*, signifie nothing else, but that *the sacrifice of Christ is represented in the same*; and that the sign (as *Austin* faith here) takes the name of the thing signified. But as for the real presence of the body of Christ, and the manducation, he denyeth that *Austins* sentence can be applied to it: But *Austin* holds him too fast to let him scape thus: For he faith not only that in the Sacrament the body of Christ is in some sort immolated or sacrificed; But he faith that the Sacrament of Christs body is in some sort the body of Christ, namely in as much as the signs take the names of things signified. And the examples which *Austin* brings, exclude altogether the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament; For Christ dyeth not every year two dayes before Easter, and riseth not really from the dead every Lords day, but only in sign and commemoration; And Baptism is not really Faith, but is the sign of Faith.

In all these examples *Austin* sheweth how the signs are named with the name of things signified, which are not present, and are not really done. Had not St. *Austin* been out of his right sense, if having said that infants which have no Faith, yet have it in some sort because they have received the sign of Faith, which sign according to the custom of Scripture may be called with the name of the thing signified; if I say, having said that, he had proved it with a clean contrary example, namely by the example of the Eucharist where Christ is really present, according to the opinion of our adversaries? Would he have brought that example,

ample, *the Sacrament is the body of Christ*, for an instance of a figure like to this, *Baptism is Faith*, if the Sacrament were the body of Christ truly and without figure? This then remaineth firm by *Austins* words, that the sign of Faith is Faith, as the Sacrament of Christs body is called Christs body.

I passe by the Cardinals error, how he believeth that the body of Christ in the Eucharist is set forth as living and glorious: For the Apostle will have us to *eat this bread, and drink this cup, to announce the Lords death till he come*, 1 Cor. 11. 26. And Christ giving the bread and the cup, said, *This is my body which is broken for you, and this cup is the New Testament in my blood which is shed for you*. He would then have us to receive his body as broken and as dying for us, and his blood as shed. Is it not non-sense to say, that in the Masse Christ is sacrificed as dead, and yet eaten as glorious and risen again, seeing that he was not yet glorious when he gave the Sacrament to his Disciples to eat?

All these reasons serve also to confute those who by the Sacrament of Christs body understood the *species* or accidents. For these examples of Baptism, of the Lords day, and of the day of his passion, exclude the presence of things signified. Neither did *Austin* know accidents without a subject. It is a new doctrine of which we shall speak hereafter.

We must not leave out what the same Father saith upon the third *Psalm*, (k) *So great was the patience of our Lord and so admirable, that he suffered Judas so long as a good man, although he was not ignorant of his thoughts when he admitted him to the banquet in which he recommended and delivered unto his Disciples the figure of his body and blood*. Had *Austin* believed Transubstantiation, he would have said rather that Christ had received *Judas* to the banquet in which he really gave his own body. For the end of *Austin* in this sentence is to praise the Lords goodnesse and patience, which he would have far more exalted if he could have said that he had given to *Judas* his own body; then by saying that he had given him the figure of his body.

The Roman decree in the second distinction of the Consecration in the Canon *Hoc est* brings a sentence, as from *Austin*, which we alledged before. We will but observe now how the Cardinal abuseth it. The sentence is this, (1) *As then the heavenly bread which is the flesh of Christ, is, in its manner, called the body of Christ, whereas indeed it is the sacred sign of the body of Christ, which being visible, palpable and mortal, was set on the Cross; and that immolation which is done by the hands of the Priest is called the passion, death, and crucifying of Christ, not according to the truth of the thing but by a signifying mystery*. Our Cardinal hath beheaded that text, taking away the first word *as*, that the connexion and dependence of the text may not be known, and that it may not be seen how the Author saith of the Sacrament of the body of Christ, that it is not the body of Christ according to the truth of the thing, but in signifying mystery, as the sacrifice of the Eucharist is not the sacrifice of Christ in truth but in signification.

Let the Cardinal wrest and clip that notable passage as much as he will, yet all his Glosses shall never have that authority in the Roman Church which those Doctors have which were the Glossaries of the decree, who put this Glosse in the margin, (m) *The heavenly Sacrament which truly represents the flesh of Christ, is called the body of Christ, but improperly; wherefore it is said suo modo, in its manner, not according to the truth of the thing, but by a significant mystery*. So that the sense of these words is, *It is called the body of Christ, that is, it is signified*. To this Glosse the Cardinal answers nothing: Only he labours to make the place suspected, contradicting the Roman decree and the Doctors that Glossed it, and *Lombard* and all the Schoolmen who attribute this text to *Austin*.

To end his Chapter gallantly (n) he shuts it up with these verses of *Virgil* of the second of the *Aeneids*,

immolatio carnis, que sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio; non rei veritate sed significante mysterio.
(m) *Celeste Sacramentum quod vere representat Christi carnem, dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie. unde dicitur, suo modo, sed non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio. ut fit sensus, vocatur Christi corpus, id est significatur.*
(n) In his book of the passages of *Austin*, ch. 8.

(k) In Pf. 3.
initio.

In historia
Novi Testa-
menti ipsa
Domini nostri
tanta & tam
miranda pati-
entia quod
cum tandem
pertulit tan-
quam bonum,
cum ejus cogi-
tationes non
ignoraret cum
adhibuit ad
convivium in
quo corporis
& sanguinis
sui figuram
discipulis
commendavit
& tradidit.

(1) Ex lib.
Sentent.
Prosperi.
Sicut ergo
calestis panis
qui Christi
caro est, suo
modo vocatur
corpus Christi,
cum ea vera
sic sacramen-
tum corporis
Christi, illius
videlicet quod
visibile, quod
palpabile,

quod mortale
in cruce posi-
tum est; Vo-
caturque ipsa

*Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, & crimine ab uno
Disce omnes.*

Which he translateth much to this purpose,

(o) The Cardinals French verses are these.

Voy maintenant des Grecs l'embuscade et l'imposture, Et d'un crime expose tous leurs tours conjecture.

(p) *Quod ergo vidistis panis est et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri remutiant. Quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis. Id. ibid.*

Quomodo est panis corpus ejus et calix? vel quid habet calix quomodo est sanguis ejus? Ista (fratres) ideo sacramenta dicuntur quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur. Quod videtur speciem habet corporalem. Quod intelligitur fructum habet spirituale. Corpus ergo Christi si vis intelligere, Apostolum audi dicentem fidelibus, Vos estis corpus Christi et membra.

(o) See now the Grecians base insidious wile,
And in one crime the stamp of all their guile.

This Prelat ignorant in the good letters, did not know that *crimen* in this place of *Virgil* signifies not a crime, but a wicked man. Which appears by the adjective masculine which *Virgil* addeth; *Et crimine ab uno disce omnes*. As in the *Andria* of *Terence*, *Ubi est iste scelus qui me perdidit*. But let us return to *Austin*.

Beda upon 1 Cor. 10. alledgeth this testimony of *Austin* taken out of the Sermon to the newly baptized. (p) *This then which you have seen, is bread and a cup, as also your eyes relate it unto you. But that which your faith (which must be instructed) demands, the bread is the body of Christ, and cup his blood.* Then he declareth how the bread is the body of Christ. *How is (saith he) the bread his body and the cup or that which is in the cup his blood? These things (my brethren) are therefore called sacred signs, because in them we see one thing, and understand another. That which we see, hath a bodily likeness or shew; but that which we understand, hath a spiritual fruit. If then thou wilt understand what the body of Christ is, hear the Apostle saying to the believers, You are the body of Christ and his members.*

Among many things considerable in this passage, three are especially so; The one that *Austin* will have us to believe the relation of our eyes which shew that it is bread. The second that he is so far from believing transubstantiation that he chuseth rather in these words, *This is my body*, to understand by the body of Christ the believers, that is the Church, then to imagine any transubstantiation of bread into the Lords body. The third, that to the corporal shew he opposeth not the body of Christ invisibly present, but the Spiritual grace. According to our adversaries he ought to have said, That which is seen is the species of bread; but that which is invisible and hid under the species, is the body of Christ really present.

The Cardinal deals here prudently; for because this passage is a fragment remaining of a lost Sermon; *It will be time enough (saith he) to answer when our adversaries have recovered the book where Austin speaks that language.* And he gives this reason for it, *Because (saith he) all the strength they can raise out of this, depends from the immediate connexion of periods.* And he saith that *Beda* doth not alwayes exactly relate *Austins* words. But *Fulgentius* a Disciple of *Austin*, hath preserved that Sermon to posterity. For it is found whole in the Treatise of *Fulgentius* of the Baptism of an Ethiopian dying. Which book the Cardinal having not seen, he is excusable that he would not trust *Beda*.

Such was the belief of this good Doctor, with whom, all things being considered, none of the Fathers whose writings we have, is to be compared. A man whose learning was joyned with a singular holiness of life, and sweetness of conversation. It seemeth that this good servant of God foresaw the abuse which the posterious ages brought forth, and to which the Hyperbolical Allegories of some Doctors of his time tending to elevate the peoples devotion, hath given occasion contrary to their mind. This is known in that *Austin* speaks more often and more clearly of this matter then any before him. Also in that whereas he bestowed two long Treatises to expound our Saviours words, *Joh. 6.* where it is spoken of the manducation of Christs flesh, in those two Treatises there is not one word of the real manducation of Christs flesh with the mouth, but he referreth all to the spiritual manducation by faith, and to the union of the faithful in one body. The same may be known in that having said in the first Sermon upon

upon the 33. Ps. that in the Lords Supper, (q) Christ bore himself in his own hands, least that any should abuse that expression to grosse thoughts, he saith in the following Sermon, (r) *That Christ carried himself in some sort in his hands when he said, This is my body.* Which relates to the forealledged words of the same *An-
stin*, who speaking of the bread of the Lords Supper, said, that *it is the body of Christ* in its manner, although indeed it is the sacred sign of his body. These words, in some sort, are never employed but to bring some exception and distinction, when a thing being affirmed absolutely and without restriction, should be false. So we say that a man is learned in some sort, when he is not universally learned. And that the nature of the Son of God was mortal in some sort, that is, the humane nature only, not the divine. But when it is question of the whole and real presence of a body, that restriction hath no place. It cannot be said that the brains of a living man is in his head in some sort. One cannot tell that the body of Christ crucified was in the Crosse in some sort, or that it is now in heaven in some sort. But if Christ crucified is represented in a picture, it may be said that he is crucified there in some sort. Thus in the Eucharist he is present in some sort, that is Sacramentally, and according as signs take the names of things signified. But if he was present in it really and whole, it were absurdly spoken to say that he is present in it in some sort. And whosoever saith that the Lords body is really present in the Eucharist in some sort, saith also by consequent that it is absent from it in some sort.

(q) *Ferebatur Christus in manibus suis quando commendavit ipsum corpus suum aut, hoc est corpus meum. Ferebat enim istud corpus in manibus suis; ista est humilitas domini nostri.*
(r) *Quomodo ferebatur in manibus suis, quia cum commendaret ipsum corpus suum & sanguinem suum,*

accepit in manus suas quod norunt fideles, & ipse se portabat quodammodo cum diceret hoc est corpus meum.

CHAP. IX.

Examination of Cardinal du Perrons answer, whereby he endeavours to give reasons why the Fathers call the Bread and Wine of the Lords Supper signs, figures, types, and symbols of the body and blood of Christ, even after the Consecration.

THE Cardinal finding himself bepeltd with a hail of testimonies of Fathers which call that which is received in the Sacrament, signs, and figures, and types, even after the Consecration, seeks to take shelter under a dark distinction which he hath borrowed from others. (a) These are his words: *There are* (saith he) *two sorts of signs; some instituted to supply the defect of presence, as the Paschal lamb, Manna, the stone of the desert, the shew-bread, the brazen serpent; Some instituted to supply the defect of appearance, and to be forms and visible clothings for things which by their own essence could appear and make themselves visible, as the species of the flame in the bush, and of the dove in Christs Baptism, the serpent tempted Eve in the earthly Paradise, the humane forms which Angels put on. Now the signs instituted to supply the defect of appearance are not exclusive, but on the contrary inclusive and connotative of the reality.* In another place to prove that, he alledged (b) Pope Hilary, and Alger, and Eutychim, who say that the body of Christ which is taken upon the Altar, is both truth and figure. For want of antient authors he brings new ones, and such as are not receivable; for the antients do not speak so.

I do freely acknowledge those two sorts of signs, and know that there are signs which signifie a present thing: But in such signs two things shall be found; the one that they are true signs, not false shews; the other that they are signs of things of an invisible nature. For to give a false shew for a sign, and to be a sign of a thing present and of a visible nature, it is a meer illusion and a superlative absurdity. This is seen by the examples which the Cardinal brings; For the flame in the bush was a true flame, and a sign of Gods presence which is in-
visible.

(a) In his 2. book of the Eucharist against M. du Plessis, in the ch. where he treats of Theodoret, the same things he saith in the 4. book against King James, ch. 4. p. 371, & 372.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 472, where he mistakes Pope Hilary for Paschasius in the book *De corpore Dei*, cap. 4.

visible: And the dove which he speaks of, was a true dove, and was the sign of a thing of an invisible nature, which was the Holy Ghost. But in the Eucharist the Cardinal forgeth imaginary things, bread which seems to be bread and is not, and yet is sign of a thing present and of a visible nature. All signs serve to signifie, and are helps to know. But here they forge us signs, even the accidents of bread and wine, which hinder that we see that which they signifie; which signifie Christ, and hide the sight of Christ. They are not then helps but hinderances to knowledge: As if a chest where a thief hath hidden stolen money, were called a sign or a figure of that money.

Note.

But the chief consideration is that the strength of those places of Fathers that call that which is received in the Eucharist *signs and figures* even after the consecration, lyeth not in that they call those things signs and figures, but in that they will have the word *my body* to be interpreted *the sign of my body*; an interpretation which the Roman Church abhorreth. Also in that they oppose the sign to the truth, and from their being signs gather that they are not really the Lords body. For we have alledged multitude of passages of the Fathers which affirm that the Lord saying, *This is my body*, gave to the sign the name of his body, and honoured the visible signes with the name of his body. And that these words *Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, &c.* are typical words, which signifie that we must ruminare in our memory, and profitably meditate that Christ dyed for us; and that these things are signs, and not the truth: That the Lord saying *This is my body*, gave the sign of his body; that we eat not the body which was crucified for us, but that it is a Sacred sign which is recommended to us; That the Sacrament of Christs body is Christs body, according as the Sacraments are named by the name of that they signifie; in the same manner as every Lords day is the day of Christs resurrection, and baptism is called faith because it is the sign of faith. And that the Sacrament is called the Lords body after its manner, but that to speak truly it is the Sacred sign of Christs body which was crucified. All that is full of weight and clarity; and to all that no answer is given.

And though the Fathers said no more but that the thing received in the Sacrament is a sign or figure, is not that a sufficient proof against the real presence of the Lords body under the accidents of bread? For how many passages did we produce wherein they speak of the signs of Christs body without speaking at all of the presence of the natural body of Christ under these signs? When the Fathers exalt the excellency of the Eucharist, is it credible that they speak only of that which is lesse worthy in the Eucharist, namely of the signs of Christs body, and leave out that wherein our adversaries place the excellency of the Eucharist, namely the real presence of the Lords body? Would they have given thanks to God in the publick service for establishing in his Church the signs and antitypes of Christs body without speaking of the real presence of Christs body under these signs? Had not that been an ungrateful thanksgiving, and rather a forgetfulness then a remembrance? As if one having received the gift of a horse or a sword, gave thanks for the bridle or the scabbard, not for the horse or the sword. Certainly whosoever will commend the excellency of a thing, will fix upon that which is most commendable and most excellent.

I add that whosoever speaks of *the Sacrament of Christs body*, saith manifestly that the Sacrament is not Christs body. And who so affirmeth that in these words, *This is my body*, the name of the thing signified is given to the sign, saith not that the sign is with the body, but will have it understood, that *This is my body*, signifieth, *This is the sign of my body*.

The premises afford an answer to that which the Cardinal addeth; *Could not David (saith he) after he had attained to the Crown, represent upon a stage, and in a disguised habit and face, the combat which he had performed against Goliath, and be by that means, though in diverse respects, both the sign and the signified thing? May not then Christ who is the Evangelical David, represent in the Eucharist under the commemorative species of his passion the combat which he had on the Cross against the allegorical Giant of the Christians?*

This

This Prelat ought to have reserved his eloquence for another Subject that had some shew of reason. In one point he deserveth to be applauded, for comparing that which is done in the Masse unto a play acted by a disguised man; and I would not be he that should contradict him. But he is short of reason when he thinks that *David* acting thus his combat upon a stage, should be a sign of himself. Only his present action should be a sign and a representation of his past action. And *David* acting thus should be a true person; But they give us here for a sign bread in shew, which is no bread indeed. Neither is it Christ that doth in the Masse that action which the Cardinal compares unto a play; It is the Priest that moveth, and makes the whole representation.

CHAP. X.

Some passages of the Councils upon this subject.

THE Councils speak the same language as we heard the Fathers speak. The Council of Nice in the 5. Canon speaking of the Eucharist, saith, (a) *That all bitterness of spirit being taken away, the gift which is presented unto God may be pure.* It is evident that this Council believed that sometimes an impure gift is presented unto God in the Eucharist, and that the offering becomes impure and defiled when it is presented with hatred and animosity. They did not then believe that the gift was the natural body of Christ. For it is alwayes pure and cannot be defiled by the vice of the person that offereth it.

The Council of *Ancyra* in the 2. Canon commands the Deacons who have sacrificed unto Idols to abstain from the Sacred service, and forbids them to present either the bread or the cup. For the Deacons in those days carried to the Communicants in the Church the bread and the cup: Which was not done but after the consecration. Yet that which they presented is called *bread* by the Council; (b) *Let the Deacons that have sacrificed abstain from all divine service, and present no more neither the bread nor the cup.*

The Council of *Neesefarea* in the 13. Canon, (c) *The Country Priest cannot offer in the principal Church of the Town when the Bishop or the Priests of the Town are present, nor give the bread in the prayer, nor the cup.*

The third Council of Carthage in the 24. Canon prescribeth, (d) *That in the sacred service nothing be offered but the body and blood of the Lord (as also the Lord commanded it) that is, the bread and wine mingled with water.* See here above two hundred Bishops, of whom Austin was one; and that man so famous, *Aurelius Bishop of Carthage*, expounding these words *the body and blood of Christ*, as signifying *bread and wine mingled with water.* When the Fathers call that which is received in the holy Communion, *bread and wine*, our adversaries will have them to speak figuratively, and that by bread and wine they understand *the body and blood of Christ* under the species of bread and wine. But here is a Council that reacheth the clean contrary, that when they called that which is offered in the holy Communion *the body and blood of Christ*, by that body and blood they meant *bread and wine mingled with water.* Can any of our adversaries boast that he understands the Fathers better then the Fathers understood themselves? or who will take upon him the authority of correcting the interpretation which themselves give unto their words?

Because this Canon grieveth the Roman Church, it was corrupted and clipt in the Latine Tomes of the Councils published by our adversaries, where there is only, (e) *That in the Sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord nothing be offered*

(α) ἵνα πα-
σης παροψι-
χίας ἀναι-
ρεμένης τὸ
δῶρον καὶ τα-
ρὸν προσφέρη-
ται πάλιν.

(b) Διακόνες
οἰοίμενος διύ-
σανται, &c.
πεποινηται
πάντος τῆς
ἐξῆς λειτουργ-
ίας ὅτε τε ὁ
ἀρετὴν καὶ πε-
τήσιον ἀνα-
φύειν.

(c) ὁπχω-
 ριοι πρεσβυ-
 τεροι ἐν τῇ
 κυριακῇ τῆς
 πόλεως ἀρε-
 σφέναν ἐδύ-
 ναν· παρόν-
 τος ὁπχω-
 ρος ἡ πρεσ-
 βυτερις πό-
 λεως· ἔτε-
 ροι ἄρτοι
 διδόντες ἐν
 εὐχῇ ἐπὶ πει-
 πτερον.

(d) ἵνα ἐν
τοῖς ἁγίοις
μνησθῇ πλέον

(c) *ut in Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur quam ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est, panis et unum aqua mistum.*

but what the Lord hath commanded, even bread and wine mingled with water. But God permitted that this falsification should be clearly convinced. For in the sixth Council of *Constantinople* gathered again in the palace of *Trull* to make Canons, this same Canon of the third Council of *Carthage* is repeated word by word, as we alledged it; (f) *The holy Fathers assembled at Carthage did expressly call it to remembrance, that in the sacred service nothing should be offered but the Lords body and blood, as also the Lord hath commanded it, that is, bread and wine mingled with water.* And it is found so, not only in the Greek Copies, but also in the same Latin Tomes. The corrupters of the Canon of the Council of *Carthage* having corrupted it in one place, forgot to corrupt it in another.

In *Balsamon* Patriarch of *Antioch* who hath reduced the Canons of the Councils into a body and made comments upon them, this Canon is found as we alledged it; as also in *Zonaras*, and in the Canons published by *du Tillet*, yea in all the Greek Copies published by our adversaries. The words of *Balsamons* Comment upon this Canon, are considerable, (g) *The two and thirtieth Canon of the Synod of Trull giveth an ordinance at large, that the unbloody sacrifice be made with bread and wine mingled with water, because bread is the figure of the Lords body, and the wine a figure of his blood. Zonaras saith the same upon the same Canon.*

It is to be noted that the growth of the adoration of images and that of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, were contemporaneous and kept pace together. *Damasceus* (whom we may call the *Peter Lombard* of the Grecians) in the eighth age, maintained the adoration of Images, and writ also for the defence of the other abuse. And the same man was the first that imagined some change in the substance of the bread. Thus the enemy of our salvation, Satan, laboured to plant these two sorts of idolatry at the same time.

The seventh Council of *Constantinople* in the year 754. was assembled purposely to oppose the adoration of Images; by the order of that Council Images were pulled down in all the East. As for Transubstantiation, which was not believed in the Greek Churches, and is not yet to this day, the same Council knowing that private men were secretly sowing that darnell, by a singular prudence and dexterity made one plaister to serve to heal two sores, and confounded two errors by one true doctrine, teaching that the true Images are those which Christ hath established in his Church, even the Sacraments; saying, (h) *That the holy Sacrament was chosen by Christ, as no other form or figure under heaven being able to represent his incarnation.* They add (i) *That he gave to his Ministers this sign and most evident commemoration.* Again (k) *The Lord hath commanded us to offer the substance of bread, which is not made in humane form, lest that idolatry should creep in.* In the same place the bread is called *ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ αἰα*, *The holy image of Christ.* (l) *And the true image of his natural body,* to oppose it to the false images in stone or picture. (m) *And the image of his flesh given by God.*

In that Council there were 338. Bishops ; so the seeds of idolatry were weeded out for that time.

But God irritated by the wickedness of men, suffered that a monster of impiety should reign at *Constantinople*, the execrable woman *Irene*, who put out the eyes of her own son, and deprived him of the Empire. This woman to strengthen her usurpation by the faction of the Image-worshippers which was powerful, set up Images again over all the East, and assembled a Synod at *Nice* (An. 787.) in which she caused the Council of *Constantinople* to be condemned. That abominable Council established the adoration of Images, so far as to pronounce *anathema* to all that would go so far as to venerate them, and no further. In the records of that Council these goodly sentences are extant, That *Imago est melior oratione*.

(f) Trullana
Synodo Can.
32.

[illegible]

(g) Balsam.
in Synod.
Carth. Can. 40
p. 653. Edit.
Paris.

ὁ δὲ· κατὰ
 τῆς ἐν τῇ
 πρέλλω συνό-
 δε πλατέως
 διεσπίζει μί-
 νεας τῶν ἀν-
 αίσθητων
 αἰσθημάτων
 αὐτῶν· καὶ
 ἄρτε καὶ οἶνον
 μεμιγμένους
 ὕδατι ὡς τῷ
 μὲν ἄρτε πύ-
 λον ἔχοντο
 τῷ κυριακῷ
 σώματι·
 τῷ δὲ οἶνον
 πύλον τῷ
 αἵματι·

(h) ὡς ἐκ
 ἄλλου εἰδόμε-
 νον ἐπιλεχθεῖ-
 ται παρ' αὐ-
 τῆς ἐκ τοῦ
 ἔχοντος ἔχοντος
 ἢ πᾶς ἐκ
 νίσου πλὴν
 αὐτῆς σαφὲς
 ὅτι συναντι-

(i) εἰς τὸ πρῶτον
καὶ ἀνάμνησιν
ἐκπράξαι τὰ
τοῖς αὐτοῖς

μύσους παρέδωκεν· (k) αὐτοὺς ὅταν ἀποστὰς ἐκ τοῦ σφύρατος μὴ ῥηματίζουσιν ἀνθρώπους κομῶν· ἵνα μὴ ἐδω-
λοῦνται παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα. (l) τὴν τῆς ἐνθυσιᾶς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀφ' ἐνδὴ ἐκείνα τῆς θυσιᾶς σαρκὸς, &c.. (m) δεομένην
τῆς ἐκείνῃ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτῆς.

That

That images are of equal value with the holy Gospel. That Angels are corporal, having an airy or a fiery body. And as for that the Council of *Constantinople* had pronounced about the holy Sacrament, namely that the bread is the image and figure of Christs body. This is the judgement which that goodly Council pronounced about that; (n) *All that language seems abominable to us, &c. And which of the Saints and Apostles (who are trumpets of the Holy Ghost) did ever call our unbloody sacrifice an image of the Lords body?*

(n) Act. 6. Videtur quidem tota oratio abominanda, &c. Nemo enim unquam sanctorum Apostolorum qui tube sunt Spiritus Sancti, &c. in cruentum nostrum sacrificium imaginem certe illius dixerit.

We may well think that the Council of *Constantinople* was approved of God, since it was so disapproved by such a detestable assembly. To be condemned by such a rout, was a commendation, and an argument of goodness. Wherefore *Charlemayne*, who at that time held the Empire of the West, caused that Council of *Nice* to be condemned by a contrary Council which he assembled at *Frankford*.

I wonder how these Fathers of *Nice*, who affirm that the Apostles never said that the unbloody sacrifice is a figure of Christs body, did not know, that the Apostles call the Lords Supper the remembrance of the Lords death, and the commemoration of Christ, which is as good as calling it a figure, and that they never call it a sacrifice

But the Popes being bent to build the mystrie of iniquity, undertook with all their power the defence of that Council of *Nice*. So far that Pope *Adrian* who lived in the time of that Council, writ a book in the defence thereof, yet without meddling with Transubstantiation, against which *Bertram* the Priest writ a book (now extant) by the command of King *Charls* the Bald, for which the said *Bertram* received no blame or reprehension, because the Roman Church had not yet pronounced any judgement upon that matter.

Yet the enemy of our salvation was preparing the way, to bring in by the same way two sorts of idolatry. For then he began to forge a multitude of miracles by images, and by the Host, to invite the people to worship them. In the following Ages images began to speak, to sweat, to bow the head, and to make congies; and breasts of flesh grew upon an image of our Lady. At the same time it was reported, that at the Mass in such and such places a pretty little child was seen entering into the mouth of the communicants: That an Host being pricked had bled: That in a chalice blood was found: That an Ass leaving his oats, had kneeled before an Host that past by: That Bees having found an Host left in the fields, had built a Chappel of wax upon it. Stories which I have seen my self painted at *Paris* in *St. Gervas* cloyster. And of these *Surins* and *St. Aupassin* are full.

Pope *Innocent* the third, in the third book of the Mysteries of the Mass, ch. 1. saith, that some Shepherds having learned the words of the Consecration, and singing them in the fields, were smitten by Gods hand. *Durandus* in the fourth book of his Rational, chap. 35. addeth, that these Shepherds having pronounced the consecrating words upon the bread of their dinner, did transubstantiate all into flesh. And that to avoid that inconvenience for the future, it was commanded, that these words should be pronounced with a low voice, that the people might not learn them. *Bellarmin* receiveth that history as true in his first book of the Mass, chap. 12. The reasons which Pope *Innocent* brings in the fore-alleged place are notable. Because (saith he) Christ hid himself from the multitude. Also because *Anna* said her prayer with a low voice. And because it is written, that *dying flies spoil the ointment of the Apothecary*. Ergo, &c. Who so will see a multitude of such miracles, let him read (o) *Idocus Coccinus* in the second Tome of his collection of Fathers. Of such miracles no trace is found in any of the antient Writers. For *St. Basils* life, where some such miracles are found attributed to *Amphilochius*, is a fabulous and supposititious book, as *Bellarmin* shews it in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers.

(o) Iodoci Coccii Thesaurus Tom. 2. l. 6. Art. 8. p. 694.

In that age the use of Scripture was lost among the people, which then applied themselves altogether unto images, well called the books of ignorant men;

And the whole religion began to consist in visiting relics, hearkning after miracles, cloathing images, and keeping singing men, whose loud melody might fill the vaults of Temples.

Errors being then in their growth, the Popes Thunders and Interdicts came soon after, and Mendicant Fryers, and the Great Pardons, and the fear of Purgatory, and the turning of beads, with prayers in a tongue unknown to him that faith them, and the word of Transubstantiation established by an Article of a Council.

CHAP. XI.

That the Fathers did not believe accidents without a subject in the Eucharist.

ONE of the products of Transubstantiation, is, that it puts accidents without a subject. The Roman Church did not only put in the Eucharist an humane body, which keeps no place, a body (a) without extent, without length, without diverse situation of parts, as being whole in every crum of the Host, and having head and feet under the same point. A body which being contained in no place, is nevertheless in a million of several places at the same time, and by consequent is far from it self, and both higher and lower then it self. But they added besides to raise error to the highest enormity, that (b) in the host, the accidents, that is breadth, length, figure, colour, and taste, are without subject.

(a) Bel.
lib. 1. de
Eucharist.
cap. 2. Sect.
Secunda.
*Dicemus
quidem cor-
pus Christi
quantum, &c.
ut non di-
cemus exten-
sum.*

(b) Catech.
Trid. cap. de
Euchar.
*Accidentia
ipsa se nulla
alia re nisi
sustinent.*

(c) Innoc.
III. de
de Mysteriis
Missal 4:
cap. 11.
*Est enim
hic color,
& sapor,
quantitas, &
qualitas,
cum nihil
alterutro sit
coloratum,
aut sapidum,
quantum aut
quale.*

(d) Placina
in Victore
III. Victor
Henrici
fraude, ut
Martinus
scribit, vene-
no in calicem
injecto, dum sacrificat negatur.

Naucier. gener. 4. Aventinus l. 7. p. 598. Trithemius Abbas Chronico Hirsaugiensi. (e) Matth. Paris An. Chr. 1154. *Cum Archiepiscopus in sua reversione divina celebraret mysteria, hausto in ipso calice, ut aunt, veneno obiit.*

1. So that in the host, (c) there is whiteness, but no white thing; roundness, but no round thing; favour, but nothing savoury; length and breadth, but nothing long or large, as Pope Innocent speaks.

2. The Schoolmen speak much like that, saying that *accidentia non accidunt, albertia non albert*, and that they are qualities which qualifie nothing, and are qualities of nothing.

3. By their doctrine, if the host fall into the mire, then the accidents bear the mire that sticks to it, and are the subject of the substance.

4. If the host or chalice be poisoned, (d) as when Pope Victor the third, and (e) Henry Arch-bishop of York, and the Emperour Henry the VII. were poisoned in the chalice, we must say that lines and colours are poisoned, or that Christ is poisoned.

5. Readers of the lowest capacity may comprehend that which I will say now. That a leg is a substance, but lameness is an accident: The eye is a substance, but the sight is an accident or a quality of the eye: and a sick body is a substance, but the sickness of that body is an accident which happens to that body. These Doctors then with their subtilty forging accidents without a subject, do as if they said that there is halting without a leg, sight without an eye, Sickness without a sick body, a race without a runner, an Eclipse without Sun and Moon, heat and nothing hot.

6. Truly ruining the definition of a thing is ruining the thing; ruining the reasonable animal, is ruining man; taking away roundness, is taking away the circle or the globe. Now the substance or subject is of the definition of an accident. *Accidens est quod accidit subjecto*; An accident is that which happens to a subject. Then the accident is no more when the subject is no more; the bread being no more bread, the whiteness of the bread is taken away, and the length of bread, and the taste of bread.

7. The quantity (f) (say the Philosophers) is that whereby things are said to be so many, great or small. Now here they forge us a quantity whereby nothing is great, or long or broad.

8. Also the accidents according to this doctrine, are forms which inform nothing, and qualities which qualifie nothing.

9. Then it is evident, that one cannot abolish a relative, without abolishing the other. Where there is no Father, there is no Son. Where there is no right side there, there is no left side. Now the accident and the subject are relative terms; Of which nevertheless these men will abolish the one which is the subject, without abolishing the other; and the substance of the bread being abolished, they will have the taste, the length, and the roundness of the bread to remain.

10. If the chalice be frozen, or the host mouldy, then is their Christ frozen or mouldy. Or if that be displeasing to these Gentlemen, they must admit a Mathematical length and breadth frozen and mouldy, as if one said that the triangles and pentagones of *Euclides* are frozen and mouldy.

That prodigious doctrine was unknown to the ancient Fathers, and the least trace of it is not found in the whole Antiquity. Had that been the belief of the ancient Church, so many Pagans and hereticks who have studied to disgrace Christian Religion, and sought to pick holes in it, would not have omitted that point, which brings such a swarm of absurdities along with it, giving the lie to our eyes and our hands, and overthrowing common sense.

Austin speaks of accidents without a subject, as of an impossible and contradictory thing; and of the union of a body with his proper qualities, as of an inseparable thing. In the Epistle to *Dardanus*, which is the fifty seventh, (g) *Take away the bodies from the qualities of the bodies, the qualities shall not have where to be, and therefore of necessity they shall not be.*

And a little after, (h) *If the mass of the body be quite taken away, there will be no place left for the qualities: Let us say then after this good Doctor, If the mass or substance of bread be totally taken away, the qualities or accidents of the bread shall be no more.*

The same Father in the second book of Soliloquies, (i) *Who can grant that which thou hast asked me, that the thing which is in the subject, (that is the accident) can remain, if the subject be abolished? It is a prodigious thing, and far from truth, that a thing which could not be, if it were not in the subject, can subsist when that subject is no more.* What can be said more expresse? If *Austin* had believed Transubstantiation, would he not have added that exception, that this rule hath no place in the Eucharist? Would he have thus juttled against the foundation of the holy Sacrament by a general rule, and declaimed against it as a monstrous and ridiculous thing?

In the same fore-alleged Epistle to *Dardanus*, he rejecteth it as an absurdity that a body may have parts not distant the one from the other, and not distinct in situation, saying that (k) *The distant parts of a body cannot be together, because each of them keeps the space of a place: the lesser parts holding less, and the greater more place, and cannot be whole in every part.* This is directly against the Roman Church, which puts the whole body of Christ in every crum, and under every point of the Host.

In the same place he saith, (l) *If the space of places be taken from bodies, they shall be nowhere, and because they shall be nowhere, they shall not be at all.* And *Bellarmin*, though labouring to bring restrictions and interpretations to that passage of *Austin*, acknowledgeth nevertheless that *Austin* speaks of the body of Christ, affirming that *Austin* saith, (m) *That unless a certain space be given to the body of Christ, wherein it be contained after the manner of other bodily substances,*

quæque spacia locorum tenent, minores minora, et majores majora, non potuit esse in quibusq; partibus tota, &c. et in nulla parte tanta quantitas per totum. (l) Spacia locorum tolle corporibus, nusquam erunt, et quia nusquam erant nec erunt. (m) Bellar. l. 3. de Euchar. c. 7. Augustinus supra jam dixerat destrui naturam humanam Christi si non detur ei certum spacium quo more aliarum substantiarum corporearum, contineatur.

(f) *Aristot. in Categ. Quantitatis ποσότης ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ πῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ.*

(g) *Tolle ipsa corpora qualitativis corporum, non erit ubi sint, et ideo necesse est ut non sint.*

(h) *Si moles ipsa corporis penitus auferatur, qualitates ejus non erit ubi sint, et ideo necesse est ut non sint.*

(i) *Ilud vero quod interrogasti quis concessit*

aut qui posse fieri videatur ut id quod in subiecto est maneat, ipso interveniente subiecto?

Monstruosum enim est et à veritate alienissimum ut id quod non esset nisi in ipso esset, etiam cum id non fuerit possit esse.

(k) *Non e go potuit obtinere quantitas corporis quod potuit qualitas. Nam ita distantibus partibus quæ simul esse non possunt, quoniam sua*

the humane nature of Christ is destroyed. And in the twentieth book against *Fan-
stus* the Manichean, chap. 11. Christ according to the substance of his body could not
be together in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Cross.

(n) Nullum
esse quantu-
luncunque
corpusculum
quod non pro
suo modo loci
occupet spa-
tium. Nec in
eo quod oc-
cupat ubique
fit totum, sed
minus fit in
parte quam in
toto.

And in Epist. 101. to *Evodius*, (n) No body is so little, but that it fills ac-
cording to his measure, the space of a place; and there is none that be whole all
over the space which it fills, and that be not lesser in the part, then in the
whole.

In that, this Father is grounded in good reason. For as our Adversaries
writing upon the fourth book of *Aristotles* Physicks, proves by many demon-
strations, that there can be no empty place, and that such an assertion would
imply many contradictions, so they use the same subtilty to prove that a bo-
dy cannot be without place and without filling some space. For it is no
less absurd to imagine a body without a place, then a place without a
body.

And whereas Transubstantiation contains more wonders then the creation, if
the Author of the books of the wonders of Scripture, which are put among
Austins books, had believed it, he would not have omitted to speak of these
wonders. For in those books he searcheth all the wonders that are found in
Scripture. Nay, he speaks thus of the Eucharist, (o) *These things may be honou-
red as religious, but cannot be admired as miraculous.*

(o) Aug. l. 3.
de Trinit.
cap 10. Hec
honorem ha-
bere possunt
ut religiosa,
stuporem au-
tem habere ut
mira non
possunt.

In one thing it appeareth that the Fathers neither knew nor believed that
in the Eucharist the accidents were without a subject, that they never speak of
the *species* of bread in the plural. They speak indeed of the *species* of bread
and wine in the plural, because by the *species* they understand the substances,
and that bread and wine are two substances. But when they speak of bread by
itself, or of wine by it self, they never say the *species* of bread, or the *species*
of wine in the plural, because bread is one substance, not many. But our Ad-
versaries who by the *species* understand the accidents, speak of the *species* of bread
in the plural, and say that the Lords body is broken under the *species* of bread,
as if bread had many *species*. Wherein they speak against the use of all ages,
and against the rules of Philosophy, which never saith the *species* of a horse, or
the *species* of *Antony* in the plural, to say his accidents, and calls not the colour
of a horse his *species*. Their language in that point, is both new and absurd, as
well as their doctrine.

Finally, how could the accidents destitute of substance, under which they say
that the Lords body is inclosed, be signs of the body of Christ, seeing that signs
are helps to know? But our Adversaries say that the accidents of bread are
are coverings which hinder our senses to perceive Christ. As if a Chest
were the sign of *Homers* Iliad, because that book is hidden within it.

CHAP. XII.

That the Fathers not only speak of a spiritual manducation which is not done with the mouth, but also understand Christs words, John 6. of a spiritual manducation.

THE Fathers are full of expreffes which turn our thoughts from the carnal and oral manducation of Christs body, to the spiritual, which is done by faith, and warn us that Christs words must be understood in a spiritual sense.

Tertullian in the thirty seventh chapter of the book of the Resurrection of the flesh, expounding these words, *The flesh profiteth nothing*, (a) *We must* (saith he) direct the sense of these words according to the subject that he speaks of. For because they esteemed his word hard and intolerable, as if he had determined to give them really his flesh to eat: that he might make the state of salvation spiritual, he said before, *It is the Spirit that quickneth*: and then addeth, *The flesh profiteth nothing*, that is, it profiteth not for quickning.

And in the same place, (b) *The word was made flesh*, and by consequent that we may have life, it must be desired and devoured by hearing, and ruminated with the understanding, and digested with faith.

And in the same place, For he had declared a little before, that his flesh was the heavenly bread, urging by all means by an allegory taken from necessary meats, the remembrance of their Fathers, who had preferred the bread and meat of the Egyptians to the heavenly calling.

(c) *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of the same mind; In another place (saith he) even in St. Johns Gospel, the Lord declared it otherwise by signs, saying, *Eat my flesh, and drink my blood*, propounding by Allegory the evidence of faith, and the drink of promise.

(d) And a little after, *He calls the Spirit flesh by Allegory*, for the flesh is created by him, and the blood enigmatically signifieth the Word.

Again, (e) *He said that the bread which I shall give you, is my flesh*. Now the flesh is moistened with blood, and the wine signifieth the blood by Allegory.

Again, (f) *He blessed the wine, saying, Take, drink, This is the blood of the vine*. The holy liquor of joy (meaning the consecrated wine) signifieth by Allegory, the Word that was poured for many. Note that he expounds the blood of the cup, to be the blood of the vine, that is, wine.

In the end of *Clemens* the Summaries of *Theodotus* are added, where these words are found, (g) *The bread which I will give you is my flesh*, even that where by our flesh is fed in the Eucharist. Then correcting himself, he addeth, *Or rather this flesh is his body, which is the Church, the heavenly bread, the blessed assembly*. It is evident that the Fathers chose rather to say any other thing, and to use the most remote and hard interpretations then to believe Transubstantiation.

(a) Tertul.
de resur.
carn. c. 37.

Ex materia
dicta dirigen-

us est sen-

sus. Nam
quia durum

et intolerabi-

lem existima-

verunt ser-

monem ejus

quasi vere

carnem suam

illis edendam

determinasset,

ut in spiritu

disponeret

tamen salu-

tis, promiss,

Spiritus

est qui

vivificat

atque ita

subiunxit,

Caro nihil

prodest, ad

vivificandum

scilicet.

(b) Ibid.

Quia et ser-

mo caro erat

factus, pro-

inde in

panem quoque celestem pronuntiavit, urgens usquequaque per allegoriam necessariorum pabulorum, memoriam Patrum qui panem et carnes Aegyptiorum praevertant divinae vocationi. (c) Clem. Alex. lib. 1. cap. 4. pag. 44. ἀλλὰ ὅτι καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ καὶ ἰσχυρῶς διαγγελίῳ ἐτέρως ἐβίβασκεν διὰ συμβόλων, φάσκει μὴ τὴν σαρκὸς ἐσθῆναι καὶ πίνειν μὴ τὸ αἷμα ἐκ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸ πομπὴν ἀλληγοῦν. (d) Pag. 45. (ἀρετὴ μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀρετὴν ἀλληγοῦται, καὶ τὸ ὕψος αὐτῆς ἀνιψύχου) ἢ (ἀρετὴ αἷμα μὲν τὸν λόγον ἀνιψύχου. (e) Pag. 46. ἐπεὶ τὸ αἷμα καὶ ὁ ἀρετὴ ἐν ἑαυτῷ δόσω ἢ σαρκὶ μὴ ἐστὶν, σαρκὶ δὲ αἷματι αἰδέται τὸ ἡ αἷμα ἐν αἷμα ἀλληγοῦται. (f) Lib. 2. cap. 2. pag. 68. ἐμβόλυσεν τὸν οἶνον εἰσὶν ἁγία, πιστὴ, τὴν δὲ αἷμα τὴν ἀμπέλου τὸν λόγον τὸν αἰὲν πολλὰν ἐκχεόμενον εἰς ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν εὐαγγελίου ἁγίου ἀλληγοῦται ἡ αἷμα. (g) Pag. 536. ὁ δὲ αἷμα ἐν ἑαυτῷ δόσω ἢ σαρκὶ μὴ ἐστὶν ἢ τὸ βέβαιον ἢ σαρκὶ διὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἢ οἶνον καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ σαρκὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἢ ἐκκλησία, ἀρετὴ ἐβίβασκεν, σαμαζωγὴ εὐλογοῦσθαι.

Cyrillus

Cyrrillus or Origen upon Leviticus (for the Author is not certainly known) in the seventh book, expounding these words, *How can this man give us his flesh to eat?* speaks thus, *Acknowledge that these things written in the divine volumes are figures. See that thou understand them as spiritual, not as carnal. For if you receive them as carnal, they hurt you instead of nourishing you.*

(h) For there is in the New Testament a letter that kills him that observeth not the things which are spiritually spoken. For if thou fellowest according to the letter, that very thing which is said, *Unless you eat my flesh, and drink my blood, that letter killeth.*

The same Author upon the Numbers, in the fourteenth chapter, Hom. 16.

(i) We are said to drink the blood of Christ, not only in the celebration of the Sacraments, but also when we receive his words in which life consisteth, as himself saith, *The words which I spake unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.*

Basil in his Epistle to the *Cesareans*, which is the one hundred and forty first, (k) *We eat his flesh, and drink his blood, being by the incarnation made partakers of the sensible life of the word, and of the wisdom. For the Lord hath called his mystical conversation, flesh and blood.* The hardness of such interpretations sheweth how far the Fathers were from believing Transubstantiation, since that rather then to believe that bread and wine are transubstantiated into flesh, they chose by the flesh of the Lord, which we eat, to understand either his word, or his Church, or his conversation among men. Any other exposition seems to them more convenient, and less hard then the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

The same Father upon Psal. 33. (l) *There is an intelligible mouth of the inward man, at which he is fed, being partaker of the word of life which is the bread that came down from heaven.*

Hierom upon the third chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, saith that the flesh of Christ is eaten when Scripture is read. (m) *We eat his flesh (saith he) and drink his blood, not only in the mystrie, but also in the reading of Scripture. For the true meat and the true drink which is received from the word of God, is the knowledge of Scripture.*

And in the Comment, upon the *Psalms* which is attributed to him, upon Psalm 44. (n) *I think that the body of Christ is the Gospel, and that Scripture is his doctrine, when he saith, he that eats not my flesh, and drinks not my blood, &c. although this may be understood in mystrie, yet to speak more truly, the body and blood of Christ is the word of the Scriptures, and the divine doctrine. And a little after, Caro Christi & sanguis ejus in auribus nostris funditur; The flesh of Christ and his blood is poured into our ears. That indeed is far from eating Christ with the mouth of the body. How far was Hierom from the belief of our Adversaries, since by these words, *This is my body*, he will have us to understand, *this is my Gospel?**

In the same place, (o) *If when we hear the word of God, and that the word of God, and the flesh of Christ, and his blood is poured into our ears, we think of something else, what danger do we run into?*

But the most pregnant of all the Fathers upon this point is *Austin*, who seems to have made it his task to disswade us from believing the manducation of Christ with the mouth and teeth. Already we have understood how in the sixth chapter of the third book of Christian doctrine, he was not content to have said that these words of Christ, *Except you eat my flesh, &c.* are a typical ex-

(h) Orig.
iu Levit.
cap. 10.
Hom 7.
Est in Novo
Testamento
littera qua
occidit eum
qui non spi-
ritualiter
ea que
dicuntur
adverteat.
Si enim
secundum
litteram se-
queris hoc
ipsum quod
dictum est,
Nisi mandi-
caveritis car-
nem meam &
biberitis san-
guinem me-
um, occidit
hæc littera.
(i) Bibere
dicimus san-
guinem
Christi non
solum Sacra-
mentorum vi-
tu sed &
cum sermones
ejus recipimus
in quibus
vita consistit;
sicut & ipse
dixit, Verba
que locutus
sum spiritus
& vita
sunt.

(k) πρὸς
Κορινθ. β'.
αὐτὸ πλὴν
σάρκα καὶ
πνεῦμα
αὐτὸ τὸ
αἷμα, καὶ να-
τοὶ ἡρώδης
δὲ τῆς ἐκα-
στῆς ὁμιλίας
τῆς αἰδήσεως
ζῶντος τοῦ
λόγου, τῆς
σφύρας. Καὶ οὗτοί γε αἱμα παύει αὐτὸ πλὴν μουσικῶν ὁμιλιῶν. (l) ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ
τὸ ἐνδὸν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ πρῶτος μεταμορφῶν τὸ λόγον τῆς ζωῆς, ὅς ἐστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ ἐκείνου κατὰ τὴν
(m) Hoc solum habemus in presenti saculo bonum, si vescamur carne ejus cruoreque potemur, non solum in my-
sterio, sed etiam in Scripturarum lectione. (n) Ego corpus Christi Evangelium puto, &c. Quando dicit qui non
comederit carnem meam & biberit sanguinem meum, licet & in mystrio possit intelligi, tamen verius corpus Christi
& sanguis ejus sermo Scripturarum est. (o) Si quando audimus sermonem Dei, & sermo Dei, & caro Christi, &
sanguis ejus in auribus nostris funditur, & nos aliud cogitamus, in quantum periculum procurrimus?

expression, but he declared very expressly how that figure must be understood, namely that eating the flesh of Christ is meditating his death, and printing it with fruit and pleasure in our memory.

We have seen also how in the 21. book of the City of God, 25. ch. he speaks of two manducations of the flesh of Christ; the one done in the Sacrament or sacred sign, the other spiritual, which he calls the only true manducation. (p) *The Lord sheweth (saith he) what it is to eat the body of Christ, not in Sacrament only, but also in truth.*

(q) In the same place, *They have eaten the body of Christ not only in Sacrament, but in truth also.*

The same upon the 98. Ps. upon that Christ had promised to give his flesh to eat, he personates the Lord speaking thus to his Disciples, (r) *Understand spiritually what I said unto you; You shall not eat this body which you see, and shall not drink the blood which they that shall crucifie me shall shed. I have recommended unto you a sacred sign, which being spiritually understood shall quicken you.*

And in the second Sermon, de verbis Apostoli, *If that which is taken visibly in a sacred sign, is eaten spiritually in the truth it self, &c.*

But he insisteth most upon that point in the 25, and 26. Treatise upon St. Johns Gospel, where he makes a long Comment upon the 6. ch. of St. John. In the 25. Treatise expounding the Lords words, (f) *This is the work of God, that you believe on him whom he hath sent, he saith. This then (that is believing) is eating the meat which perisheth not, but is permanent unto everlasting life. Why preparest thou thy teeth and thy belly? Believe and thou hast eaten.*

And in the 26. Treatise, (t) *When the Lord would give the Holy Ghost, he said that he was the bread come down from heaven, exhorting us to believe on him. For believing on him is eating the living bread. He that believeth on him, eats him; He is invisibly fattened, because he is invisibly born again.*

There also speaking of Moses, Aaron, and Phineas, who ate the Manna in another manner then the incredulous do. (u) *They spiritually understood the visible meat, they were spiritually hungry, they tasted spiritually that they might be satiated spiritually. For we also take this day a visible food; but the Sacrament is one thing, and the truth of the Sacrament is another thing.* He saith two things; for he speaks of a spiritual manducation proper to the believers, and calls that which we eat in the Sacrament a visible food. Now what is that visible food? Is it the Lords body? But our adversaries say that it is invisible in the Masse. Is it the accidents? But they are no food, unless they will give us lines, and colours, and figures for meat.

A little after he shews of whom Christ speaks when he saith, *He that eateth this bread, shall not die for ever.* (x) *It is he (saith he) that eats inwardly, not outwardly; he that eats in his heart, not he that presseth with his tooth.*

We have shewed before how in the same place by the bread of life which we must eat, he understands the Church or the society of the believers. Then he addeth, (y) *This is then eating this meat, and drinking this cup, even to abide in Christ, and to have him abiding within us. By that reason, he that abideth not in Christ, and in whom Christ abideth not, without doubt eats not his flesh spiritually, and drinks not his blood, though he press with his teeth carnally and visibly the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Who seeth not that this good Doctor was set on by God to urge this so often and in such pressing words, to prevent the error which Satan was contriving, and which he put forth some ages after?*

In the 27. Treatise after he hath said that it was needful that Christ should invisibiliter renascitur. (u) *Visibilem cibum spiritualiter intellexerunt, spiritualiter esurierunt ut spiritualiter satiantur. Nam & nos hodie accipimus visibilem cibum; sed aliud est Sacramentum, aliud est virtus Sacramenti.* (x) *Qui manducat intus non foris, qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente.* (y) *Hoc est ergo manducare illam escam & illum bibere potum, in Christo manere & illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo & in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio nec manducat spiritualiter carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, licet carnaliter & visibiliter premit dentibus Sacramentum corporis & sanguinis Christi.*

D d d d d

speak

(p) *Offendit quid sit non Sacramento tenus, sed re vera corpus Christi manducare.*

(q) *Non solo Sacramento sed re ipsa manducaverunt corpus Christi.*

(r) *Spiritualiter intelligite quod locutus sum, non hoc corpus*

quod videtis manducatur uestis, & bibitur sanguinem quem fusi sunt qui me crucifigerunt. Sacramentum quod vobis commendavi spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos.

(f) *Hoc est ergo manducare cibum, non qui perit, sed qui permanet in vitam eternam. ut quid parvas dentes & ventrem? Crede & manducasti.*

(t) *Daturus Dominus Spiritum Sanctum dixit se panem qui de celo descendit, hortans ut credamus in eum. Credere in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum.*

Qui credit in eum, manducat, invisibiliter saginatur, quia &

invisibiliter renascitur.

(x) Qui manducat intus non foris, qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente.

(y) Hoc est ergo manducare illam escam & illum bibere potum, in Christo manere & illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo & in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio nec manducat spiritualiter carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, licet carnaliter & visibiliter premit dentibus Sacramentum corporis & sanguinis Christi.

(z) Illi putabant eum erogaturum corpus suum, ille autem dixit se ascensurum in caelum, utique interrogum. Cum videtis filium hominis ascendentem, ubi erat prius; certe vel tunc videbitis quia non eo modo quo putatis erogatur corpus suum. Certe vel tunc intelligetis quod gratis ejus non consumitur morsibus. (*) Innoc. 3. lib. 4. de Mysteriis Missæ, cap. 4. De spirituali comestione

speaking so that he might not be understood by all, he makes this conclusion of his discourse, (z) *The Jews thought that he would give them his body, but he tells them that he was to ascend into heaven; in his whole person no doubt. When you shall see the Son of man ascending where he was before, then at least shall you see that he gives not his body in the same manner as you think; then at least shall ye see that his grace is not consumed with biting.*

These things are so clear and so express, that Pope Innocent the third, under whom that word of transubstantiation was authorized by the Article of a Council, being overcome with the force of truth, acknowledged, that when Christ spake of giving his flesh to eat, he meant the spiritual manducation, which is done by Faith, not of that which is done by the mouth. (*) *The Lord (saith he) speaks of spiritual manducation, saying, Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you. In this manner the good only eat the body of Christ. Wherefore also he saith, He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. For he that abideth in charity, dwelleth in God, and God in him. Why preparest thou thy tooth and thy belly? believe and thou hast eaten.*

In effect, if by these words, *Except you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you have no life in you*, Christ binds not the Christian to drink his blood with the mouth of his body, I see not how the Roman Church can be excused for taking from the people the cup of the Sacrament. For it is depriving the people of life, seeing that taking the blood in the host is not drinking. Now Christ saith expressly, *Except you drink*. If in this point they believed the Antients and their Pope Innocent, they might know that for the spiritual participation (which Christ recommendeth in this Chapter) *eating and drinking* are the same thing; and that Christ useth both the Metaphors to signifie that our souls finde in him a perfect and most compleat food.

Dominus ait, Nisi manducaveritis carnem, &c. Hoc modo corpus Christi soli boni comedunt.

CHAP. XIII.

That the Fathers believed not that the wicked, and unbelievers, or hypocrites could eat the Lords body.

According to the doctrine of the Roman Church, both good and evil men, true believers and hypocrites eat the body of Christ really with the mouth of the body. So that if Judas was partaker of the Holy Sacrament, as the Antients hold, we must say that he eat Christ really, and that Christ and the devil entred into Judas at the same time.

This is contradicted by Christ himself, who saith, that *whosoever eateth his flesh hath eternal life, and that he that eateth the flesh of the Son of man dwelleth in Christ, and Christ in him*. For to eat Christs flesh unworthily is an impossible thing, since eating signifieth believing, as we have proved, and as both *Austin* and Pope Innocent acknowledge. For one cannot believe in Christ unworthily, since in that Faith our worthiness consisteth. Wherefore St. Paul saith well, that there are some that eat the bread unworthily, 1 Cor. 11. 29. but saith not that any eat the body of the Lord unworthily.

This is also contradicted by the Antient writers. We have heard *Austin* already saying, that those only eat the flesh of the Lord truly that eat it spiritually. Whence it follows that the hypocrites and unbelievers that participate the Eucharist, eat not the flesh of the Lord in truth and indeed.

Himself in the 26. Treatise upon John, (a) *The Sacred sign of this thing, that*

(a) Hujus rei sacramentum, id est unitatis corporis & sanguinis Christi, alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum in Dominica mensa preparatur, & de mensa Dominica sumitur, quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitum; res vero ipsa cujus sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli vero ad exitum, quicunque ejus particeps fuerit.

is of the unity of the body and blood of Christ, in some places every day, in some places by certain intervals of dayes, is prepared in the table of the Lord, and is taken by some to life, by others to perdition. But the thing it self of which it is a sacred sign, is for life to every man that is partaker of the same, but to none for perdition. And in the same Treatise; He that dwelleth not in Christ and in whom Christ dwelleth not, for certain eats not his flesh, although he presses carnally and visibly the sign of Christs body and blood with his teeth.

And in the book of *Austins* sentences by *Prosper*, (b) Whosoever dissents from Christ, eats not the flesh of Christ, and drinks not his blood, although he take every day indifferently the Sacrament of so great a thing to the judgement [or condemnation] of his presumption.

And in the 5. ch. of the 21. book of the City of God, speaking of ill livers that eat the Sacrament. (c) It must not be said, that a man who is not in the body of Christ, eats the body of Christ. In the same place he personates Christ, saying, He that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell not, let him not say or think that he eats my body or drinks my blood.

In the 59. Treatise upon *John*, comparing the other Disciples of Christ with *Judas*, (d.) They ate (saith he) the bread which is the Lord, but *Judas* ate the bread of the Lord against the Lord, declaring that *Judas* did not ate the Lord.

In the 2. Sermon de verbis Apostoli, (e) Then the body and blood of Christ shall be life to every one, if that which is taken in the Sacrament visibly is eaten in the very truth spiritually and drunk spiritually.

Origen saith the same upon *Matth. 15.* Let this be said concerning the typical or symbolical body. Many things also could be said of the Word it self which was made flesh and true meat, which whosoever eateth, liveth eternally, and of which no wicked man can eat.

Hierom upon the last chapter of *Isaiab*, (f) While they are not holy in body and spirit, they eat not the flesh of Jesus, and drink not his blood; of which himself speaks; He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life. He could not speak more expressly.

id est, vita unicuique erit corpus & sanguis Christi, si quod in Sacramento visibiliter sumitur, in ipsa veritate spiritualiter manducetur, spiritualiter bibatur. (f) Dum non sunt sancti corpore & spiritu, nec comedunt carnem Jesu nec bibunt sanguinem ejus, de quo ipse loquitur; Qui comedit carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum, habet vitam aeternam.

(b) Sentent. 339.

Qui discor- dat à Christo, non carnem ejus manducat, nec sanguinem ejus bibit, etiamsi tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ presumptionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat.

(c) Non dicendum cum manducare corpus Christi qui in corpore non est Christi.

(d) Illi manducabant panem Domini, ille panem Domini contra Dominum.

(e) Tunc autem hoc erit,

CHAP. XIV.

Confutation of two shifts which the Cardinal useth upon all occasions.

Cardinal *du Perron* prest with the evidence of these testimonies shifts for himself as well as he can. To that place of *Austin* upon the 3. Ps. that Christ admitted *Judas* to the Supper in which he gave to his Disciples the figure of his body and blood, (a) he answers that *Austin* speaks there of the figure, with a relation, not to the true and proper body of Christ, but to his analogical body and blood; that is, to the body and society of his Church. This Prelat hoped that no reader would have the curiosity to consult the place, to see whether *Austin* speaks in that place of the Church, or of the figure of the Church. For he knew well enough that *Austin* from the beginning of the exposition of the third Psalm unto this place, speaks not at all of the Church nor of the figure of the Church, and that in that assertion of his there is neither colour nor shadow of truth.

He adds, that such is the sense in which *Austin* expoundeth the word of body and blood of Christ, when he speaks of the Eucharist in those places where the Catechumens were present, or the Infidels, as it appears by these words of the 26. Sermon upon

(a) Book 4. ch. 4. p. 871.

upon John. By this meat and drink he would have the Society of the Saints to be understood. It is true, that *Austin* in many places expounds these words, *This is my body*, and *Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, &c.* as if by this body and this flesh the Church was understood. But I could not yet finde any place in *Austin* where this word of blood is so expounded.

(b) Pag. 872. As for the *Catechumens* or not initiated, and the *Infidels* before whom he saith that the *Fathers* spoke obscurely of mysteries, and did not discover their intention, nor the belief of the Church, it is a shift which the Cardinal useth upon all occasions. (b) As in the 4. ch. of the 4. book; *The Fathers* (saith he) call sometimes the *Eucharist* a figure, whether it be that they may not reveal the secret of the mystery before them that are not initiated; or to keep the analogy that it hath with our senses, to which the *Eucharist* shews nothing apparently but the figure, not the naked truth of the body: Or in relation to the future state of glory, in which respect the participation which we have here with the body of Christ, is unto us as an earnest and a figure of the participation which we have with the Godhead of Christ. And falling again to the same discourse in the 8. ch. he saith that we must not learn the intension of the *Fathers*, by the reading of the discourses where they were forbidden to expound their intention, and the belief of the Church in that point, such as were the discourses that were made before the *Catechumens* or the *Infidels*, in whose presence it was prohibited to the *Catholicks* to announce openly the belief of the Church about the *Eucharist*. He brings for example the *Treatises* of *Austin* upon John, which were popular *Sermons* delivered before all sorts of persons, both believers and unbelievers, both initiated and not initiated; and *Theodorets Dialogues*, where he professeth to speak darkly and reservedly of the mystery of the *Eucharist*. He will not then have us to look for the doctrine of the Church about the Sacrament in *Austins* *Treatises* upon John, nor in *Theodorets* *Dialogues*. But he saith, that we ought for that matter trust the twelve books which *Theodorets* had writ of the Sacraments if we had them; and *Cyprians* book of the Lords Supper, and *Chrysostom's* Comments upon *Matth. 26.* (c) He adds that the examples which the *Fathers* alledge to win and work upon the minds of their adversaries, &c. they wrest and distort to that purpose as much as they can. So he will not have us to stand to the verdict of the *Fathers* whensoever they speak before the *Catechumens*, or before *Infidels*, nor to those writings where they speak incidently; Nor to those where they handle the oblique, collateral, and accessory doctrine of the *Eucharist*, but to those where they speak of the immediate, direct, and principal doctrine of the

(d, Pag. 879.

Eucharist. (d) He saith also that we must consider the end of the conversion or transmutation of bread of which the *Fathers* speak, and of the efficient cause which is the Almighty power of God. This is the summary of all the Philosophy of our Cardinal upon the point of the *Eucharist*. These are the tenter-hooks upon which he hath stretched his wit for the space of five and twenty or thirty years that he hath been sweating and beating his brains upon this matter.

Yet to all that the answer is most easie. For by all that subtilty he labours only to fence himself against the places which call the *Eucharist* a figure and a sign of Christs body, not against those testimonies which say that these words, *This is my body*, must be thus expounded, *This is the figure or sign of my body*: And that Christ hath given to the sign the name of his body, and honoured the visible signs with the name of his body; and that the words which command us to eat the flesh of Christ, are a typical locution, which must be thus interpreted, that we must meditate and call to remembrance that Christ is dead for us. Neither doth he guard himself from those authorities which deny absolutely that we eat the body crucified for us; and say that the Sacrament is the body of Christ, not in truth, but in signifying mystery, and that it is the sign not the truth. And that the substance of bread and wine remains after the consecration: and that the wicked eat not the body of Christ; and that there is no other manducation but the spiritual. The Cardinal passeth by all these, and stayeth only upon those places where the *Eucharist* is called the figure of Christs body.

As for his refusing to stand to the writings of the *Fathers* where they speak before

before the Catechumens, that is, before the persons not yet baptized, or before the Infidels: It is very true, that sometimes the Fathers spake more soberly of the mystery of the Eucharist before the Catechumens, not to conceal from them the sublimity of the mysteries, but for a clean contrary end; that is, for fear the Sacrament should have been brought to contempt in the peoples estimation, if the Pastours had spoken to them in plain and low terms, saying unto them that it was bread and wine that was upon the table, and of the like nature as the ordinary bread. This is clearly seen in the forealledged place of the second Dialogue of Theodores, where in stead of saying *bread*, he saith *a food made up with such seeds*, and that because (e) of some persons not baptized which might be pre-

sent. Truly if in Sermons or writings which might be heard or read by unbaptized persons there was need of such a reservation; it will follow that they never ought to preach nor write openly and according to their intention, and that they ought continually to disguise their belief, seeing that the Catechumens were present at Sermons, and that a book once published is no more in the Authors power, and is exposed to the sight both of baptized and unbaptized persons, both of believers and unbelievers.

But how superfluous had that circumspection been towards the Infidels, seeing that the revolted Christians, that were become enemies to the Faith might reveal to the Infidels and to the Catechumens that which they had learned when they were ranked among the believers before their revolt?

But how hurtful had that rule been, if it had been perpetual? For how just might have been the complaint and the mistrust of the Catechumens? Would they not have said to their Pastours that instructed them; You deceive us, you disguise your belief; You speak to us against your sense. We desire to know of you the true belief plainly before we be baptized.

The examples of antiquity testifie sufficiently that the Fathers tye not themselves to that rule. For we have the Apologeticks of the ancient Christians, of Justin, and of Tertullian, and Origen's books against Celsus, and Auspins books of the City of God against the Pagans, in which they handle the highest mysteries of Christian Religion.

If we must not heed the writings of the Fathers made for the Catechumens; why doth the Cardinal alledge to us the Catecheses of Cyrillus and of Gregorius Nyssenus, made purposely for the Catechumens? Why doth he alledge Chrysostomes Sermons made before the Catechumens? Note that the number of the Catechumens exceeded by much the number of the believers, because the custom then was to receive baptism very late, and many times to put off baptism untill the old age and to the extremity. Yea why doth he alledge unto us any book of the Fathers, seeing that there was none of those books but the Catechumens could read? who would have laughed at their Pastours, if when they instructed them, they would have taught them another doctrine then such as they had read in their books. These are then meer Chimera's, and poor shifts, injurious against the Fathers, whom the Cardinal taxeth of hypocrisie, as men writing against their intention, and (as he speaks) *wresting and detorting the examples which they alledge*, which is laying unsincerity and foul dealing to their charge. That the Cardinal makes these vagaries rather to recreate his fine wit, then out of any belief of that he asserteth, he sheweth it in some fallies that transport him, riding aloft with his prancing oratory. As when he speaks thus in the 879. p. *The Fathers make two sorts of meditations; The one immediate, direct, and principal, which considereth the truth of the thing. The other mediate, collateral, and accessory, which considereth it according to a moral and allegorical acception; being like the Echo and the reflected sound of the literal intelligence, to recreate the spirits of the readers by the sacred mirth and ingenious invention of these allusions and allegorical applications.* With such frigassies of puff-paste words this Prelat did tickle his imagination. This the Latins call *in sente arguentum*; essence of pearls, or *aureum porabile*, in a messe of turnips. If then the Fathers have said, that, *This is my body*, signifies,

(e) Ορδοδ. ὁ
ἔστιν ἡ
ἐκείνη ἡ
ἐν τῇ ἀμύ-
νητι παρ-
οῦ. Εἰς τὴν
ἀντιματω-
δῶς ἢ ἀπο-
κρίσις ἔσται.
Ορδοδ. ὁ
ἐν τῷ ὅτι
ἀντιματω-
ῶν.

This

This is the sign or figure of my body, we must finde in these words, an echo, a reflected sound, a collateral meditation, a sacred mirth, a quintessence of Allegorical wheemfies.

Yet that we may deal more gently with this Prelat, let us grant him what he asketh. Let us suppose that the Fathers in their writings did purposely use dark speeches, and disguise their belief for fear of being understood. For may we not use his weapons against himself, and reject all the authorities which he objecteth against us, saying that the alledged Fathers in those places did not speak according to their sense? That such and such Catecheses were made for the Catechumens? That in such and such Sermons part of the hearers were Catechumens? and so make all their allegations doubtful and uncertain?

Yet let us see what reproaches he hath especially against *Austins* Treatises upon *St. John*. First by calling them Sermons, he gives them a title which the Author gives them not, and we have no certain proof that ever these Treatises were pronounced before the people. Also he calls these Treatises in contempt *popular Sermons made before all sorts of persons*. If by popular Sermons he meaneth *preachts before the people*, the same may be said of all the Sermons of the Antients; out of which nevertheless the Cardinal disdains not to bring allegations. But if by *popular* he understands that they are written in a familiar and low stile, the reading of these Treatises shews the contrary. For *Austin* never made any thing so exact and elaborate upon Scripture as these Treatises; *Chrysostoms* Homilies are far more popular. These Treatises of *Austin* are ten times shorter than his expositions of the *Psalms*, and yet there is ten times more substance in them. But that which moveth the Cardinal to speak of these excellent books with contempt, is that he findes in them three or four leaves together, in which he treateth fully of the manducation of the flesh of Christ, without speaking one word of Transubstantiation, or real presence, although among all the writings of the Antients there be not such a long Treatise of this matter. For it is not incidently that *Austin* treats in that place of this matter, but he makes it his task, and much ado he hath to come out of it. But although we had granted to the Cardinal that these Treatises of *Austin* upon *John* are books out of which the intention of that Doctor cannot be known, and which ought not to be regarded, will he say the same of his books of Christian doctrine, or of the twenty third Epistle to the Bishop *Boniface*? Were these books of *Austin* of Christian doctrine written for the Catechumens? Was *Boniface* a Catechumen? And yet there *Austin* saith that these words, *Except you eat my flesh*, are a typical locution which signifieth meditating the Lords death: and that the Sacrament of Christs body is in some sort the body of Christ, according as signs take the name of the things signified.

The same I say of the Dialogues of *Theodoret*, which repeat and beat over this matter, bestowing many pages about it. There the Reader may see with delight an Eutychian Heretick maintaining the transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ; and an Orthodox Christian contradicting him, and using as express words as he can, saying that after the consecration the visible signs do not change nature, and that their first substance remaineth; and that Christ called the bread his body, honouring the sign with the name of his body, without changing the nature of the sign.

It is evident that the Cardinal abuseth the Reader, and writes against his conscience. For while he calls us away from *Austins* Books upon *John*, and from the Dialogues of *Theodoret*, he sends us to other Books which are not in being, and appeals to the twelve Books of the same *Theodoret* of the Sacraments, if we had them; for he acknowledgeth that they are lost. He sends us also to *Cyprians* Books of the Lords Supper, of whom he speaks thus: *Such is* (saith he) *the Book of the Lords Supper of Cyprian, whether it be the Carthaginian or another of the same age; for he addresseth his work to Cornelius Bishop of Rome Contemporanean of Cyprian, and disputeth against the Heretick Novatus of the same time.*

This Prelate seigneth to doubt whether this Book of the Lords Supper be *Cyprians*,

prians, or of some other Author. And yet he could not be ignorant that it is a supposititious Book. *Bellarmino* in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, speaks thus of it, *The Sermons of the Cardinal works of Christ* (among which is this Treatise of the Lords Supper) are of a learned and ancient Author, but seem not to be of Cyprian; for first the stile is far lower then that of Cyprian, &c.

Cardinal *Baronius*, An. 60. (f) *The Book of the Cardinal works is not of Cyprian*. The proofs of that are clear; for in the Preface to *Cornelius*, the Author saith, that he purposely suppress his name, whence it appeareth, that the Author is unknown. He stiles *Cornelius*, *Tonr sublimity*: But Cyprian calls always *Cornelius* brother. In the Sermon of temptation and fasting, he saith, that the Devil fell before mans creation: which is repugnant to Cyprians opinion, in the Book of Zeal and Envy. Besides that Authors stile is barbarous and Monachal. His elegancies are, *animam Lazari potestative extraxerat*. And *partiabilis substantia Trinitatis*. And *Caloris identitas*. Him that hath eaten Christ, he calls, *Christi bajulum*, as if he were a porter. This is of the same kind, *Distributus non demembratur, incorporatus non injuriatur*. By these it appears that the Book is new, and the title to *Cornelius* supposed. In the Preface of that Book two passages are found, taken well nigh word by word from the 42. Oration of *Gregory Nazianzen*, who writ about 125. years after Cyprians death: In the Treatise of Baptism he consulteth the opinion of Cyprian, about the rebaptization of Hereticks. The treatise of the words of Christ on the Cross, is found in *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in the 2. Part of the 12. Tome, which contains the writings of Authors that lived many Ages after Cyprian: whence it is made evident, that these treatises of *Cardinal Works* are new, and of the dregs of the last Ages. To say that he lived in the same Age as *Novatus*, because he disputeth against *Novatus* (as the Cardinal saith) is speaking against common sense. By that reason if one in our days write against *Aristotle*, he is *Aristotles contemporanean*: And *Hierome* who writ against *Origen* should be of the same age as *Origen*.

As for that the Cardinal saith, that the Fathers call that which we receive in the Eucharist the figure of Christ, because it appeareth so to the sense, it is taxing the Fathers either of fraud, or great negligence: For if in this point we must believe neither our senses nor our eyes, why do they speak according to the report of the eyes? Why do they not give us warning that our sight is deceived?

To say that they call the Sacrament a Figure, although the body of Christ be really there, to oppose it to the full participation which we shall have in heaven, is speaking against reason: For the inferiour degrees are not figures of the superiour; by that reason the lowest rounds of a ladder should be figures of the highest. Besides, the least Priest of the *Roman Church* (if he may be believed) participates the body of Christ more then all the Saints of Paradise. For there none of the Saints swalloweth Christ, none eats his flesh really; So it will be found that the wicked which participate the Sacrament, yea the Rats that carry the Host away, participate Christs body more then those prime Romish Saints, *Francis* and *Dominick*.

Of the Efficient cause of the change made in the Bread, which *Ambrose* and the Supposititious book of the Lords Supper attribute to the Almighty power of God, it was treated before when we spake of *Ambrose*.

(f) S. 51. De
Cardinalibus
operibus non
est Cypriani.

CHAP. XV.

Shewing how the Fathers say, that the Fathers of the Old Testament ate the same meat which we eat in the Eucharist.

VVHosoever saith, that the Fathers that lived before Christs Birth, ate the same meat which we eat in the Eucharist, saith by consequence that we eat not the flesh of Christ with an Oral Manducation; for they could not really eat with their carnal mouth a body which was not yet. But they might eat him in Sacrament, as the signs are called by the name which they signifie.

(a) 1 Cor. 10.
25, 35 & 4.

Such is the doctrine of the Apostle who affirmeth (a) that *the Fathers of the Old Testament were all baptized in the cloud and in the sea, and all ate of the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink, for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ.*

That it is the Apostles mind to say that these Fathers drunk of the same drink, not only among themselves, but also with us, it appeareth by his declaring that the drink which they drunk was Christ, even the same Christ which we drink, and which we participate: of which participation he speaks soon after. The same appeareth because this text cannot be expounded otherwise without departing from the scope of the Apostle, which is to admonish us that we be no idolaters or fornicators, as some of the Israelites were in Moses his time, who although they had participated Christ in the Sacrament as well as we, were punished nevertheless when they fell into idolatry and fornication.

It is evident also, that the Apostle speaks not of manducation by faith, since he speaks of a manducation which all the Fathers participated, both good and evil, and among others those that were punished for their fornication and idolatry; but he calls Manna and the water flowing from the rock, spiritual meat and drink, because they had a spiritual signification, and because they were to be taken in a spiritual sense.

The old Christians, following the Apostles steps, say that the Fathers before Christs coming ate the same meat, not only among them, but with us also.

(b) Ideo & sic ait, eundem potum spirituales bibebant, nam corporalem, non eundem. Quid enim illi bibebant? Bibebant enim de spirituali sequente petra; petra autem erat Christus. Videte ergo fide manente signa variata. Ibi petra Christus, nobis Christus quod in altari Dei ponitur. Et illi pro magno Sacramento

So speaks *Austin* in the 45. Treatise upon *John*. (b) *The Apostle saith, they drunk the same spiritual drink, but not the same bodily drink. And what did they drink? they drunk of the spiritual rock that followed them; now that rock was Christ. See then how faith remaining, the signs are changed: there the rock was Christ, but to us that which is laid on Gods altar, is Christ. And they, for a great Sacrament of the same Christ, drunk the water flowing out of the rock. But the believers know what it is that we drink. If you behold the visible form, it is another thing; If you regard the intelligible signification, they drunk the same spiritual drink.* In all this passage it is plain, that *Austin* compareth not the Israelites among themselves, but with us; and affirmeth that they drunk the same drink as we do. He saith that they drunk indeed another bodily drink, for they drunk the water flowing from the rock, and we drink wine in the Eucharist. It is (saith he) *the same faith or doctrine, but the signs are differing.* He calls then that which is received in the Lords Supper, *signs of Christ.* Note here especially that he joyns these two things as like, that the stone in old time was Christ, but now that which is laid on the altar or table of the Lord, is Christ. As then the stone then was not Christ really, but in Sacrament; likewise that which now is set upon the altar is not Christ really, but in Sacrament or signification: Note also, that

eiusdem Christi biberunt aquam profluentem de petra. Nos quid bibamus norunt fideles. Si speciem visibilem intendas, aliud est; si intelligibilem significationem, eundem potum spirituales bibebant.

he saith, that the visible form is another then in old time. Now it is evident that he speaks of the *species* or form of bread, and of the *species* or form of wine in the singular, because by the word *species* he understands the substance of bread, which is one; not the accidents, which are many. When he saith that the signs of the Old Testament are changed into other signs, it is evident, that as by the signs of the Old Testament the substances of Manna and water are understood; So by the signs of the New Testament the substances of bread and wine are understood, and not the accidents and shew of bread without bread, and the colour and taste of wine without wine.

In vain the Cardinal answereth, that the Sacraments both Old and New, were *one and the same thing in figure and signification, but not in truth and reality*; For neither in the old nor in the new Sacraments was then or is now the truth and the reality. The truth contained in the Gospel opposed to the figures of the Law, is found in Christ and in his death, not in the bread and wine of the Sacrament. St. John teacheth us so much, John 19. 36. where he alledgeth the prohibition made in the Law of breaking any bone of the Paschal Lamb. Of which figure he finds the fulfilling, not in the Lords Supper, but in the Cross, in which the Souldiers forbore to break the arms and limbs of the Lord. And the Apostle Paul 1 Cor. 5. 7. saith that *Christ our Paschever was sacrificed* for us, nor with any regard to the Lords Supper, but speaking of the Lords death and passion. And if *Austin* or any other of the Fathers puts the truth in the Sacraments of the New Testament, and the figure in the Sacraments of the Old; by that truth he understands not that Christ is really in the water of baptism, or in the elements of bread and wine, or that the water or the bread is transubstantiated into Christ; but by the truth he understands a more ample and effectual grace, then that which was under the Law, as John speaks in the first Chapter, *The Law was given by Moses, but Grace and Truth by Jesus Christ*. Upon this, the words of the same Father, upon the 77. Psalm are very expresse, (c) *Their meat and drink, was the same in myserie as ours, but the same in signification, not in kind. For the same Christ which was figured unto them in the rock, was manifested to us in the flesh*. Where we clearly see the two foresaid things. The one, that he compareth not the Israelites among them, but with us, and that he declareth that the Fathers are the same meat as we eat. The other, that he placeth the fulfilling of the old Sacraments, not in that which is eaten with the mouth in the Eucharist, but in the incarnation and apparition of Christ.

The same Father in the book of the utility of Penitence, (d) *They ate the same Spiritual meat. What is the same meat, but that which we also eat?* And again, (e) *St. Paul saith the same meat. I finde not how this word the same can be understood, but that meat which we also eat.* And again, (f) *All that understood Christ in Manna, ate the same Spiritual meat as we do.*

There it is clear, that *Austin* saith not only that the Fathers are the same meat as we in figure or Sacrament, but also that they are by faith the same thing signified. For he addeth, *They drunk the same drink as we do, but spiritual, which was taken by faith, but was not swallowed by the body.*

(g) The Cardinals answer is that which he useth upon all occasions, and his general plaister for all sores; he saith that some unbaptized persons were present, before whom *Austin* durst not speak according to his belief. A shift which we have shewed to be not only vain, but injurious against the Fathers. Besides, when *Austin* writ this, he writ alone and without witnesses. And if he was afraid that the Catechumens should read his book, he might have had the same fear in all his book, and so never have written according to his belief. The Cardinal addeth, that *Austin* compareth the Sacraments of the Christian Church with those of the Jewish in the instructive and doctrinal function, not in the operative and exhibitive; meaning that they figured the same thing, but had not the same verue. In these dark terms, in effect he saith nothing; For though that which he saith be granted; that which I affirm remaineth; that *Austins* assertion is, that the Fathers ate the same meat as we do, not only in figure, but also really by faith.

(c) *Idem in mysterio cibis & potus illorum qui non est, sed significatione idem, non specie.*

Quia idem ipse Christus illis in petra figuratus, nobis in carne manifestatus est.

(d) Tomo 9. c. 1.

Eundem cibum spirituales manducaverunt. Quid est eundem nisi quia cum quem etiam nos?

(e) *Eundem non invenio quomodo intelligam nisi eum quem manducamus & nos.*

(f) *Quicumque in Manna Christum intellexerunt, eundem quem nos cibum spirituales manducaverunt.*

(g) In his second book of the Eucharist against *M. du Plessis*, p. 42.

It matters not if there was some difference in the efficacy, or in the manner of the operation. Thus in all that he addeth upon that testimony of *Austin*, he defends himself where we assault him not.

Neither must he tell us, that this manner of eating Christ by faith is a Metaphor, and a Metaphorical expression. For although there be a Metaphor in the word *eating* for *participating*, yet this participation is so real, that *Austin* acknowledgeth no other true manducation of the flesh of Christ, but the spiritual, as we have proved. He saith not only, that the only manducation by faith is profitable or salutary, but he saith (h) that who so is not in the body of Christ, eats not truly the body of Christ. (i) And that it is one thing to eat Christ *sacramento tenus*, only in Sacrament, and another thing to eat him *re vera*, truly and in effect.

(h) Aug. de Civit. Dei lib. 21. c. 25. *Qui est in corporis ejus unitate, &c. ipse vere manducatus est corpus Christi.*
(i) *Non sacramentum tenus, sed re vera corpus ejus manducare.*

This may also be an answer to that the Cardinal saith, that the Fathers of the Old Testament ate the same meat, yet not in the same manner: for although the Fathers ate not the flesh of Christ in the same manner as we, as for the sacramental manducation; yet as for the real manducation of the flesh of Christ, they ate it in the same manner, that is, with a real and true manducation, although God put more evidence and efficacy in our Sacraments. For *Austin* acknowledgeth no other manner of eating the flesh of Christ truly and really, but to eat it by faith.

Wherefore when *Austin* saith, that *we eat the Lords flesh with the faithfull heart, and with the mouth*, he understands that we eat it with the heart by faith, and that we eat it sacramentally and in sign, with the mouth. But that we eat really and truly the natural body of Christ with the mouth of the body, is a thing which that good Doctor never said, and never believed. We heard before how he personates Christ speaking thus to his Disciples, (k) *You shall not eat this body which you see, and shall not drink the blood which they that crucifie me shall spill. I have recommended a sacred sign unto you, which being spiritually taken, shall quicken you.*

(k) Aug. in Pl. 98.

These things are so clear and exprefs, that in the end they force the Cardinal to dispute against *Austin*, under pretence of excusing him. (l) *We cannot omit* (saith he) *to say that this meditation of Austin is not literal at all, that is, not conformable unto the literal sense of the Apostle; but Austin played here with his wit.* He adds, that *Austin* alledging the words of the Apostle to another purpose, boweth and turns them from their direct intention, to apply them to his own. And that it is not a direct formal and literal exposition, but a curious and collateral meditation, and a gamesome and Allegorical diversion, whereby *Austin* Allegorically infecteth St. Pauls words from their natural sense, &c. With such answers it were easie for us to elude all the passages which are alledged against us out of the Fathers, saying, that such a Father was playing with his wit when he spake so, and wrested the sense of Scripture to another sense to bring it to his purpose. So *Austin* (in his account) is a mocker, that playeth with Scripture, and giveth a wrong sense to it to serve his turn. Certainly since our adversaries to fence themselves against Scripture have recourse to the Fathers, they should, in policy, use them with more civility.

(l) Du Perron of the Eucharist, against Du Tillot, p. 46. & 52.

The same *Austin* in the 26. Treatise upon John speaks thus. (m) *Manna signified this bread. Gods Altar signifieth this bread. They were Sacraments. They are diverse in signs, but they are alike in the thing signified. Here the Apostle saying, Brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, that our Fathers, &c. did all eat the same spiritual meat; the same spiritual meat indeed, but another bodily meat, because they ate Manna, we another thing, but yet [they ate] the same spiritual meat as we eat.*

(m) *Hunc panem significavit Manna. Hunc panem significat altare Dei. Sacramenta illa faciunt. In*

signis diversa sunt, sed in re quae significatur paria sunt. Apostolum audi, Nolo enim vos, inquit, ignorare fratres quia patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt, &c. & omnes eandem escam spiritualement manducaverunt. Spiritualement utique eandem, nam corporalem alteram, quia illi manna, nos aliud, spiritualement vero quam nos.

Here

Here the Cardinal answers again, that *Austin* in that popular Sermon, for fear of the *Catechumens* then present, abstained from expressing the true direct and immediate doctrine of the Church concerning the Sacrament. He saith also that these were diversions, accessory and collateral expositions to feed and stay the curiosity of those that were not initiated. This Prelat makes *Austin* a juggler, or a player that puts on several vizards. But it is certain that disguizing his belief before the *Catechumens* was not the way to satisfy their curiosity, but a trick to amuse them with deceitful words, and send them away empty and possessed with a false belief, of which they needed to be dispossessed after their baptism. At which time having learned the true belief of the Church, they might have said to their Pastours, What goodly stuffe did ye serve to us? What tales did ye feed us with? And why did ye not speak to us in good earnest? How do we know whether you have now told us all, and whether within a few years you will make us alter our belief the second time?

Hereupon the Cardinal (n) with a long discourse extenuates the efficacy of the Sacraments of the Old Testament, which he calls in contempt *Cenotaphia*, that is, as he expounds it, vain, hollow, and empty monuments, such as the tombs were, whose deceitful inscription spake as if the dead body had been inclosed within, though it was in another place. This is indeed injurious language against the Sacraments of the Old Testament, to call them *vain monuments*. For were not the Fathers saved by those Sacraments? Shall we call that a vain monument which brings us to salvation? Shall we call the *Passover* a vain monument, seeing that the grace and salvation in Christ was presented in it?

Doth not *Austin* say that the Fathers ate spiritually the flesh of Christ? Doth he not say that there is no true and real manducation, but the spiritual? Truly it is like that the Cardinal set forth this discourse only to shew this fine word of *Cenotaphie*, and make the world think that he is a jolly Grecian. Rather we should say, that even under the Gospel, unto them that have no faith, the Sacrament is a *Cenotaphie*, and that the *Passover* was a figure exhibitiv of the truth to them that did participate it with faith. Observe also the Cardinals learning, when he calls the figures of future things *monuments*. For every monument is a memorial of a thing past.

But who makes any doubt, but that Christ and the grace in Christ was presented to the Fathers by the Sacraments of the Old Testament? as *Cyrillus* saith upon *John*; (o) *The true Manna is Christ whom the Father gave to those ancient [Fathers] by the figure of Manna.* And *Chrysostom* upon the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Hom. 23. *Although the things which were done then were sensible, yet they were spiritually given; not according to the consequence of nature, but according to the gift of grace, and with the body they fed the soul also, and induced to faith.* They were not then vain monuments, nor *Cenotaphes*, or imaginary sepulchers, or names without things.

Deo Patrie dabatur. (p) εἰ γὰρ καὶ αἰδνται τὰ τὰ γινόμενα, ἀλλὰ πνευματικῶς παρείχεται, ὃ καὶ φύσις ἀπολαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν χάριν, καὶ μὴ διὰ τὴν φύσιν· καὶ πάλιν ψυχῶν ἐστὶν ἐνδύοντα.

(n) Pag. 60.
Vir. Æneid. 3
Hæstorcum
ad tumulum,
viridi quem
cespite ina-
nem, & gemi-
nas, causam
lachrymis, sa-
craverat aras.

(o) Cyril.
Alex. in Joh.
l. 3. c. 34.
& 36.
Verum Man-
na Christus est
qui per figu-
ram manna
præcis illis à

CHAP. XVI.

That the Fathers believed not that the body of Christ is really present under the element of Bread, but that he is in heaven only, not in earth.

WE have shewed by a multitude of allegations of the Fathers, that they speak of three sorts of the body of Christ; His natural body, born of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, and crucified for us; his mystical body, which is the Church; and his Sacramental body, which is made by the mouth of Priests, which is broken in pieces, which feeds our bodies, which is made up of many grains, which is the Sacrament of the natural body of Christ, in which Gods vertue is working, so that by participating the Sacrament with faith, Christ dwelleth in us, and we in him. Of the presence of that body in the Eucharist none doubteth, and the Fathers speak of it often.

But as for the Lords natural body, as the Fathers teach, that we do not eat it with our mouth, and that the wicked cannot eat it; so they hold that it is in heaven, not in earth; and that being ascended to heaven, he will return to us no more, but on the day of judgement; and that the way to take him, is not to lay hold on him with our hand, or to receive him into our mouth, but apprehend him by faith.

(a) *Pauperes semper habebitis vobiscum, me autem semper non habebitis. Accipians & hoc doni, sed non sint solliciti; loquebatur enim de presentia corporis sui. Nam secundum Majestatem suam, secundum providentiam, secundum ineffabilem & invisibilem gratiam impletur, quod ab eo dictum est, Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi. Secundum carnem verò quam verbum assumpsit, secundum id quod de virgine natus est, &c. non semper habebitis me vobiscum, &c.*

Austin in the 50. Treatise upon *Iohn* (a) *The Lord said, You shall have always the poor with you; but me you shall not have always. Let the godly understand this, and not be troubled, for he spake of the presence of his body. For according to his Majesty, according to his providence, according to his unspeakable and invisible grace, is fulfilled that which he said, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. But according to the flesh, which the Word hath assumed, according as he was born from the Virgin, according as he was taken by the Jews, &c. he saith, Me you have not always with you.*

In the same Treatise, he speaks thus to them that ask how they may take and hold Christ: (b) *They answer, Whom shall I hold? Him that is absent? How shall I put my hand in heaven, that I may hold him that sits there? Send up thy faith thither, and thou hast laid hold of him. Thy Fathers held him in the flesh, but thou holdest him with thy heart. He hath carried up his body into heaven, but he hath not removed his Majesty from the world. And in the same place, We have Christ always according to the presence of his Majesty; but according to the presence of his flesh, it was well said to his Disciples, Me you have not always.*

And in the first Treatise upon the first Epistle of *Iohn*, (c) *We can no more hold him with our hand now that he is sitting in heaven; but we may touch him with our Faith.*

This Father by the Cardinals Doctrine was not well taught; for to them that are in the Church, and ask, How shall I take Christ? Must I stretch my hand as far as heaven, where he is, seeing that he is no more on earth? A *Romish* Doctor would answer, What needest thou to go seek him so far, seeing that he is near thee, on the altar, and in the Priests hands? Instead of that, *Austin* answereth, Lay hold on Christ by faith, receive him in thy heart, and imagine not that thou canst lay hold on him with thy hand. No other way doth he give, as indeed there is no other way. *Austin* was not content to have said that Christ is with us no more, and is no more present with us, as for his natural body; but he added besides, that to hold him we must not stretch our hand, but take hold on him by faith at the right hand of God. It seems that by saying, *We can hold him no more with our hand*, he speaks to the Priests of the *Roman* Church, who boast that they

(b) *Respondent, Quem tencho? Absentem? Quomodo in celum manum mittam, ut ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, & tenuisti. Parentes tui tenuerunt carnem, tu tene corde, &c. Corpus suum intulit celo, majestatem non abstulit mundo. (c) Ipsum jam in celo sedentem manu conprehendere non possumus, sed fide contingere.*

have

have Christ in their hand every day : So that if one may believe them, they make the body of Christ, and have him in their power.

The same in the 57. Epistle to *Dardanus* speaks thus. (d) According to this form [of manhood] we must not think that Christ is diffused every where; for great heed must be taken that we do not so establish the Godhead of this man, as to abolish the truth of his flesh. It followeth not that any thing that is in God is every where, as God is every where.

About this matter the 11th. ch. of the 20th. Book against *Faustus Manichean* is implied : Where disputing against *Faustus*, who put Christ's body in infinite places at the same time; he saith that Christ (e) according to his spiritual presence could not suffer these things [that is, to be crucified :] But that according to his corporal presence he could not be at the same time in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Cross.

And in the 78. Treatise upon *John* (f) The Lord Jesus said, I go and return to you again, but he did not depart as God from those whom he left as man. The same Christ is both God and man. Then he went as he was man, and remained as he was God. He went in as much as he was in one place, but he stayed in as much as he is everywhere, that is, in his Godhead. How doth this agree with the Roman Church? *Austin* saith, that Christ ascending to heaven went from us as man, but the Roman Church saith, that he staid with us as man, and according to his humane nature; yea that Christ as man is far more present with us then he was in the time of his living among men; for then he was present but in one place, but now they make him present in an hundred millions of places, in altars, in boxes, in stomachs, yea (if it happens) in the bellies of Mice. *Austin* saith, that Christ as man is but in one place: Whereas the Roman Church puts him in many millions of places in the same moment. It is very observable, that if *Austin* had believed transubstantiation, he would not have said that Christ is gone and retired from us as for his humane nature, but remaineth present as for the Divine; but he would have said that he ceased indeed to be present with a visible presence, but that his body remaineth invisibly present. This good Doctor did not know and never spake of any other way whereby God supplyeth the want of the visible and bodily presence of Christ, but the presence of his Godhead. Besides it is an extravagant nonsense, to say that the body of Christ is gone, but that it remained invisibly present. As if one said that *Philip* is gone out of *Paris*, but that he is in *Paris* still invisibly present; because, though he be gone, he lyeth hid in *Paris*; Or that he hath no soul, because his soul is invisible.

The same Father in the 30. Treatise upon *John*, (g) The Lord is above, but also the Lord who is the truth is here below. For the body of Christ, in which he rose again from the dead, must be in one place only, but his truth is diffused every where. I have translated *uno loco*, one place only, as the French Bibles of our Adversaries translate *Unus Dominus*, *una fides*, *unum Baptisma*, *unus Deus*, Eph. 4.5. & *unius uxoris virum*, 1 Tim. 3.2. thus, There is but one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism: And the Bishop must be the husband of one wife only. For also the word *unus* in Latine imports unity; and the opposition which *Austin* makes requires it, That the truth of the Lord is everywhere, but his body is in one place only.

The corruptors of the new Editions, have wickedly falsified this place. For instead of *corpus Domini in uno loco esse oportet*, that the body of the Lord must be in one place only, they have put in *uno loco esse potest*, it may be in one place. But all the old Editions have *oportet*. And that text is thus alledged by *Gratian* in the 2. Distinction of the Consecration in the Canon *Prima*. And by *Two Carnutensis* in the second part of his Decree, 18. ch. And by *Lombard* in the 4. Book of the Sentences 10. Dist. 4. And by *Thomas* in the 3. part of the Sum qu. 75. Art. 1. But though all the Copies and Editions had *potest*, yet reason and the sense of the sentence shew that it must be read *oportet*: For it is altogether unreasonable to say that Christ's body can be in one place. As if one said, that the Sun may be in some place; Possibility is not mentioned, where there is necessity. If in this clause you read that the Lord's body may be in one place, you must read

(d) Secundum hanc formam non est putandus ubique diffusus. Cavendum est enim ne ita divinitatem affirmamus hominibus, ut veritatem carnis auferamus. Non est autem consequens ut quod in Deo est ita sit ubique ut Deus.

(e) Secundum presentiam quippe spirituales nullo modo illa pati posset, secundum presentiam vero corporalem simul & in sole et in Luna et in cruce esse non posset.

(f) Vado et venio ad vos. Sed à quibus homo abscedebat Deus non recedebat; et idem ipse Christus homo et Deus. Ergo ibat per quod homo erat, et manebat per id quod Deus erat. Ibat per id quod homo in loco erat.

(g) Sursum est Dominus, sed etiam hic est veritas Dominus.

Corpus enim Domini in quo resurrexit uno loco esse oportet, veritas autem ejus ubique diffusa est.

in the following clause, *but his truth may be diffused everywhere*, to keep the Laws of the opposition. The same Text is suspect of another falsification, for instead of *veritas*, it is like there should be *virtus*.

The same *Austin* in the 60. Sermon *de Verbis Domini*, *Christ is always with us in his Godhead; but had he not gone away bodily from us, we should always see him carnally, and should never believe him spiritually*. No doubt but that our Adversaries reading this, could with all their heart fall out with *Austin*. For he saith, that if Christs body were not gone, we should see him always. Whereas the Church of *Rome* saith, that Christ went from us bodily, and yet that he stay'd behind bodily, but that we see him not.

In the 140. Sermon *de Tempore*, (i) *The Lord absented himself in body from all the Church, and ascended into heaven, that thy faith might be edified*. I would know whether when one hath the body of Christ really in his mouth, or in his stomach, it may be said without lying, or without jesting, that Christ hath absented himself from him. For by the same reason one might say, that the brains or liver of *Philip* is absent from him, or remote from him, because he doth not see it, and because the inward parts of his body are invisible to him. He had said a little before, (k) *The fraction of bread comforteth thee: The absence of the Lord is not absent: Have faith, and he whom thou see'st not is with thee*. Shewing that he is not with them that have not faith.

Cyrillus of *Alexandria* in the 9th. book upon *John* speaks to the same purpose. *The faithful people must believe, though he be absent in body from us, that yet all things, and our selves are governed by his virtue*. And in the 11. Book 3. ch. (m) *Though he be absent in body, appearing for us before his Father, and sitting at his right hand, he dwells nevertheless in his Saints by his Spirit*.

This Father here followeth the command of Christ himself, who in the 14. and 15. of *John* having foretold his Apostles that he would shortly go from them, and leave them, to go to his Father, giveth them not that comfort that he would go away only as for his visible presence, but that he would remain invisibly present under the element of bread. Only he promiseth to send them the Comforter, which is the Holy Spirit, to supply his absence.

The Eutychians who forged unto Christ a body that was everywhere, gave occasion to the Fathers of the 5. Age to maintain that the body of Christ is no more on earth, and that he is nowhere present, but in one place only, where he is sitting at the right hand of God. *Vigilius* writ five Books against *Eutyches* in which he insisteth much upon that. In the 1. Book he speaks thus, (n) *The son of God according to his manhood departed from us, but according to his Godhead he tells us, Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world*. Had the Fathers believed the real presence under the elements of bread and wine, the Eutychians might have stop't their mouth, saying, that Christ even according to his manhood is always with us, unto the end of the world, since he is always bodily present under the accidents of bread.

Vigilius addeth, (o) *According to the form of servant which he carried from among us into heaven, he is absent from us. According to the form of God which retireth not from us, he is present unto us in earth*. But his words are express, especially in the 4. Book. (p) *If the Word and the Flesh have but one nature (as the Eutychians say) how comes it to pass that the Word being everywhere, his flesh also is not found every where? For when it was on earth it was not in heaven; And now because it is in heaven it is not on earth*.

To say that *Vigilius* understands that the flesh of Christ is no more in earth visibly, but invisibly, is to make *Vigilius* an Eutychian; for such was the belief of the Eutychians, against whom he disputeth. Besides, *Vigilius* saying, that when the flesh of Christ was on earth, it was not in heaven, understands that it

(h) *Semper quidem divinitate nobiscum est, sed nisi corporaliter abiret, à nobis semper eum carnaliter videremus, et nunquam spiritualiter crederemus.*

(i) *Feria prima Pasc. Serm. 1.*

Idco Dominus noster absentavit se corpore ab omni Ecclesia et ascendit in celum, ut edificetur fides.

(k) *Consolatur te fractio panis, absentia Domini non est absens. Habeto fidem, et tecum est quem non vides.*

(l) *Cyrl. l. 9. in Joh. 7. 21.*

Credere oportet fideles; quamvis à nobis corpore absit, virtute tamen sua omnia et nos gubernari.

(m) *Est absens corpore patris pro nobis apparent, ac à dextris ejus sedent, habitant tamen in sanctis per spiritum.*

(n) *Dei filius secundum humanitatem suam recessit à nobis, secundum divinitatem suam*

ait nobis, Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem seculi. (o) Per formam servi quam assumpsit à nobis in celum, absens est nobis: per formam Dei quæ non recedit à nobis in terris præsens est nobis. (p) Si verbi et carnis una natura est, quomodo cum verbum ubique sit, non ubique invenitur et caro? Nam quando in terra fuit non erat utique in celo, et nunc quia in celo est, non est nique in terra, et in tantum non est, ut secundum ipsam Christum spectamus venturum de celo quem secundum verbum nobiscum esse credimus in terra.

was neither visibly nor invisibly in heaven. Whence it followeth, that when he saith, that being now in heaven, it is no more on earth, he understands also that it is neither visibly or invisibly in earth any more.

For the question between *Vigilius* and the Eutychians was not of the visibility, but of the real presence, which the Eutychians affirmed, and against which *Vigilius* disputeth with all his might.

CHAP. XVII.

That the Fathers acknowledge the same participation of the body and blood of the Lord in Baptism, and in the preaching of the Word, as in the Lords Supper.

THe ancient Doctors shew enough how far they were from believing a real manducation of the natural body of Christ with the mouth, in that they acknowledge the same manducation and participation of the Lords body in Baptism and in the preaching of the Word, as in the Lords Supper.

Thus *Austin*, (a) *None must make any doubt that then every believer is made participant of the body and blood of the Lord, when he is made a member of Christ by Baptism. And that he is not alienated from the communion of that bread and that cup, although before he eat that bread and drink that cup, he go out of this world, being in the unity of the body of Christ.* This same passage is found in *Fulgentius* towards the end of the Book concerning the Baptism of the Ethiopian dying.

Hierom to *Hedibia* in the 2. question. (b) *All we that are baptized in Christ, put on Christ, and eat the bread of Angels.*

Theodoret upon Eph. 5. (c) *By Baptism we are buried with Christ, and rise again with him, and eat his body and drink his blood.*

Chrysostom in the 16th. Homily upon the Epistle to the Hebrews: (d) *Water and blood shew here the same thing; for his Baptism is his passion.*

We heard before *Leo* the 1. in the 14. Sermon, saying, that in Baptism, corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi, The body of the baptized person becomes the flesh of [Christ] crucified.

Of the Word, *Hierom* speaks thus upon Eccles. 3. (e) *This only good we have in this present world, if we eat his bread, and drink his blood, not only in the Sacrament, but also in the reading of Scripture: For the true meat, and the true drink which is taken, from the Word of God, is the Science of the Scriptures.*

The same upon the 144. Psalm, if that Book be his, (f) *When the Lord saith, He that eats my flesh, and drinks my blood, although it may be also understood in mystery; yet to speak more truly, the body of Christ, and his blood, is the word of the Scriptures, and the divine doctrine.*

And a little after, (g) *When we hear the word of God; and the word of God, and the flesh of Christ, and his blood is poured into our ears, &c.*

Clemens Alexandrinus in the 1. Book of the Pedagogue 6. ch. by the flesh of the Lord, which we eat, understands Faith, and the promises of the Gospel, saying, (h) *That the Lord hath represented by Allegory the evidence of faith, and the drink of the Gospel.*

lorum. (c) Cum eo in Baptismo consepelimur et una cum eo resurgimus, et corpus ejus comedimus, et sanguinem bibimus. (d) ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αἵμας, καὶ τῆς ὕδατος, τὸ πρὸς βαπτίσματι αὐτοῦ τὸ πρὸς τῷ ἔσθῃ. (e) Hoc solum habemus in presenti seculo bonum si vescamur carne ejus, cruoremque potemur non solum in mysterio sed etiam in Scripturarum lectione. Verus enim cibus et potus qui ex verbo Dei sumitur, scientia scripturarum est. (f) Quando dicit, qui comederit carnem meam, et biberit sanguinem meum, licet et in mysterio possit intelligi, tamen verius corpus Christi et sanguis ejus sermo scripturarum est, doctrina divina est. (g) Si quando audimus sermonem Dei, et sermo Dei, et caro Christi, et sanguis ejus in auribus nostris funditur, &c. (h) ἐν αἰσῶς τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἀναπόρ.

(a) August. Serm. ad Infantescitantes Beza in 1 Cor. 10. & Hincmaro, p. 243.

Nulli est aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unumquemque fidelium corpora sua sanguinisque Domini fieri participem

quando in baptismo membrum

Christi efficitur. Nec alienari ab illius

panis calicisque consortio,

etiam si autem quam panem illum comedat

& calicem bibat, de hoc seculo in unitate corporis

Christi constitutus discedat.

(b) Quotquot in Christo baptizamus,

Christum induimus, &

panem comedimus Angelorum.

(i) *Bibere dicimur sanguinem non solum Sacramentorum ritum, sed et cum sermones ejus recipimus.*
 (k) *Sicut in illum fontem Moses misit lignum, ita et in hunc fontem Sacerdos dominica crucis predicationem mittit, et aqua fit dulcis ad gratiam.*

(l) *Infantes in Baptismo*

aliquo modo participant corpus Christi, nempe quantum ad rem significatam, et dici possunt carnem Christi manducare et bibere sanguinem ejus.

Origen in the 16th. Homily upon Numbers. (i) *We are said to drink the blood, not only in the Ceremony of the Sacraments, but also when we receive his words.*

As Ambrose in the Book of those that are initiated in mysteries, brings examples of miracles to shew how the bread is made the body of Christ; he brings some also to prove the change, which happens in the water of Baptism. (k) *As Moses (saith he) cast wood into that fountain, so the Priest casts into this fountain [of Baptism] the preaching of the Cross of the Lord, and the water is made sweet for grace.*

These considerations moved Cardinal Tolet to say in his Comment upon Job. 6. that (l) *Infants in Baptism participate in some sort the body of Christ, to wit, according to the thing signified, and they may be said to eat the flesh of Christ, and to drink his blood.*

If then the Fathers find in Baptism, and in the preaching of the word the fulfilling of these words, that he *that eats the flesh of Christ hath eternal life*, where nevertheless no transubstantiation is made; why shall we not say also, that in the Lords Supper we eat the flesh of Christ without any transubstantiation of the bread?

CHAP. XVIII.

After what manner the Christian Church of the first Ages celebrated the Lords Supper. How the ancient customs shew evidently, that they believed not the real presence, nor transubstantiation.

(a) See Dionysius of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy 3. ch. And Clement in the 8. Book of Apostolical Constitutions.

IT will conduce much to the clearing of this matter, to view the (a) ancient customs, and the form of administering the Lords Supper in the ancient Church; for thereby we shall see how far the Roman Church is gone from the ancient customs. And of these customs the most part will serve for proofs of the belief of the ancient Christians upon this controversy.

In Sacred places where the people met for the preaching of the word, and for the administration of Sacraments, there was a wooden Table in the midst, which was moveable, and might be removed. They called it a *Table* in the first Ages: But by little and little the custom crept in to call it an *Altar*.

In every Temple or Church there was but one Table or Altar; for then so many little Altars were not seen in several corners of the Church. That custom of having many altars in a Temple was set up when they began to sing private Masses, that is solitary Masses, without either communicants or assistants.

Upon that Table before they began the celebration of the Eucharist, the Deacons brought the offerings of the people, that is, bread and wine, and sometimes divers fruits; Which offerings they called gifts, and presents, and sacrifices. And the Pastour of the Church prayed in a tongue understood by all, that God would accept of these gifts and offerings.

Of those offerings of bread and wine, the Pastour, and the Deacons that assisted him, set a part as much as needed for all the brethren present to communicate with the two kinds. For then round Hosts, and those thin wafers, baked between two Irons, and stamp't with a Crucifix, were not in fashion. But they had ordinary bread and wine upon the Table, as much as would serve for that holy action. The remnant of the offerings which were not used in the holy Communion, was kept for the Agapes, or Love-Feasts, and for the subvention of the poor.

That

That bread and wine being thus laid upon the Table, were covered with a cloth. And in many Churches there was a double curtain spread before the Table, which hindered the people from seeing that which was set upon the sacred Table. Of which the consecration was made by prayer, not by speaking to the bread. And that prayer, as also the whole service, was done in a tongue which the people understood.

But when the hour of admitting the people to the Communion was come, the Deacon cryed with a loud voice, that the Catechumens and Penitents, and all that did not communicate, should go forth. So there remained none but the Communicants: then they drew the curtains, and took off the linnen cloth, and the Sacred signs were uncovered and exposed to the peoples sight.

In some places the Bishop taking with both his hands the dish where the Sacred signs were, lifted it up a little to make it seen better; And did all this with his face turned towards the people. For then they spake not of lifting up God, and elevating the Host. The manner of these days for the Priest to turn his back unto the people, and lift up the Host above his head, and at the ringing of a little Bell to make the people adore that Host with the Sovereign Service due unto God alone; All this I say would have been found strange and prodigious by the Antients, and no trace of it is found in Antiquity.

That being done, the Communicants gave the kiss of peace among themselves, and kissed one another in sign of concord. The Priest washed his hands, and cryed out, *Sancta Sanctis*, that is, *Holy things for holy persons*. After that the Clergy and the people went to the Communion. In some Churches the Deacons brought the holy Communion in the two kinds to every one in his place, and presenting the holy Sacrament to each Communicant, said in a known tongue, *Lift up your hearts*, (b) and the Communicants answered, (*) *We have them unto the Lord*:

(b) *Sursum corda.*

(*) *Habemus ad Dominum.*

The Communicants both men and women received with their hand the Sacrament, and with their hand put it in their mouth. Some men and women wrapt it in a handkerchief, and carried it to their homes, and laid it up in some chest or cupboard. But as scruples will multiply, and every Age brings always some new thing; in the seventh Age it was permitted to men only to take the Sacrament with their bare hand, but women took it with a white linnen over their hands.

From the Table in the time of the Communion, the Sacrament was sent to the absent, sick, and prisoners, and such as could not come to the Congregation. And many times it was carried to them by some widow, or some little boy.

(c) *Satyrus* brother to *Ambrose*, being in danger of Shipwrack, demanded the holy Sacrament, although he was not yet baptized. Which having taken he ate it not, but hanged it at his neck, and threw himself into the Sea to swim for his life.

(c) See the Oration of *Ambrose* upon the death of his brother *Satyrus*.

But because commonly there was more consecrated bread upon the Table then needed for all the Communicants, the remnant of that bread, which was called the body of Christ, was burnt, or given to little School boys to eat it, or was (d) carried to the Priests house to eat it at home.

They made then a great scruple of conscience to let any part of the consecrated bread to fall to the ground, but the *cantela Misse* were not yet extant, whereby a Priest vomiting the Host is commanded to eat it up again, unless he can find one to do so much for him; or to burn that vomiting, and put the ashes among the relics. Or if it happen that the chalice be spilt on the floor, these *cantela Misse* command that the floor be scraped, and that the scraping be mingled with other consecrated wine, or put among the relics.

(d) *Constit. Clem. 1. 8. c. cap. 20.*

Postquam omnes sumserunt, accipiant Diaconi reliquias & portent in pastophoris.

In old time; when the Sacrament fell to the ground, or if it happened to be stollen away, the Christians were not so stupid as to say that God was fallen, or that Christ was stollen.

Of Gods Feast, and of carrying God in procession, there was no speech
F f f f f then;

then ; nor of kneeling in the street when the Host past by, nor of worshipping the Priests box with no Host in, when the Priest returns from giving the Sacrament to a sick person.

Of high and low Masses, or running, or dry, or private Masses ; of Masses in white, in green, and in violet ; Masses of St. *Antony*, or Masses of the holy Ghost, there was no speech in those days.

That old form of administering the holy Communion was very different from the Mass of our days, as much as singing Mass differs from celebrating the Lords Supper. So much doth the belief of the Modern Roman Church differ from that of the ancient Church. And most part of the customs which I have represented, are so many proofs, that then they belived neither real presence, nor transubstantiation.

For had the Ancients believed that the Sacrament is really the body of Christ, they would never have put it in the hands of the people, there being always divers among the multitude, whose bodies and consciences are foully defiled, and many Hypocrites. They would never have suffered that a woman should take Christs body in her hand, lap it up in a handkerchief, and thrusting it into her pocket, or some other place about her, carry it home, and shut it up in a Trunk or Drawer. Had such a thing been done in a place where the Pope reigneth absolutely, no pain could be found severe enough for the persons guilty of such an horrible profanation. They would say that this was the Prodigy foretold by the last Comet : Or if after that a ranging plague, or famine consumed the people of the Land, those disasters would be taken for expiations of such an abominable crime.

If the ancient Church had believed Transubstantiation, they would never have given the consecrated bread to unbaptized persons ; Neither would they have suffered an unbaptized man to hang it at his neck, and cast it with himself into the Sea. Much less would they have burnt Christ, or given the Lords body to a company of boys coming from School, who commonly have more waggery then devotion. *Cyprian* relates, that a little Girl carried in the arms, vomited the Chalice which a Deacon had powred into her mouth : for then they received Infants to the communion : That wine spilt was not taken up again ; and the chalice had never been exposed to that danger, if the Church had believed that it was the true body of Christ. That example also sheweth, that the Deacons carried to every one the Sacrament.

When the Eucharist was carried to them that were absent, the people that saw it carried by, would have worshipped it, had they believed that it was Christs body. And how could the people have worshipped it in the street, since they did not worship it in the Church ?

Observe also how the custom is changed. In old time the sight of the Sacrament was forbidden to the Catechumens and Penitents ; whereas now the Host is carried in procession through the streets in the sight of Pagans, Jews and Turks, if there be any present, and of publick harlots ; and with all these sorts of people *Rome, Venice, Milan, &c.* do abound.

For the proof of all this, I will bestow the following chapter.

CHAP. XIX.

Proofs of the customs represented in the Chapter before.

I Said that in the first ages the sacred table was commonly made of wood. This we learn of *Athanasius*, who complaineth that the *Arians* his enemies, (a) had burnt before the Church-porch the seats, the chair, and the table which was of wood, and the vails of the great Church of Alexandria.

(b) *Austin* in the 50. Epistle makes the like complaint of the Donatists. By the way, these vails wherewith the Churches were hung, were white linnen: whence it is evident, that then they had no Images in Churches. Of which custom a trace remains in the Roman Church in Lent, for then Images are hid with white linnen.

Optatus Milevitanus in the beginning of the first book against *Parmenian*. (c) Which of the faithful ones knows not that in the celebration of the mysteries the very wood is covered with linnen? In the celebration of the Sacraments the Tablecloth might be toucht, not the wood. (d) There also he speaks of removing the Altars from their place. (e) The book of questions of the Old and New Testament ascribed to *Austin*, saith it was the Deacons office to carry the Altar.

It is true, that even in the time of *Constantine* the Great, under whom the Christians began to build magnificent Temples, in some principal Churches they began to erect Altars of stone.

There was then but one Altar in every Temple, not a multitude of petty Altars in several corners of the Church, as it is seen now among the Romanists. *Ignatius* in the Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, (f) The whole Church hath but one Altar. (g) *Hierom* upon the third of *Amos*, Not the only Altar which the Church hath, but the Altars of the hereticks which are many. And *Chrysostom* in the 18. Homily upon the 2. Epistle to the *Corinthians*, (h) There is one only Baptism, and one only Table. *Alvarez* in the Ethiopick history ch. 3. saith that the Ethiopick Churches have but one Altar. That custom of having many Altars hath a relish of Paganism. *Virgil* speaking of the Goddess *Venus*, saith that

(i) From hundred Altars in her Temple ascends
The smোক of odours that rich *Saba* sends.

(k) *Prudentius* in the first book against *Symmachus* obraideth the Pagans, that in their Temples every god had his little Altar before him. And God obraideth the *Israelites* with the like Idolatry, *Hos.* 8. 11. saying, that *Israel* had made many Altars to sin.

Upon the Sacred Table the Deacons brought not a round Host, but a quantity of bread and wine, as much as would serve all the assistants to communicate under the two kinds. For that there is an antient order of the Roman Church attributed to *Clement* the first in these words, (l) Let so many sacrifices be presented upon the Altar as may suffice the people. Let not the remnant be kept for the morrow, but with the fear and care of the Clerks let it be consumed, that is eaten. For although these Decretals be supposititious, yet they shew, that when they were forged, the round Wafers and the Masses where the Priest alone receiveth, were not yet in fashion. Also the custome of burning the remnant of the Lords body, or giving it to little school-boys to eat, of which we shall speak hereafter, is a very clear proof that there was a quantity of bread upon the Table, some part

(a) *Athenag.*
ad Solitarians
vitam agen-
tes, p. 656.

αρεσθους τε
τα σωμα-
τια κ' τον
θρονον κ' τω
ν αματων
εουλων & λω-
κ' τα επι-
της εκκλησι-
ας εκαυσαν
εμασεν δ' εν τε
πυλω &.

(b) *Lignis*
altaris effra-
ctis immaniter
cecidit.

(c) *Quis fi-*
delium nescit
in peragendis
mysteriis ipsa
ligna lineam-
inae operiri?
Inter ipsa Sa-
cramenta ve-
lamen potuit
tangi, non
lignum.

(d) *Altaria*
radi tantum-
modo aut re-
moveri.

(e) *Aug.*
querit. Vet.
& Novi

Test. qu. 101.
Nam utique
& altaria
portarunt &
vasa ejus, &c.

(f) *av doun-*
ασθειας πλσν
τη εκκλησι-
α.

(g) *Non uni*
altare quod
habet Ecclesia,
sed altaria
haereticorum
plurima.

(h) *εα ανα-*
μα εν κ'
τελεινα
μια.

(i) *ubi tem-*
plum isti cen-

tumq. Sabao Thure calent ara, &c. (k) *Omnibus ante pedes posita est sua cuique vetusta Arula.* (l) *Clem. 1. de*
Consecr. Dist. 1. Can. Tribus gradibus. Tanta in altari holocausta offerantur quanta populo sufficere debeant. Quod remanserit in crastinum non reseruetur, sed in timore et tremore, clericorum diligentia consumatur.

For the linnen cloaths we have produced [the testimony of *Optatus*. And as for the double curtaines spread before the table, which were drawn at the hour of the Communion, *Chrysostom* in the third Homily upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians* speaks thus of them, (m) *When thou seest the double curtaines drawn, think what heaven opens it self.*

Cyprian in the Treatise of the Tombs, *scilicet* 21. speaks of a woman that had carried home the bread of the Eucharist, and had shut it up in a Trunk. We alledged before the example of *Gorgonia*, of whom her brother (q) *Gregory Nazianzen* saith, that she would lay up some part of the signs of the venerable body and blood of the Lord, and mingle it with her tears.

As for sending the Sacrament to an absent person by a boy or by a woman, we have seen before how *Eusebius* in the sixth book of his history, *ch. 38.* relates that *Seraphion* being on his death-bed desired the Eucharist, and that the Priest sent it him by a little boy. *Ambrose* in the book of widows, tells us, that in his time widows were employed to carry the Sacrament of Christ's body, saying, (u) *She* (meaning the widow) *must be without the allurements of divers pleasures, that she may minister the body and blood of Christ.*

Now as scruples will grow, and with the decay of piety, gestures and outward observations will increase, in the sixth and seventh age, the custom was introduced that men should receive the Sacrament with their bare hand, but the women with a linnen cloth over their hand, for fear of touching the Sacrament. The 42. Canon of the Council of Auxerre held in the year 590. hath these words, *Umqvae mulier quando communicat, suum Dominicale habeat. Let every woman when she communicates have her Dominical.* Maximus of Constantinople, who writ

(m) ὁ τῶν
ιδιῶν ἀνακρί-
σις καὶ ἐπι-
είρησα.
(n) Cyprie
Lapsis §. 13.
A Diaboli
avis reuertentes
ad sanctū
Dominū; for-
didus et infus-
tus nidere
manibus acce-
dunt, &c..
Domini corp-
pus incedunt.
(o) Euseb.
lib. 7. cap. 9.
ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστι
τοιοῦτον τὸ
εἶδος τοῦ
σώματος
(p) Theod.
hist. lib. 5.
c. 18. πᾶς δ'
τῶν χριστι-
ανῶν ἐστὶν
ἐκ τῆς αἰ-
ωνίου ἐξου-
σίας καὶ τῆς
ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ
ἐκείνου τοῦ
πνεύματος
(q) Greg.
Naz. Epita-
phico Gorgo-
nize.
(r) M. du
Perron al-
ledgech this
passage
against M. du
Plessis, p. 351.
and it is
cited by
Anastasius
Bishop of
Nice, and
translated by
Vossius.
τί γὰρ τοῖς
τοῖς διαχρύσε-
μας ἐστὶν
καὶ τῆς αἰ-
ωνίου ἐξου-
σίας καὶ τῆς
ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ
ἐκείνου τοῦ
πνεύματος

about

about the year 650. hath these words, (*) *Let all men that will communicate, wash their hands first, that with a pure spirit and a clean conscience they may receive Christs Sacraments. Likewise let women present clean linnen, where they may receive the body of Christ with a pure mind and a clean conscience.*

As for the remnant of the Sacrament, the customs were diverse. *Hefychius* in the second book upon *Leviticus* ch. 8. hath these words, *Moses commandeth that the remnant of flesh and bread be burnt in the fire, (x) Which also mee see now sensibly done in the Church, and that all things which remain not consumed (that is, not eaten) are cast into the fire.*

This custome of the Latin Church was altered, when the Priests began to reserve the Sacrament. For then it was constituted that the Sacrament should not be burnt, but when it began to grow mouldy. (y) *Tuo's Decree* alledgeth the fifth Canon of the Council of *Arles*, constituting, that every sacrifice spoiled with foul old age be burnt in the fire, and the ashes buried by the Altar. And *Burchards Decree* alledgeth the fourth Canon of a Council of *Orleans*, (z) *Let the oblations which are offered upon the Altar be alwayes renewed from one Saturday to another (for the shew-bread which was set upon the Lords table, was changed from one Saturday to another, lest that being long kept they should grow mouldy) And as it is the opinion of some, they ought to be burnt with fire.*

Out of all these it appears how far they were from believing Transubstantiation. For it would have been a profane mad part to have cast the natural body of Christ into the fire. Let our adversaries tell us, what the Fathers of that Council of *Arles* understood by mouldy sacrifices. Can one say without blasphemy, that Christs body is mouldy? No more can it be said, that by mouldy sacrifices, the accidents of bread are understood, for these accidents are not the sacrifice; and length, whiteness and roundness are things which grow not mouldy.

Other Churches had other customs. That of *Constantinople* of giving the remnant of the Communion bread to little School-boys, we see in *Evagrius* in the fourth book of his History, ch. 36. The whole Greek text we brought in before. They would not have done so, if they had believed it to be Christs natural body.

In *Balsamon* there is a constitution of *Theophilus* (a) Patriarch of *Alexandria*, which sheweth, that in *Egypt* they had another custome. For it enjoyns, that the remnant of the Sacrifices be eaten by the Clerks and other faithful brethren that were not Catechumens. The like is found in *Clements Constitutions*. (b) *After all have communicated, let the Deacons take the residue and carry it to the Pastophores*, that is, to the houses of the Court about the Church where the Priests dwelt.

All these customs shew three things evidently. The one, that the old Christians did not put a round wafer upon the table, but a quantity of bread and wine for the whole assembly to communicate. The second, that they believed not then that the Sacrament was the natural body of Christ, for they would not have burnt it, or given it to little boyes; and it would have been against common sense to speak of pieces and residue of the body of Christ. The third, that they did not reserve the Sacrament, since it was a constitution, that the remnant of the consecrated bread should be eaten: And this was practised even in the Apostles time, as *Hierom* or *Pelagius* testifie (which of the two is doubted) upon 1 Cor. 11. (c) *After the Communion* (saith he) *they that ate the Supper together in the Church, made an end together there of that which remained of the Sacrifices.* There *Hierom*

ne diu servati mucidi fiant, & ut quidam sentiunt igne concremari, &c. (a) *Edicta Theophili Can. 7. τὰ σπαραγμοειδῆ εἰς λόγον δυσίας καὶ τὰ ἀναλισκόμενα εἰς πῦρ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔχειν οἱ κληρικοί διανεμάτωσαν· καὶ μὴ τε νατεῖχοντο· ἐν τέτοιον ἐδίδετο ἢ πνέτω· ἀλλὰ μάλλον οἱ κληρικοί καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀδελφοί.* (b) *Const. Clem. 11. book. ch. 20. Postquam omnes sumpserint, accipiant Diaconi reliquias & portent in pastophoria.* (c) *Post communionem quaecumq; ea de sacrificiis superfuissent, illis in Ecclesia communem eandem comedentes pariter consumebant.*

(*) *Omnes viri qui communicare desiderant, prius lavent manus suas, ut mente pura & nitida conscientia Christi Sacramenta suscipiant. Similiter & mulieres nitida exhibeant lineamina, ubi Christi corpus accipiant pura mente & comunda conscientia.* Bar. an. 57. f. 148.

(x) *Quod nunc videmus etiam sensibilibiter in Ecclesia fieri, signis traditi quaecumq; remanere contingerit inconsumpta.*

(y) *Tuo Secunda Parte de Sacramento corporis, cap. 59.*

Omne sacrificium sordida vetustate perditum, igne comburendum est, & cinis juxta altare sepeliendus.

(z) *Burchard. lib. 5. cap. 12.*

Oblationes quæ in altari offeruntur de Sabbato in Sabbatum semper innovantur, quia panes propositionis qui super mensam Domini ponantur à sabbato in sabbatum semper mutabantur,

and above the Priests head. This fraud appears evidently in that in the same line there is *ἡ ἐλὴν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ*, the elevation in Cross, where the Cardinal (1) translates the elevation, without on high: but he commits a greater falsification in translating *ἡ ἑλὴν ἡ ἑλὴν ἑλὴν*, to elevate the bread alone a part, which words a part are his own, and are not in the Greek.

(1) M. du Perron of the Eucharist against du Plessis, book 3. p. 849.

In the Liturgies falsely attributed to S. James and to S. Chrysostom, mention is made of the elevation of the gift. But besides that these Liturgies are false and sowed up with diverse pieces made in several ages, it is certain, that the elevation mentioned in these Liturgies, is not that of the wafer above the Priests head while the Priest turns his back to the people, but the elevation of the dish where the bread was, which the Bishop or the Priest made with his face turned towards the people.

Cardinal du Perron having found nothing in all the ancient Church until the time of the fourth Universal Council, brings these Liturgies, and some new obscure Authors, as one Nicolaus Pectoratus, and a piece of a Liturgy, whose words he produceth, *ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀρτίον τὸν ἅγιον*, and expounds them thus, for he elevates not then the holy bread. He was so raw in Greek, that he esteemed that *ἀρτίον* signified then, whereas it signifieth altogether, or wholly. Sometimes *ἀρτίον* signifieth lately but very seldome, and that signification hath nothing common with the sense of this place.

Francis Alvarez a Portughez Monk, who lived six years in Ethiopia and Damian Goes, upon the relation of an Ethiopian Ambassador, say that the Ethiopian Churches make no elevation of the Host. I will relate the very words of Alvarez in the third chapter of his Ethiopian History. Having said, that in the Mass or Liturgy of the Ethiopians, they make a great cake of fine flower, and that the loaf is somewhat big and substantial because all communicate. Also that all communicate in the two kinds; He addeth, *The Priest uncovereth the cake which he held covered like a Sacrament; Then he takes it in his hands, and lifting up his right hand leaveth it upon the left, printing upon it with his thumb five or six marks; One above, another in the midst, the third at the foot (so he speaks) the others on the sides. Then he consecrates in his language, after our manner, in proper sense, and with the same propriety of words; only he doth not elevate the Sacrament.* He saith also, that after that the Priest hath taken the Sacrament of the blood, the Deacon doth administer it in spoons. That another Priest giveth water to drink, to them that have participated the cup, who wash their mouth with it and then swallow it; And that the Priest drinks a draught of water after he hath celebrated the Mass; for that Monk calls that Mass, although the Ethiopians call it otherwise. He adds that the Office of the Mass is very short, and that it is hardly begun, but it is ended presently after. For these Churches have not the Introits, nor the Graduals; Only they read the institution of the Sacrament set down in the Gospel, adding to it a little singing and some blessings.

Out of all this it appears how far the Abyssine Church (that contains seventeen great Provinces which are so many Kingdoms) differs from the belief of the Roman Church. There they make no elevation, and by consequent no adoration. There every Communicant participates the two kinds. There the Service is in a known tongue. And the water, which the Priest and the Communicants drink after the Service is done, sheweth that they believe not Transubstantiation. This mingling of water with the body and blood of Christ newly taken (to speak after the stile and belief of the Romanists) would be held an unwarrantable mixture. Neither do they speak of the Pope in that Country, nor of obedience to the Roman Church. Neither can one say that they have shaken off the yoke of the Pope: for they never were subject to him. Neither did ever the Pope complain, that they had departed from his obedience, or ever laid any claim of domination over them, although these Churches have subsisted now aboe a thousand years.

CHAP. XX.

Of the adoration of the Sacrament : weakness of the Cardinals proofs : how he falsifieth Scripture. Examination of his allegations.

THE form after which the Lord Jesus celebrated his holy Supper among his Disciples, sheweth evidently, that the Apostles did not worship the Sacrament, for they were sitting [or rather leaning] at the table, and did not rise from the table till the whole action of the Sacrament was done. For in all the narratives of the institution of the Sacrament, there is no command for worshipping the Sacrament, nor any trace of adoration, no more then of that elevation whereby the people is invited to worship.

(a) Against
du Plessis of
the Eucharist
book 3. ch. 11

(b) Quatrain
ins de Pi-
brac.

Adore assis
comme le Grec
ordonne.

(a) The Cardinal answereth, that one may adore sitting : That the Virgin *Mary* holding Christ in her bosom, did nevertheless worship him. That *Numa* had commanded that adoration should be performed sitting. That *Pibrac* said in his Moral verses, (b) *Adore sitting as the Grecian prescribes.*

To this I answer, that if the Virgin *Mary* holding the Lord Jesus in her bosom, adored him, she did it with her heart and thought, not with the gesture of her body, or with an outward adoration, the adoration which is here in question. For in the sacrifices they were bound to prostrate their bodies ; how much more then in a sacrifice where the body of the eternal Son of God was sacrificed ? That which he saith of *Numa* and *Pibrac*, is a boyish conceit ; For the Apostles were Jews, and were not ruled by *Numa's* Constitutions, nor by *Pibrac's* moral verses. Their custom in the adoration was to kneel down, yea many times to prostrate their whole body.

Against du
Plessis, book
3. ch. 11.
P. 371.

The Cardinal makes a doubt whether the Apostles received the Eucharist sitting. For (saith he) the gesture and posture of the Communicants is not exprest ; as likewise it is not exprest whether they stood up to eat the Paschever according to the institution of the Law. Had this Prelat read attentively the text of the Gospel, he would not have doubted of a thing so clearly exprest in it. For in the 13. ch. of *S. Johns* Gospel, ver. 4. it is said, that Jesus arose from Supper to wash his Apostles feet ; and after he had washed their feet, we read in verse 12. that he sat down again. In the same chapter *S. John* speaks of a Disciple, which is *S. John* himself, who sitting at the table, was in the bosome of Jesus, that is, he laid his head on his lap, which he could not have done if Jesus had stood up. The tables of the Grecians and Romans were so disposed, that they were half sitting, half lying down : and that he that was in the second place sitting lower, could rest his head on him that was sitting above him. This Cardinal ignorant in the good letters, knew nothing of these things, or if he knew them, he purposely dissembled them. That custom of sitting at the Lords Supper was yet in fashion in the Apostles time. This appeareth by the Church of the Corinthians, which celebrated the Lords Supper in the form of a feast, where excesses were committed. To which the word of *ἄμμος* and *Cena* are suitable, which all the antient Churches used to exprest Christs action celebrating this Sacrament with his Disciples. For the word *Cena* signifieth a common supper, not an oblation importing adoration.

(c) Du Perron
against du
Plessis of the
Eucharist,
p. 363.

Others say, (c) and the Cardinal after them, that the Apostles did not worship the body of Christ in the Eucharist, because they had Christ every day with them ; wherein they deceive themselves purposely ; for they know, that before that action the Apostles had never eaten Christ, and never been present at the sacrifice of his body ; and that such a manducation had deserved an extraordinary devotion ; and that there was never a sacrifice in the Church without adoration. Much less then should the sacrifice of the natural body of the Son of God have wanted adoration, especially the first institution of that sacrifice, which must be a perpetual pattern and rule.

Upon

Upon our question to our adversaries, where they can shew us, that ever God commanded us to worship the Sacrament, and to yeild to it a service of latria (as they speak, which is the adoration due to God alone) we cannot fetch any answer from them, nor one word to the purpose. *M. du Perron* (d) laboureth hard about that, and is put to his shifts: he saith, that no more have we any command to worship the Holy Ghost. I answer, that whosoever worshippeth God, worshippeth the Holy Ghost, since the Holy Ghost is God, for so he is called *Act. 5. 3.* The Apostle *1 Cor. 6. 19.* saith that our bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghost: now Temples must be consecrated to none but God. And Jesus commanded that we should be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Now we are not baptized in the name of the creature.

(d) Of Eucharist. lib. 3. ch. 8.

If the body of Christ which is given in the Eucharist were the natural body of Christ, as our adversaries will have it, not the Sacramental body as we affirm, the Apostles would have worshipped it. Especially in the first celebration of this Sacrament, which must be a rule unto the Church; the command of worshipping the Sacrament should have been clearly exprest, or at least the practice.

(c) He adds, that when the Father saith, *This is my son in whom I am well pleased*, hear ye him; he saith not *Worship ye him*; but in that indicative proposition, *This is my Son*, this imperative proposition, *Worship ye him*, was virtually and implicitly contained. Likewise he will have these words, *This is my body*, to contain implicitly the command of worshipping him.

(c) Pag. 863.

I answer, that those words, *This is my Son*, are proper, not Sacramental or typical words, like these, *This is my body*, as we have proved it. Now from simple words one may draw consequences, but from Sacramental words no consequence can be drawn, till they be reduced to simple and not typical words. Besides, these words, *This is my Son*, contain indeed a command to worship Christ, but not to worship him in such a place or in such an action. Whereas from these words, *This is my body*, they will infer a consequence, that this body must be worshipped under the species of bread, which is an inconsequent consequence and without any colour.

The Cardinal adds, *Though the bread of the Eucharist should remain truly bread in its inward and invisible substance, was there not a far greater distance between the Ark and God, the Ark being but the simple legal and ceremonial sign of his presence, then between the Eucharist and Christ? which Ark nevertheless Joshua and all the people of Israel worshipped; And David in his Psalms exhorts every one to worship it.*

I answer, that it is false that ever Joshua or the people of Israel worshipped the Ark. We find indeed, *Josh. 7. 6.* That Joshua rent his garments and fell on his face to the ground before the Ark of the Lord. And that not only according to the Hebrew, but according to the Vulgate version authorized by the Council of Trent. The words in that version are these, *Josue pronus cecidit in terram coram Arca Domini usque ad vesperam, tam ipse quam seniores Israel.* The versions of *Santes Pagninus* and of *Arias Montanus* say the same. The licentiousness of forgery is notorious in this Cardinal.

With the like depravation of Scripture, he saith in the same place, that David in his Psalms exhorteth every one to worship the Ark, and he alledgeth, without quoting, a text of the 98. Ps. which in the Hebrew Bible is the 99. where David saith, *Exalte ye the Lord our God and worship at his footstool.* But the vulgar version saith, *Worship his footstool.* Here the Cardinal will play the Grammarian, but acteth that part but poorly. All the good versions of our adversaries translate as we do, that of *Pagninus* a Monk of *Luca*, and that of *Arias Montanus* a Spaniard. So doth also the Chaldean Paraphrast. The Septuagint translate *προσκύνησαν τῷ ποδῶντι*, not to ποδῶντος. But this removeth all doubt, that in the same Psalm after השתחוה להר Adorate ad sebellam, it is added השתחוה להר Adorate ad montem. If in the first, we must translate Adore the footstool, we must

G g g g g

translate

Joh. 7. 6.

translate in the second, *Adore the mountain*, which the Cardinal would not like; for it would be a mad idolatry to worship a mountain. It is not credible that *David* worshipped before the Ark otherwise then *Josua*; Now it is expressly said of *Josua*, that he fell to the earth upon his face before the Ark of the Lord, not that he worshipped the Ark. Who will believe that God, who in his Law did so expressly prohibit worshipping any other but God, would allow the worshipping of a wodden chest? I confels, that *worshipping God*, and *worshipping before God*, are the same thing. But when it is question of inanimate things, *worshipping before the Temple*, and *worshipping the Temple*, are things far different.

Two things deserve to be observed by the way. First, these words of the Cardinal, *Though the bread should remain in his inward and invisible substance*, &c. This is saying tacitely, that there is an outward substance, and putting two substances in the bread, the one inward and invisible, the other outward and visible, which is a meer abuse. By affecting subtilty he betrayeth his ignorance.

Secondly, observe to what excels Idolatry is grown in the Roman Church, in which they worship not only the body of Christ which they affirm to be covered with the *species*, but also the *species*, that is the signs and accidents.

(f) Bellar.
l. 4. de Eu-
char. c. 29.
sect. Sed hæc
Proprie Chri-
stum esse ado-
randum, &
eam adorati-
onem etiam

(f) *Bellarmin* teacheth that doctrine, saying that the adoration belongeth to the signs of bread and wine, in as much as they are considered as the same thing with Christ whom they contain; as when they worshipped, they worshipped his garment also. So then Christians are brought to worship the colour and the figure of bread, and a whole object is worshipped, of which Christ makes but the one half. Wherefore the Council of *Trent* commandeth that the Sacrament be worshipped. Now the Sacrament of Christ is not Christ.

ad symbola panis & vini pertinere, quatenus apprehenduntur ut quid unum cum ipso Christo quem continent.

CHAP. XXI.

That in the first ages of the Christian Church the Sacrament was not worshipped. The Cardinals allegations and proofs are examined.

THE custom of sitting at the table when the Eucharist was celebrated, did not continue long after the Apostles. For soon after their death another custom was brought in, that the Deacons should bring the Sacrament to every communicant, or that every communicant should come to the Pastour of the Church to receive the communion in the two elements.

But as for the adoration, it is certain, that as they did not elevate the Sacrament, so they did not worship it; and for that our adversaries bring no proof that can serve their turn, nor any example, or testimony of antient writers of the time that (a) *M. du Perron* set for his limit, that is, till the fourth universal Council, which was in the year of Christ 451. But in the 23. Canon of the third Council of *Carthage* we have this constitution, *Ut cum altari assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio. That when the Priest assists before the Altar, the prayer be alwayes directed unto God the Father.* If it was then unlawful to make the address of prayers unto Christ in the Eucharist, it was also unlawful to worship his body; for in Christian Religion all adoration imports invocation: yea the word *adoratio* comes from *oratio*, which signifieth prayer.

(a) In his
book against
M. du Plessis
book 3. ch 11

For the adoration of the Sacrament they alledge *Dionysius* in ch. 3. of Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, saying, (b) *O holy and Divine ceremony, removing the veils of the riddles wherewith thou art symbolically invironed, shew they self clearly to us*

(b) Dionys.
de Hier.
Eccl. cap. 3.
ὁ θεοτάτος καὶ ἱερὰς τελευτὰ, τὰ θεκνισμῶς καὶ συμβολικῶς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀνιγνύμενος ἀποκαλύψαι.

and

and fill our eyes with thine only and unshadowed light. The Cardinal translateth *τελεση* a Sacrament, and by the Sacrament he understands Christ. A willfull abuse, to call Christ *τελεση*, that is a mystery or mystical ceremony. So did *Faber Stapulensis* translate it. *O divinum penitus sanctumque mysterium!* Who sees not that this is an *Apostrophe*, a Rhetorical compellation, whereby many times things inanimate are spoken to as if they understood, and persons absent as if they were present? It was so that *Ambrose* spake to the element of water; (c) *O water* which hast washed the globe of the earth stained with human blood, &c. *O water that hast merited* (that is obtained) to be a Sacrament of Christ, &c. It was so, that the Prophets spake many times to heaven and earth. But what? That book is not of *Dionysius Areopagita*, but was made many ages since, as we might easily prove.

(d) The Cardinal saith, this Author is not the true *Dionysius Areopagita*, but that it is enough that he is a Catholick Author above thirteen hundred years old, that is, about three hundred years after Christ. And he proveth it, because the Council of *Constantinople* in *Trullo*, held in the year 681. and *Gregory* who writ about the year of Christ 595. cite that Author. An ingenious proof, That a book was written about the year 300. of Christ, because some Authors have spoken of him about 700. years after Christs birth! It is false that *Gregorius Nazianzenus* did ever alledge that book, as *Budens* suspecteth. And if *Nicolas* the *Colossian* saith that he saw the Comments of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* upon that book, he is no credible witness. For who will believe that these Comments were hid eight or nine hundred years, and that this *Nicolas* was the first that saw them after so many ages? which I say, not to despise the book of the Hierarchy ascribed to *Dionysius Areopagita*; a very useful book, and altogether contrary to Transubstantiation, to Purgatory, and to the Popes primacy. Only I say it cannot be of that *Dionysius*, and that it was written by some Christian Platonician about 350. or 400. years after Christs birth, in the time that Monks began to spread, when the Churches were flourishing, and the time quiet.

Read all the Fathers of the first ages; no one word shall be found in them of adoring the Sacrament, and deferring a divine worship unto it; no trace of that is extant in *Iustin Martyr*, nor in *Ignatius*, nor in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, nor in *Tertullian*, nor in *Origen*, nor in *Cyprian*, nor in that book of the Lords Supper which is falsely fathered upon him, as we have proved; nor in *Arnobius*, nor in *Lactantius*, nor in *Athanasius*, nor in *Eusebius*, nor in *Basilius*, nor in *Gregorius Nyssenus*, nor in *Gregorius Nazianzenus*. Neither do the Liturgies of *S. James* and *Basilius*, though falsified and disguised with many additions, speak a word of them.

The antientest Author alledged by the Cardinal, that seems to speak of the adoration of the Sacrament, is *Cyrillus* of *Jerusalem*, who writ about the year of Christ 380. he speaks thus in the fifth mytagogical Catechesis, *After the Communion of Christs body, I draw near to the chalice of the blood, not stretching forth my hands, but bowing in a form of adoration and veneration.* But these mytagogical Catecheses are a supposititious book; for they are quite of another stile; more concise then the precedent eighteen Catecheses, which ought also to be called *Mytagogical*, because they serve also for introductions to mysteries. But the diversity of the Author, is the cause of the diversity both of the title and stile. That this work is spurious, it appeareth not only by the diversity of the stile, but also because in the first Mytagogical Catecheses (e) the Author chideth his hearers for frequenting the *hippodrom*, that is, the place appointed for horse races, and for frequenting the Amphitheater, where Gladiatours were fighting against Tygers and Lyons; and labours to dehort them from such spectacles. Such admonitions could not be done at *Jerusalem*, where there was neither *Hippodrom*, nor Amphitheater.

No Cities had those ornaments and spectacles, but the capital Cities of the Empire, as *Rome*, *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, where the ordinary residence of the Emperour was, or of his Lieutenants, in *Asia* and *Egypt*, and

(c) Ambrosius in Luc. lib. 10. c. 22. *O aqua que humano aspersum sanguine ut presentium lavacrorum figura praecederet, orbem terrarum lavasti, &c. O aqua que Sacramentum Christi esse meruisti, &c.*
(d) *De Peritorum libro antecitato, cap. 1.*

(e) *nummi de gladiis & de quadam & iromodis, &c.*

some few towns where the Roman Legions wintered, as *Nemansus* in *Gauls*, and some Towns in the East upon the borders of *Persia*. But as for *Jerusalem*, it was subject to *Cesarea* the Metropolitan of *Palestina*, and was one of the least Towns of the Empire as for the civil order. *Herod* the great had built an Amphitheater at *Cesarea*, as *Josephus* testifieth. But in the time of *Cyrellus* it was no more frequented. *Gesner* in his Library, saith, that these Catecheses are found in the Library of *Ausburg* under the name of one *John* of *Jerusalem*.

As for the other eighteen Catecheses, although I think that most of them are of *Cyrellus*, yet some of them are none of his, as the eighteenth. For that Catechesis being made a few days before Easter, yet the Author speaks as if they had been then in the depth of winter. (f) *Now* (saith he) *is the time of winter, and the trees stand now as dead.* Whereas in *Jerusalem* at Easter, the corn begins to be in the ear. A fortnight after Easter, at the latest, they offered in the Temple the new fruits and the new sheaves. It is like that these Catecheses were pronounced at *Constantinople* where winters are often hard and long, by reason of the neighbourhood of *Pontus Euxinus*.

(f) *ἡ νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ χειμὼν καὶ οἱ δένδρα ὡς νεκρά ἐστὶν.*

The same eighteenth Catechesis makes us clearly see that the Mystagogical which follow, are not of the same Author. For towards the end of that eighteenth Catechesis, the Author promiseth more Catecheses to follow. And saith, that the first shall begin by these words *ἡ νῦν αἰ δὲ αὖτε παλαιὰ ἐγγασθὲν ὄρα*, which are not found in the first Mystagogical, and it begins otherwise.

Yet let us suppose that these Catecheses are of *Cyrellus*. What do they say for the adoration of the Sacrament? The alledged passage saith only, that we must come to the Communion of the Sacrament with the gesture and countenance of a man that worshippeth God and Christ sitting at the right hand of God; for of worshipping the Sacrament he saith never a word.

Thus *Gregorius Nazianzenus* in the oration upon his sister *Gorgonia*, saith, that at midnight she came and prostrated herself before the altar, and with a loud cry called upon him that is honoured upon the altar. It cannot be said that she worshipped the Sacrament, seeing that the holy Eucharist was not celebrated at midnight, and that she was alone in the Church.

(g) *Itaque per scabellum terra intelligitur; per terram autem caro Christi, quam nunc in mysteriis adoramus, et quā Apostoli in Domino Jesu adorant.*

(h) *Et quia in ipsa carne hic ambulavit, et ipsam carnem manducandam nobis ad salutem dedit, nemo illam carnem manducat nisi prius adoraverit.*

(i) *Quod autem adorari debeat, eo ascendente, Apostoli docuerunt*

The same I say of the passage of *Ambrose* in the third book of the Holy Ghost, ch. 12. where expounding that foolstool mentioned in the Psalm, he saith, (g) *By the foolstool the earth is understood, and by the earth the flesh of Christ, which now we worship in mysteries, and which the Apostles worshipped in our Lord Jesus.* And of the passage of *Austin* upon Psalm 98. (h) *He walked in the flesh, and gave us his flesh unto salvation. Now no body eats that flesh unless he hath first worshipped it.* These passages speak not of worshipping the flesh of Christ under the species of bread, but only of worshipping the flesh of Christ in the fraction of the Sacrament. It is one thing to worship Christ in the Lords Supper, and another thing to worship the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. Thus in the Eucharist we worship the Father, yet we worship him not under the elements, as if that Sacrament were God the Father. The ancient Christians worshipped in the Eucharist the body of Christ sitting at the right hand of God; and to that end were warned, that while they received the holy bread, they should lift up their hearts on high; *Sursum corda.* *Austins* words are most considerable, *That none eats the flesh of the Lord, unless he hath worshipped it before.* None can deny, that he speaks of the true and serious worship, which is done as well with the heart as with the body. Whence it appeareth, that he speaks not of a manducation with the mouth; for many eat the Sacrament with the mouth, without such a serious worship of Christ. *Judas* (as *Austin* saith often) ate the Sacrament of Christs body, yet without worshipping Christs body. And so *Austins* saying should be found false, *That none eats the flesh of the Lord except he hath worshipped it before.* But this Father speaks most true, because he speaks of the spiritual manducation by faith, which cannot be but in them that fear Christ and worship him.

Hierom upon the same Psalm, (i) *The Apostles shewed that the flesh of Christ cum adorantes regressi sunt in Hierusalem; sed et ad crucem Dominicam et ad animam sanctam hac referenda sunt.* must

must be worshipped, when he ascending to heaven, they worshipping returned to Jerusalem. But these things must be referred to the Cross of the Lord, and to his holy soul; not then to the adoration of the Sacrament.

In the same manner must we understand the expressions of *Chryostom* in the 7. Homily upon *Matthew*, and in the 24. Homily upon the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, where he exhorteth his hearers by the example of the *Magi* that came out of *Persia*, who worshipped Christ in the manger, to worship him also in the sacred mysteries; They are Rhetorical declamations, in which he exhorteth the people to worship Christ in the Eucharist, not to worship the Eucharist.

I cannot wonder enough how the Cardinal durst alledge *Theodoret*, who in the first Dialogue having said, *That Christ (k) gave to the sign the name of his body, and that he honoured the visible signs with the name of his body, having not changed their nature, but adding grace unto nature,* in the second Dialogue speaks the same language, saying, *(l) After the consecration the mystical signs depart not from their proper nature, for they remain in their former substance, figure and form, and are visible, and to be handled as they were before.*

Theodore addeth according to the Cardinals version, *The signs are understood to be the things which they are made, and are believed and worshipped, as being that which they are believed to be.* But there is according to the Greek, and according to *Theodore's* intention, *The signs are understood to be the things that they were, and are believed and venerated, as being that which they are believed to be.* *Theodore* saith that σύμβολα προσκυνεῖ, the signs are venerated, or as the Cardinal translates, the signs are worshipped. Upon which we give the choice to our adversaries, whether they will have *Theodore's* meaning to be, that the signs are worshipped with the sovereign worship due unto God alone, or whether they will have προσκυνεῖν according to the custom of the Grecians to signify only venerating and reverencing. If they will have *Theodore's* meaning to be, that the signs or figures of Christ are worshipped with a sovereign adoration, they make *Theodore* guilty of horrible idolatry, as deferring unto the signs or figures of Christ a worship equal to the adoration due to the sovereign God; for the signs are not God. Or if they will, that *Theodore* by προσκυνεῖν understands only venerating or reverencing, then they make him speak as we do; for we honour and venerate these signs. But in that sense, this testimony of *Theodore* will avail nothing for the sovereign adoration deferred unto the Sacrament.

But though the Cardinals version were receivable, yet it is a weak proof in the mouth of the Romanists; for they make two sorts of religious adoration, the one sovereign, the other inferiour; and by consequent when they hear *Theodorit*, saying, that the signs of Christs body are worshipped, reason obligeth them to take that of the inferior adoration which they defer unto Saint's, to bones, and to relicks. When *Tertullian* against *Hermogenes* saith, I adore the plenitude of Scripture, he understood not that the Scriptures were God, or that they were to be worshipped like God, but only that he did reverence them.

In the Liturgy attributed to *Chrysoſtom* theſe words are found: (m) *The Deacon having ſaid Amen, and worſhipped or venerated with reverence the Holy Goſpel, comes out by the Sacred doors.* None, I think, is ſo groſſly idolatrous, as to gather hence that the book of the Goſpel muſt be worſhipped with adoration of latria. In our dayes they worſhip the holy tear of Chriſt, and the wood of the Croſs, and the representation of our Saviours face on a linnen cloth; and yet no man of good ſenſe would worſhip theſe things with the ſame adoration as he worſhippeth God; although *Thomas, Cajetan, Biel, Azor, Vaſquez*, and a multitude of Doctōrs ſtiffly maintain that the wood of the Croſs muſt be worſhipped with adoration of *latria*.

Here I cannot pass by the ignorance or fraud of Cardinal *du Perron*, who defends this adoration in the Mass with the example of *Aaron* and *Moses*, who spake by Gods command unto the stone whence the waters flowed: as though *Moses* and *Aaron* by speaking to that stone had worshipped it. The words which they spake

Book 3.c.17.
of the Eu-
charist,
against du
Plessis.

(κ) πρῶτον
σάματι τὸ τῷ
συμβόλῃ π-
δῆσαν ὄνομα,
τῷ δὲ συμβό-
λῳ τὸ τῷ σά-
ματι, &c.
ὁρῶμεθα
σύμβολα τῷ
τῷ σάματι
καὶ αἵματι
παρασημα-
τίσμεν,
&c.

[illegible]

(m) Liturg.
Chrysof. edit.
Marcelli,
p. 85.

καὶ ὁ δὲ ἀπε-
 ριστὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμύδι καὶ
 τὸν Κουρή-
 σαις καὶ ἐν Ἀ-
 βήαις τὸ ἀγίον
 ἐκκαθάρσιον,
 καὶ ἐν ἑσθλῶν
 διὰ τῶν ἀγίων
 θυρῶν, &c.

spake to the stone, were not words of adoration, but of command.

Such was the word of Christ speaking to *Lazarus* lying in the sepulcher, *Lazarus come forth*. Such shall Gods command be, when in the last day he shall command the earth and the sea to give up the dead.

Theodoret then meant, not that the inanimate signs of Christs body and blood must be worshipped with the adoration due to God, but that they must be venerated, respected and honoured as sacred things, and as the mystical and sacramental body of Christ ought to be venerated. So speaks *Anstin* 118. Epistle;

(n) Neuter
eorum exho-
norat corpus
& sanguinem
Domini, si sa-
luberrimum
Sacramentum
certatim ho-
norare con-
tendunt, &c.

Ille honorando
non audit
quotidie su-
mere, & ille
honorando

non audit illo-
die pretermi-
tere non capiti.

Solum non
vult cibis ille
sicut munda
fastidium. In-
de enim &

Apostolus in-
digne dicit
accepti ab iis
qui hoc non

discernebant
à ceteris cibis
veneratione
singulariter
debita.

(o) Qui aut
operatur aut
veneratur
utiq; signum

divinitus in-
stitutum, cuius
vim significa-
tionemque in-
telligit, non

hoc veneratur
quod videtur
& transiit sed
illud potius
quod talia

cuncta refe-
rendi sunt.
(p) Baptismi
Christi ubique
veneramus.

(n) Neither of them dishonoureth the Lords body and blood, if they strive with emulation to honour the most salutary sacred sign, &c. The one out of respect dareth not take him every day, the other out of respect dareth not let one day pass without taking it. Only this meat will not be loathed as Manna was once. Wherefore also the Apostle saith, that it is received unworthily by those that do not discern it from other meats by a veneration especially due. When it is question of the dignity of the Sacrament, alwayes this good Doctor speaks of honouring and venerating, never of adoring the Sacrament.

The same Father in book 3. of Christian doctrine, ch. 9. (o) He that maketh or venerateth the sign divinely instituted, whose vertue and signification he understands, doth not venerate that which is seen and is transitory, but that rather to which all such things ought to be referred.

And in the 164. Epistle, (p) We venerate everywhere the Baptism of Christ. Which is done without adoration.

But above all, the authority before alledged of *Theophilus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* is pregnant, with the exposition which *Hierom* brings to it. This *Theophilus* in the first Paschal Epistle disputing against *Origen*, had said, *Origen* considers not that the mystical waters of Baptism are consecrated by the coming of the Holy Ghost, and that the bread of the Lord, whereby the body of our Saviour is shewed [or represented] and which we break for our sanctification, and the sacred chalice which are set upon the table, and which are indeed inanimate things, are sanctified by the invocation and coming of the Holy Ghost. Excellent words, especially where *Theophilus* saith that we break the bread of the Lord, whereby the body of the Lord is shewed; and that the water of Baptism is sanctified by the invocation and coming of the Holy Ghost. Shewing thereby, that this sanctification is done by invocation or prayer, not by pronouncing these words, *This is my body*. And that as this sanctification or consecration doth not transubstantiate the water of Baptism, also the consecration of the bread doth not transubstantiate it into the body of the Lord. For he acknowledgeth but one kind of consecration for Baptism and for the Eucharist.

Hierom translator of these Epistles writes to the author of them *Theophilus*, and speaks thus with a reflexion to this passage: We have admired in thy book the profit which all the Churches receive by it; that the ignorant being instructed by the testimonies of holy letters, may learn with what veneration they must receive holy things, and serve to the ministry of Christs altar; and that they may not think that the sacred chalices, and the holy vails, and other things belonging to the service of Christs passion, are deprived of holiness as inanimate and senseless, but that they may know, that because they accompany the body and blood of the Lord, they ought to be venerated with the same Majesty as his body and blood. These words ought to be well weighed. *Hierom* saith, that the chalices and linnen clothes, and other appurtenances of the outward service of the Sacrament ought to be venerated with the same Majesty and reverence as the body and blood of Christ. Now it is clear, that linnen clothes and chalices ought not to be worshipped with the sovereign adoration due unto God alone. Whence it appears, that the body and blood of Christ, of which *Hierom* speaks here, must not be worshipped with sovereign adoration, and that the Lords body of which he speaks, is the mystical and Sacramental body of Christ, not the natural. For would *Hierom* have been so profane or so ignorant, as to prescribe that linnen clothes and chalices should be worshipped with a worship equal unto that which is due unto Christ himself? Wherefore also he saith not that the body and blood, or the chalices and vails must be worshipped,

worshipped, but only that they must be venerated. And this is the same thing that *Hierom* told us before (that we may return to our beginning) that there are two sorts of body and blood of Christ. It was from him that the Canon *Dupliciter* was taken in the second distinction of the Consecration, which saith, (q) *The flesh of Christ is understood two wayes. It is either that spiritual and divine flesh, of which himself saith, My flesh is meat indeed; or that flesh which was crucified, and that blood which was shed by the souldiers spear.* And the Canon *De hac*, in the same distinction, (r) *It is indeed lawfull to eat of that victim, which is done wonderfully in the commemoration of Christ. But it is lawfull to none to eat that victim in it self which was offered in the altar of the Cross.* Note these words in it self: It is not lawfull to eat in it self the Lords flesh offered in the Cross: For thereby he declareth, that it is lawfull to eate it in Sacrament, or in mystery, not in it self, so that it enter into our mouth or stomach. We heard also *Austin* saying upon *Ps. 98.* as personating Christ, *You shall not eat this body which you see, and shall not drink the blood which they that crucifie me shall spill.* Then another sort of Christs body is eaten, even the mystical and sacramental.

This distinction of the two sorts of body of Christ being the key of the intelligence of the Fathers in this matter, it is no wonder that the Cardinal is always wandering from his matter and accumulates texts of the Fathers to no purpose, because he did not observe this distinction; and speaks not a word of it in all his book of the Eucharist.

(q) *Dupliciter intelligitur caro Christi; vel spiritualis illa atque divina de qua ipse ait Caro mea vere est cibus; vel caro ea que crucifixa est, & sanguis qui militis effusus est lancea.*
(r) *De hac quidem hostia qua in Christi commemoratione mirabiliter fit edere licet. De illa vero quam Christus in ara crucis obtulit, secundum se nulli edere licet.*

CHAP. XXII.

The Cardinals allegations out of the Fathers are examined, beginning at his allegations out of the Catecheses of Gregory of Nyssa.

TO darken the clear evidence of this truth, the Cardinal poureth a thick mist of allegations of Fathers, some false, some wrested, some to no purpose.

Among the last sort I put those which he brings from new Authors, or such as lived long after the fourth universal Council, which is the limit which he had set to himself. Such is *Alger* the Schoolman, who writ about the year of Christ 1130. Such is *Theophilactus*, who writ about the year 1075. *Damasenus*, who writ about the year 750. And *Euthymius*, who is of the year 1120. Although the Cardinal make all these men to speak against their intention; yet it would be superfluous, and out of the limits of this dispute to examine them.

(a) In ch. 8. of which I have answered the most part, he brings a great list of the most specious testimonies which he could gather out of all Christian Antiquity. He sets in the front the Catechetical Oration of *Gregorius Nyssenus*, and fills a page with it, forgetting his own verdict in the same chapter, and in many other places, That one must not seek the belief of the Fathers in the books in which they speak before the Catechumens, because before them they durst not say plainly what they believed, nor speak according to their sense; and that (b) who soever published openly some part of the doctrine of the Church in the point of the Eucharist before the Catechumens or Infidels, was accounted anathema. Now this Catechetical Oration was made purposely for the Catechumens, as the title shews it.

I could say also, that in this matter *Gregorius Nyssenus* had a particular belief, which the Roman Church approveth not. For in the first Oration of the resurrection of Christ, to finde the three dayes and three nights, the time which holy Scripture saith that Christ was in the womb of the earth, that is in the Sepulchre, he begins those three dayes at the hour of the institution of the Eucharist; and holds,

(a) Book 4. ch. 8. p. 332.

(b) Ch. 3. p. 836, & 837.

This is the very doctrine contained in *ch. 37.* which the Cardinal alledgeth, and in divers other places of this Catechetical oration, where it is said divers times, that a mixture or commutation was made of humane nature with the Godhead. As in *ch. 11.* (h) *The Godhead is blended or mingled with the manhood.* In the same place he speaks, (i) *of the manner of the mixture or contemperature of the Godhead with the manhood.* And in *ch. 16.* (k) *He hath mingled the intellectual nature with the sensible.* The same he saith in the 26, and 32. chapters, using the grossest terms that he is able to finde to expresse that mixture of the natures. And in *ch. 37.* whence this passage is taken, he saith, that by that union, humane nature *εἰς τὴν θεϊκὴν αἰτίαν μετατρέχουσα*, was changed into the excellency of the Godhead, and as he saith a little after, it was (l) *condesified, made God, which is rank Eutychianism.* And he makes that mingling of natures to prove the Eutychian Transubstantiation. And thus he buildeth his discourse. The proper food of mans body is bread, so that a mans body is in some sort made of bread, and bread before it be eaten is mans body in *potentia*. Christ while he had his conversation in earth, ate bread, and his body was in some sort made of bread, because the bread which he ate was changed into Christs body, and that body mingled with the Godhead and deified, entering into our bodies by the Eucharist, changeth our bodies into his nature, and quickeneth them; and thence cometh resurrection. And as the bread which Christ ate was changed into his body, so the bread of the Eucharist is changed into the body of Christ mingled with his Godhead: These are his own words: *We asked how the body of Christ which is in him quickeneth the whole nature of men in whom faith is, being distributed to all without suffering any diminution.* Perhaps We are not far from the probable reason; for if the subsistence of each body is compounded with food which is meat and drink, and that meat is bread, and that drink is water tempered with wine; the Word of God according as it was defined before, which is God and Word, is mingled with humane nature; And when it was in our body, it did not innovate some other constitution of humane nature, but gave subsistence to his body by the things that are usual and convenient, sustaining his subsistence with meat and drink, and that meat was bread. As then in us (as I said often) he that seeth bread, seeth the humane body in some sort, because when it is within the body it becomes the body; So in this place (m) *the body [of Christ] which received God, having received the food of bread, was in some sort the same thing as bread, the food (as it was said) passing into the nature of the body.* For that which is proper to all, is also without question in that flesh, namely, that this body is contained in the bread. Now the body by the inhabitation of the Word God, was (n) *changed into the dignity of God.* Wherefore also now I believe with just reason, that the bread sanctified by the Word of God, is changed into the body of God the Word: for that bread was this body in *potentia*, &c. With such wilde conceits and intricate words the Author of *ch. 37.* of that Oration goeth about to prove, that as the bread which Christ ate was changed into the body of Christ, and as Christs humane nature was changed into the divine nature, also the bread of the Lords Supper is Transubstantiated into the flesh of Christ. Shall we be so unjust to *Gregorius Nyssenus*, a man so famous in his time, as to father upon him such a galimaufry of absurdities and doctrines contrary to the faith? Wherefore the result of this examination is, that either this Oration is none of that *Gregory's* works, or rather that this Catechetical Oration was corrupted by the *Eutychians*, and that though it were his, yet Cardinal *du Perron* can make no use of it, since he will not have us to believe the writings of the Fathers wherein they speak to the Catechumens, before whom they dissembled their sense, and disguised the belief of the Church.

(h) ἡ θεοῦ καὶ
τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης
φύσεως τὸ ἀν-
τὶθετον.
(i) ἀντὶ τῆς
θεοῦ καὶ τῆς
ἀνθρωπίνης
φύσεως τὸ ἀν-
τὶθετον.
(k) νοθεύειν
ἢ καὶ τῇ αὐ-
τῇ τῇ ἐν-
καρτίᾳ.
(l) σωματικῶς
ἐν τῷ ἀντὶθετον.
(m) τὸ σωματικῶς
ἐν τῷ ἀντὶθετον.
(n) εἰς τὴν
θεϊκὴν αἰτίαν
μετατρέχουσα.

CHAP. XXIII.

Answer to the other allegations of the same Chapter.

TO *Gregorius Nyssenus* the Cardinal joynes *Ambrose*, who in the book of those that are initiated in mysteries, inquireth how it is possible that the Eucharist should be the body of Christ, and answereth, that it is done by the change of the bread into the body of Christ. To which I have already answered, that *Ambrose's* belief was, that the bread is so changed into the body of Christ, that nevertheless it remains bread alwayes. To shew that, he employeth *ch. 4. of book 4. of the Sacraments*, where he declareth, that this end is to prove that bread is the body of Christ: (a) *Let us demonstrate this* (saith he) *how that which is bread, can be the body of Christ.* And upon that he brings some works of God, whereby God made that which is not to be. Whence he inferreth, that much more God can make things that have been to be again, and to be changed into other things. (b) *If* (saith he) *there is such vertue in the word of the Lord Iesus, that things that were not, begun to be; how much more shall he make things that were, to be, and to be changed into other things?* This passage is found thus set down in all the antient Editions, and in the (c) Roman Decree, and in the Decree (d) of *Yuo Carnutenfis*. And for that which the Cardinal beats over so often, that *Ambrose* saith, that this is done by the Almighty power of God, and that to make the bread to be only the sign and figure of the body of Christ, there was no need to make the Almighty power of God to intervene; I have said already, that *Ambrose* believed no more then we do, that bread was only the sign of Christs body. He believed that the bread remaining bread becomes so the mystical body of Christ, that by the manducation of that bread, through the unspeakable vertue of God Christ is made ours, and remains in us, and we in him. Yet the same *Ambrose* celebrating the Eucharist, said, (e) *Make this offering to be accounted unto us reasonable, acceptable, which is the figure of the body and blood of the Lord.* Words which cannot be applied unto bread not consecrated; for bread not consecrated cannot be the acceptable offering, and cannot be laid to our account before God for our sins.

The same *Ambrose* was saying, (f) *Before the blessing of the heavenly words, another kind is named. After the blessing, the body is signified.* Again, (g) *This bread is not that which entreteth into the body.* Again, *Thou drinkest the likeness of his blood.*

(h) The Cardinal alledgeth *Cyprian* next. Who seeth not (saith he) that when *Cyprian* saith [*The bread which our Lord gave to his Disciples, changed, not in shape, but in nature, by the Almighty power of the Word, is made flesh*] he cannot understand any change there by the change of nature, but the change of substance? In the beginning of the same chapter the Cardinal (i) had spoken of that very book as doubting whether it was of *Cyprian*; Now he speaks of it with an absolute certainty as believing that it is *Cyprians*. We have shewed before by many evident proofs that the book is spurious, none of *Cyprians* but of a late Author, whose barbarous stile and doctrine are very far from the elegance and solidity of *Cyprian*.

Yet let us see what use the Cardinal makes of that allegation. *Cyprian* (saith he) cannot by the change of nature understand but the change of substance. For Aristotle teacheth us that the word nature signifieth nothing but either the substance or the accidents which originally stick to the substance, that is the natural and original proprieties and conditions. Wherefore no change intervening in the outward nature of bread, it must needs be that the change is made in the substance.

I could answer, that besides the outward nature and substance, there are inward proprieties in which the change can be made. But I chuse rather to beat the Cardinal with his own weapons. The Reader may remember how the Cardinal to scape from the hands of *Theodoret* (who saith in the first Dialogue, that in the

Lords

(a) *Hæcigitur
attrahimus,
quomodo po-
tèst qui panis
est, esse corpus
Christi.*

(b) *Si ergo
tanta vis est
in sermone
Domini Iesu,
ut incipient
esse quæ non
erant, quanto
magis opera-
turus est ut
fint quæ erant,
& in aliud
commutentur?*

(c) *Decret.
Grat. Dist. 2.
de Consecra-
tione. Can.
Panis.*

(d) *Yuo Carn.
Secund. Part. de
Sacram. Corporis,
cap. 7.*

(e) *Fac nobis
hanc oblationem
ascribam
rationabilem,
acceptabilem,
quod est signu-
ra corporis &
sanguinis Do-
mini.*

(f) *Lib. de
eis qui initi-
antur my-
ster. cap. 9.
Ante benedi-
ctionem alia
species nomi-
natur, post be-
nedictionem
corpus signifi-
catur.*

(g) *Non est
iste panis qui
in corpus van-
dit. lib. 4. de
Sacram. c. 4. & 5.*

(h) *Pag. 377.
(i) In ch. 13.
p. 1009, &
1010.*

Lords Supper (k) *Christ had altered the nature of the signs,* And in the second
 (l) that *the sacred signs after the consecration change not their own nature* will have
nature in those passages to signifie the *accidents*, not the *substance*. But in this
 place, which he saith to be *Cyprians*, where it is said, that *the bread changeth na-*
ture, the Cardinal maintains that *nature* signifieth *substance*, and can signifie no-
 thing else. And he proveth it by *Aristotle*, whom he makes to say (without
 quoting the place) that *nature* signifieth nothing but either the substance or the
 proprieties. He proveth a false doctrine by a false passage. That of *Aristotle*
 of which he had heard, is in the first chapter of the second book of his *Physicks*,
 where he thus defineth *nature*, (m) *Nature is the principle and the cause of mo-*
tion and of rest, which principle is in the thing first, and of it self, and not by accident.
 And a little after he addeth, that all things that have that nature or inward prin-
 ciple of motion, are substances. *Aristotle* saith not that nature is a substance, but
 that (n) *the things that have this nature, are substances.*

The Cardinal alledgeth next the fourth Myſtagogical Catecheſis of *Cyrillus of Jeruſalem*; A place which we need not examine for that book is ſpurious, and of another Author then the 18. precedent Catecheſes, as we proved before by evident and undoubted proofs. No kind of books is more ſubject to be ſuppoſitious and to have falſe titles then Catecheſes. For, becauſe every Biſhop made Catecheſes in his own Biſhoprick, nothing was more eaſie, among ſuch a multitude of Catecheſes of uncertain Authors, then to put an old title to a new book.

Again he returneth to *Ambrose*, which I have answered.

To him he addeth *Gaudentius*, who was his contemporanean, and speaks thus, (o) *The Lord and Creatour of natures, who out of earth made bread, out of bread again, (because he both can do it and promised it) makes his own body. And in the same work ; He said, This is my body, This is my blood, Let us believe him whom we have believed. Truth knows not untruth. And again, Let us believe all things as they were delivered unto us, not breaking this most solid bone. This is my body.*

The works of this *Gaudemius* are found in *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in the second Tome. This *Bibliotheca Patrum* is a collection of false pieces for the most part, and of small Authors whom our adversaries hide in the crowd, fetcht out of the Popes Library, or some Manuscripts of Monasteries. In that collection they put whatsoever they list, and have fair opportunity for that.

But what is in those passages, that we say not? Do we not say, that by the consecration the bread is made the body of Christ? and that the bread is the body of Christ? But the question is, whether the consecrated bread is naturally or sacramentally the body of Christ; or whether *Gaudentius* meaneth the sacramental body of Christ or no; or whether he believed that the bread was Transubstantiated: of these nothing appeareth by his expressions. Besides *Gaudentius* in this matter delighteth to use Allegorical terms: as when he saith in the same Treatise, *For this cause we are enjoined to eat the head of his Godhead, with the feet of his incarnation, and with the inward mysteries, that we may equally believe all things as they were said to us, not breaking that most solid bone, This is my body. And if any thing of it remain in every mans sense, which he hath not comprehended by this exposition, let it be burnt and consumed by faith.*

Chrysoſtom comes next, who in the 83. Homily ſaith, *Theſe things are no work of humane vertue. He that did them in that Supper, doth them ſtill. We only hold the place of Miniſters; but he that ſanctifieth them and changeth them, is the ſame.* This paſſage concludes nothing, and is to no purpoſe; *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks of change, not of Tranſubſtantiation. There is a change in the uſe, in the end, in the efficacy, without change of ſubſtance.

Finally healledgeth *Eusebius*, ill intituled *Emefinus* in a Paschal Homily, but faith not how the book should be intituled. In the margent he puts *Eucherius* and *Bertramus* as Authors to whom these Homilies are attributed by some. *Bel-larmin* faith, (p) that the Homilies fathered upon *Eusebius Emefinus*, were set

(k) ἔτι πάλιν
φύσιν μετα-
βαλόν.
(l) ἐπεὶ γὰρ με-
τὰ τὸν ἀμασμον
τὰ μυστήρια
τοῦ ἐκφορατοῦ
σύνταξις ἐξεί-
σα. ἡ φύσις οὖν
μνηστέρι γὰρ ἐστὶ
τοῦ ἀπεργάζεσθαι
ἐκείνας.
(m) φύσιν
ἀφ' ἧς τις
αἰσθάνεται καὶ
αἰσθάνεται καὶ ἡρε-
σισμὸν ἐν ᾧ
ὑπάρχει
ἀπεργάζεσθαι καὶ
αὐτὸς γὰρ με-
τὰ τὴν συνθε-
σιν.
(n) ἐπεὶ γὰρ
τοῦτο παρὰ τὴν
ἐκείνην.

(o) Gaudent.
de rat. Sacra.
Tract. 2.

(p) Bellar.
lib. de Scrip-
tor. Ecclef.
in Eufebio
Emefino.
Sub nomine
fuppositio
Homilia ifte
fuit edita cū
verus Author
ignoraretur.
Et in Euche-
rio.
Tribuuntur
Eucherio libri
Explanationū
in Genefim, &
in librum Re-
gum. Sed Eu-
cherii effe non
poffunt, cum
author fepe
S. Gregorium
citet.

out under a false name because the true Author was not known. And as for *Eucherius* to whom our Cardinal seems to ascribe these Homilies, *Bellarmin* observeth that among the writings fathered upon *Eucherius*, there are some in which *Gregory* the first is alledged, who writ in the year 595. And it is like enough that he lived many ages after *Gregory*. It is abusing the Reader to muster up passages of unknown, new and uncertain Authors, whom we have only from the hands of our adversaries, who published them such as they would have them, and had an especial interest to corrupt them.

CHAP. XXIV.

(a) Book 4.
p. 396, &
398.

Answer to the authorities and reasons brought by Cardinal du Perron (a) in the 14, 15, and 16. chapters.

Who so will take the pains to read a multitude of allegations to no purpose, let him read the fourteenth chapter of *M. du Perron's* treatise of the real presence: There he collecteth great number of passages of Fathers that speak of eating Gods head, and the feet of the incarnation, and of boyling the flesh before the doors of the Tabernacle, and of burning with the fire of the Spirit the remnant of things not to be eaten, &c. things quite besides the question, which do him no good, and do us no harm.

In *ch. 15.* with a million of intricate words according to his custom he saith very little. The summary is, That when the Greek Fathers speak of eating spiritually the Lords body in the Eucharist, they mean not to exclude the corporeity (for so he speaks) neither of the thing received nor of the organ: that is, that they intend not to deny that the Lords body is really received with the mouth of the body, but they mean, that it is by the spirit of God that the body of Christ is miraculously under the species, and that it is by the Spirit only that we perceive the body of Christ which is set before us. He saith that Scripture calls those things spiritual which are corporal, when they are done by the miraculous operation of Gods Spirit, as when *S. Paul* saith to the *Galatians* that *Isaac was born according to the Spirit.*

I answer, that by that doctrine the creation of the world may be called spiritual, for it was done by the incomprehensible vertue of the Spirit of God, and is a thing which we comprehend not but by the Spirit and by Faith, as the Apostle to the Hebrews saith, *Heb. 11. 3. Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the Word of God.* As for *Isaac*, *S. Paul* saith indeed that he was born according to the Spirit, but saith not therefore that *Isaac* was spiritual, or that his birth was spiritual. But by being born according to the Spirit, his birth according to Gods promise is understood, as the Apostle himself declareth it; for that which he saith *Gal. 4. 29. that he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit,* is the same thing which he had said *ver. 23. that he who was born of the bondwoman was born after the flesh, but he of the free woman was by promise.*

Now that which the Cardinal saith, that the Fathers when they speak of eating the flesh of Christ spiritually in the Eucharist, intend not to exclude the corporeity, that is, the real manducation of the body with the mouth, is confuted by the passages of the Fathers, wherein comparing the oral manducation which is done in the Sacrament with the spiritual manducation, they say that the only true manducation is the spiritual; and that the wicked eating the Sacrament, eat not truly the body of Christ, though they eat the sacred sign thereof. As *Austin* saith in book 21. of the City of God, *ch. 25. (a) The Lord sheweth what is to eat the body of Christ, not only in Sacrament, but also in truth.* And in the same place,

(a) Offendit
quid sit non
sacramento
tenus, sed re
vera corpus
Christi man-
ducare.

place, (b) *They have eaten the Lords body, not only in Sacrament, but also in truth.* And in the second Sermon of the words of the Apostle. (c) *If that which is taken visibly in the Sacrament, is eaten spiritually in the very truth, and drunk spiritually.* For we have heard the Lord himself saying, *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing, &c.* And in the book of Sentences collected by Prosper. (d) *Whoever is in discord with Christ, eats not his flesh, and drinks not his blood; although he take the sacred sign of such a great thing indifferently every day to the condemnation of his presumption.*

This also serveth for an answer to that the Cardinal addeth, that (e) *the spiritual participation is not real; for (saith he) all the actions brought forth out of the soul by the faculties are not real, because the actions of the soul come not out of the body, &c.* Thus towards the end of the 16. chap. he saith, (f) *that the manducation of which the Fathers say, that in the Eucharist we eat the body of Christs, is not a bare mental manducation, and by faith; but is a true, real, oral, and corporal manducation.* For as for the manducation by faith, he calls, it (g) *an intellectual thought and meditation, as if it were a meer imagination.*

The summ of all his Discourse overburdened with superfluous words, is this, that the spiritual manducation is not real nor effectual, because it is an action which is done out of the soul, but that the manducation with the mouth is the only real and effectual.

To which I answer, that the Cardinal commits here four notable faults: The first is his ignorance, that the Fathers hold that there is no other real and true manducation of the body of Christ but the spiritual. They say not only that the corporal or Sacramental manducation availeth nothing without the spiritual: but they say also, that the spiritual manducation; and by faith, is the only real and true, as we have lately proved.

Secondly, the Cardinal saying, that the spiritual manducation is an action of the soul, brought forth out of the soul, shews that he never understood nor felt, nor comprehended any thing in this spiritual manducation, nor in the grace of God. For this word manducation is a Metaphorical word, which signifyeth not only apprehending Christ, or thinking of him, but also fetching life and spiritual food from him. To say that this spiritual life and food is a thing out of the soul, is to have no taste of piety, no experience of Gods grace in himself, and it is extenuating the work of God in the hearts of the godly to a bare imagination, seeking spiritual life, and sanctification, and the spiritual joy of the faithful soul out of the soul, so that the soul may have no sense of it, and receive no comfort by it. This Prelate hath shewed before his insensibility in that point, when treating of the mark and seal of the Spirit wherewith God marks his elect, (h) he said, that this mark was in God, and in his eternal thought, not in the hearts of the faithful.

Thirdly, the Cardinal speaking thus, trespasseth not only against the doctrine of the soul, but even against common sense. For both teach, that all the mental actions are in the soul, and in the understanding, not without. The Science and intelligence of the Stars or Geometry is in the understanding, not without. And although the object which is known, be out of the soul, yet the knowledge is in the soul, not without. It is the same of the senses, which receive the images or operations of the objects that are within us, but act not without us. It is this Prelates custom to sublimate his wit to bring forth high conceits, and big words, which being thoroughly examined are found to want common sense. Yet such things read by ignorant persons, are admired as things beyond the reach of humane wit. Of that strain is his saying in the 8. chapter, (i) *that this word money is the name of a thing, not real but intentional, and consisting in the institution of the intellect.* Yet in my opinion he that payeth ready money, payeth really; and that money is real, not intentional. He that is so paid, believeth that he is really paid, not in thought or intention only.

To these faults the Cardinal joyns a fourth; that he opposeth intentional things to real things; and by intentional things understands those that are done in the under-

(b) Non solo sacramento sed re ipsa manducaverunt corpus Christi.

(c) Si quod in Sacramen-

to visibiliter

sumitur in ip-

sa veritate

spiritualiter

manducatur,

spiritualiter

bibitur. Audi-

vimus enim

ipsum Domi-

num dicentem

Spiritus est

qui vivificat,

caro autem

non potest

quicquam,

&c.

(d) Qui dis-

cordat cum

Christo, non

carnem ejus

manducat, nec

sanguinem

ejus bibit,

etiamsi tanta

rei Sacramen-

tum ad judi-

cium sue pra-

sumptionis

quotidie in-

differentiter

accipiat.

(e) 15. ch. p.

899.

(f) p. 908.

(g) p. 905.

(h) 1. Book

9. ch. 37. pag.

(i) Pag. 885.

understanding, as if the habits and operations of the mind were not real, or as if nothing were real that hath not a body. Who doubts that the Sciences and vertues that are in mens minds are real and effectual? and how much more the infused graces of God, and the effects of his Spirit? Which yet are so real, that all other things vanish, and are but vanity in comparison, seeing that they abide for ever, and are a beginning of eternal life which we shall enjoy in heaven. All that is acting really, is real and in effect: Now the vertues of the soul act really, and bring forth effects; then they are real. Wherefore also the Saints are really rewarded for real good things.

So it is in vain that the Cardinal heaps up many passages of Fathers, to prove that the true and real manducation of Christs body is something done within us, not without us; for that we believe and maintain. And as for the passages which he alledgeth out of *Chrysostom*, (k) *God sheweth us that which is most excellent in heaven, seated upon earth: Also, That Angels worshipped Christ seeing him in a manger, and that we see him on the altar*; they are fallies of oratory, to ravish the hearers minds with Hyperbolical expressions. For the Romanists themselves believe not these words literally taken. They believe not that Christs body in the Eucharist hath any situation, or that we see him upon the altar; but they hold that he is there without situation, and without being in any place; that he is there invisibly, and that no eye perceiveth him there. And when *Cyrellus* saith, that we take Christ bodily, he understands that we take bodily the Sacramental body of Christ: Or by *bodily* he meaneth really, and so that the body of Christ is ours. Whoso will examine all the passages that the Cardinal alledgeth in the 15. and 16. ch. shall find that without offering any violence to them, they may be so understood.

Had the Cardinal rightly conceived how, and in what manner Christ is apprehended by the faith of the believer in the Lords Supper, he had not insisted so much upon an Argument which he frameth in the 16. chap. and upon which he bestoweth six pages. If (saith he) *the Fathers had understood that the manducation of Christs body, which is done in the Eucharist, had been a bare manducation by faith, why should they have excluded the Godhead from the object of that manducation, and said that the Godhead cannot be eaten, but only the body of Christ, seeing that of the spiritual and analogical manducation which is done by faith, the Godhead is the chief object, the body of Christ being not the object of our faith, but because it is joyned with the Godhead?*

Besides that, the Cardinal makes us speak against our belief, making us say that in the Eucharist we eat Christ only spiritually and by faith, whereas we teach that he is also eaten Sacramentally and in mysterie; he shews by that discourse that he never comprehended how the body of Christ is apprehended by the faith of the believer in the Lords Supper; for had he known that, he had known also why the Fathers speaking of the manducation of Christs body in the Eucharist, speak only of eating the body of Christ, not of eating his Godhead. We say then that Christ is presented to us in the Lords Supper as dead for us, and that faith apprehends him as bruised for us in the Crofs, bearing the curse which we had deserved. Now it is in his humane nature only, that he suffered death and passion. The Fathers then considering Christ in the Lords Supper, as dead for us, do wisely apply their words to the nature of the Lords Supper, when they speak not of eating the Godhead, but only of eating (that is) apprehending by faith, Christ dead and crucified for our sins. That Christ is so considered and apprehended in the holy Communion, the institution sheweth it, where Christ saith, (l) *This is my body which is broken for you: This cup is the New Testament in my blood which is shed for you.* To which the Apostle addeth, *As oft as you eat this bread and drink this cup, ye shew the Lords death.* Which if the Cardinal had well understood, he would not have spent so much ink (m) to amplify that argument.

In vain then he alledgeth *Cyrellus*, saying, (n) *We eat not, consuming the Godhead; away with that ill thought or will; but the very flesh of the word made quickening.* Wherein *Cyrellus* saith true; for by the spiritual manducation we apprehend the

(k) Hom. 24.
in 1 Cor. &
lib. 2. de Sa-
cerdotio.

(l) 1 Cor. 11.
(m) Pag.
903, 904,
905, & 906.
(n) Cyril.
contra Nesto-
rium l. 4. c. 5.
ἐσθίωμεν τὴν
σάρκα καὶ τὴν
οὐρανίαν δα-
μάσκουσιν
τὴν
δυσκοῦλιαν.

the true flesh of Christ. I know not who was the Cardinals Interpreter for this Greek passage, but he did not do his part. *Cyrillus* saith, ἡ τῷ θεῷ σαρκὶς τῆς ἀφαιρέσεως τῆς ἀσθενείας. The Cardinal translates, *We swallow the Godhead it self. Away with that impiety.* The word it self, is not in the Greek; σαρκὶς signifies not swallowing, but consuming: And ἀσθενεία signifieth ill counsell, or ill thought, not impiety.

He shuts up this proof in these words, *Whence it followeth, since personally separating the Godhead of Christ is making the Eucharist an Anthropophagia, that in the Eucharist the flesh of Christ is truly, really and corporally eaten, that is, with the organ of the body.* I seek in this argument some spark of reason, and find none, neither is it possible to form an Argument with that reasoning. This is the conceit.

Who so separates the Godhead of Christ from the Manhood, makes of the Eucharist an Anthropophagia.

Now Nestorius separated the Godhead from the Manhood.

Ergo the flesh of Christ is truly and corporally eaten in the Eucharist.

A gallant argument, and well brancht! What remote Pilgrimage was this Prelates wit gone to? By the same reason one might prove the vertue of blessed beads, or the Popes Primacy. In every good argument the two parts of the conclusion are found in the two Propositions, which is not to be found in this argument.

Finally, (o) he alledgeth a testimony of *Cyrillus*, which is found in the defence of the eleventh *Anathematismus* of *Cyrillus* against the reprehensions of *Theodoret*. These are the words, (p) as they are found in the first Tome of the Councils publisht by our Adversaries; *Dost thou pronounce that in our Sacrament we eat a man? and dost thou irreligiously prefe the understanding of those that have believed into gross thoughts? and dost thou attempt to treat with humane thoughts those things which are received with the only, and not far fetcht faith?* Note these words, that the things which are received in the Eucharist (for of these *Cyrillus* speaks) are not taken but by faith only. The Cardinal towards the end of the last chapter alledgeth this text, and puts (q) the Greek words in the Margent, which he corrupteth in his traduction; for he translateth ἐξήτασεν ἐνοίας deceitfull reasonings. But ἐνοία is not a reasoning but a thought. And ἐξήτασεν signifieth not deceitfull, but vain and easily blotted out. Then he translateth ἀζητήτως, a faith not inquisitive, whereas it signifieth a faith not far-fetcht. And the word προσλαμβάνειν in the page before, he translateth, are presupposed, borrowed for a ground, whereas it signifieth are taken; for that is the true sense. As *Act. 27. 33.* καὶ ἐν προσλαμβάνειν, having taken nothing, that is, eaten nothing: And *ver. 36.* ἀποσπένοντο βρωμ, they took meat. And so *Acts 16. 33.* The connexion of the text, and that which followeth, requires it also. For faith presupposeth not the things presented to the believer in the Lords Supper, but takes them and receiveth them with confidence. With passages thus corrupted his whole book is stuffed.

I must not omit a place of *Hilary* which the Cardinal alledgeth often, but giveth a false interpretation to it. *Hilary* saith in the 8. Book of the *Trinity*, (r) *There remaineth no place for doubt of the truth of the flesh and blood [of Christ] for now both by the profession of the Lord himself, and by our faith, it is truly flesh and truly blood: And these things being taken and swallowed, work that effect that we are in Christ, and Christ is in us.* The Cardinal in the 6. ch. out of this place, gathereth that the substance of the flesh, and blood of Christ is truly in the Sacrament, because *Hilary* saith, that we must not doubt of the truth of the flesh of Christ. But that is not *Hilary's* intention, but only to say that Christ hath a true flesh, and a true blood, and hath a true humane nature, which is true as well out of the Sacrament as in the Sacrament. He saith also, that *this true body, and this true blood taken in the Eucharist, make us to be in Christ, and Christ in us.*

ἢ ἀζητήτως πῶς προσλαμβάνεται. (r) De veritate carnis et sanguinis non relinquitur locus ambigendi. Nunc enim ipse Domini professione et fide nostra vere caro est, et vere sanguis est, et hæc accepta atque hausta id efficiunt ut et nos in Christo, et Christus in nobis sit.

This

(o) Page 907.
(p) This passage is found in the first Tome of the Councils Printed at Collen in the year 1567. at Gervin Calen, pag. 683. in these words;
Num hominis comestione nostram hoc Sacramentum pronuncias? & irreligiose ad crassas cogitationes urges eorum qui crediderunt mentem? & attentas humanis cogitationibus tractare que sola pura et inexacta fide accipiuntur?

(q) πρὸς τὴν ἐξήτασιν ἐνοίας ἐστὶν ἀζητήτως ἡ πίστις, ἡ λογισμῶν ἀποσπένοντος τοῦ σώματος τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

(O) Virg. 3.
Georg. Ex-
ultantiaque
haurit corda
pavor pul-
sant. Et alibi
Vocemque his
anibus hausit.

This sheweth, that he speaks not of the oral manducation of which the wicked also are partakers, and which makes not the wicked to be in Christ, howsoever any man say that by that manducation Christ is in them. The word *haurire*, to swallow, which *Hilary* useth, may as well be applied to the mind as to the body; (f) For the Latine Authors speak so.

CHAP. XXV.

How the Cardinal sends the Reader to a larger Book of his of the Eucharist; That the beginning of that Book sheweth what one should think of the rest.

THE Cardinal for the conclusion of his Treatise of the real presence sends back the Reader to a larger work, promising to treat in it more fully of the Eucharist. That promised work, is his Book of the Eucharist against Monsieur *du Plessis*, upon which Book I have already made many observations. That is the Book wherein he translates, (a) *Fescennina carmina*, Verses to avert witchcraft; (b) whereas he should have translated, *lascivious verses*. Which appeareth by that which followeth in the passage he alledgeth, where unchaste and profane verses are opposed to Sacred Songs and Angelical praises. But passing by many the like observations, I will but represent the entry of that so long expected Book, that by the Frontispiece the Reader may judge of the body of the building.

(a) 3. Book.
14 ch. p. 866.
(b) Catullus
in nuptias
Juliz &
Manlii, carm.
60.
Nec diu taceat
procax Fe-
scennina lo-
cutio.

M. *du Plessis* to shew that the Roman Church by the doctrine of Transubstantiation makes the Lords Supper to be no more a Sacrament, saith that every Sacrament is a sign, which is different from the thing signified. But by the Transubstantiation the sign, which is the bread, is abolished, and becomes the thing signified. Upon that M. *du Perron* triumpheth, and in big words which fill three pages, he rateth M. *du Plessis* like a poor Scholar. *Where is* (saith he) *the Scholar that knows not that the definition of the gender, is far more lean, scant and hungry then that of the kind? &c. Do not the rudiments of Logick teach us, that from the gender to the kind, one may argue affirmatively, not negatively?* But I maintain the contrary, that the rudiments of Logick teach us, that from the gender to the kind the argument is always made negatively, never affirmatively. One may and ought to argue thus, *Non est animal, ergo non est homo*. Not as the Cardinal will have it, *Est animal, ergo est homo*. According to the Cardinals Logick one might Argue thus, *A frog is an animal, Ergo, it is a man*. Is not that want of natural Logick? Should not a School-boy be snibbed over the fingers with the Ferule that should argue so? Where is now that deep learning of our Prelate? Should he have puffed up a discourse of three pages with a high flown stile to set up such a gross absurdity? M. *du Plessis* reasoned thus: *Every Sacrament is a sign; The Lords Supper is a Sacrament: Ergo, the Lords Supper is a sign*; Whence he inferred very well that the Roman Church abolishing the sign by the transubstantiation, abolished the Sacrament. There being no fault to be found in that form of Argument: yet M. *du Perron* swelleth the sayls of his eloquence, and sheweth by many examples, that the definition of the gender containeth not all the perfections of the kinds: making the world believe that M. *du Plessis* affirmed, that the definition of the Sacrament (which is the gender) expresseth the whole nature of the Eucharist, which is a kind of Sacrament. A thing which M. *du Plessis* neither said nor thought. So that M. *du Perron* adds calumny to ignorance.



Twelfth Controversie, OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

OF The Communion under one kind. And of the Power which Cardi- nal *Du Perron* ascribeth unto the Church, that is to the Pope, to dispense from the Commandment of Christ.



THE last Question which Cardinal *du Perron* treats in his Book against the King of *Great Brittain*, is the question about the interdiction of the *Chalice*.

He begins by a remonstrance to his Majesty, saying, *His Majesty might have dispensed himself (if it had pleased him) to touch that objection, which brings no obstacle to the re-union of the Church: since (a) the Council of Trent referreth to the Pope that shall sit when*

some Nation or Kingdom shall demand the use of the Chalice for them that do not celebrate (that is for Lay-people and inferiour Clerks) to provide for that.

To which I answer, That the Council indeed referreth to the Popes power to judge of that business, whether it may be expedient to grant the use of the Chalice to some Nation or Kingdom that should require it, but giveth not any hope of it. For the same Council in the 21. Session, in the 1. and 2. chap. declareth, (b) *That although Christ hath constituted and given the Eucharist under the two kinds, yet the Laity and the Clerks that celebrate not, are not thereby obliged to receive the two kinds.*

And in the 2. chap. it is declared (c) *that the custom of communicating under one kind was approved for just and great causes, and must be held for a Law. Be-*

(a) Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 11. (b) Cap. 1. *Sancta Synodus declarat & docet nullo divino precepto laicos et Clericos non conscientibus obligari ad Eucharistiae Sacramentum sub utraque specie sumendum.* (c) Cap. 2. *Majior Ecclesia progressu temporis latissime jam mutata illa consuetudine gravibus & iustis de causis adducta hanc consuetudinem sub altera specie communicandi approbavit, et pro lege habendam decrevit.*

sides, the experience of so many years since, that Council hath made it known, that in vain any change in that point is hoped for from the Pope. And it is a very small comfort to those among the French that desire that the communion of the Chalice be restored unto them, that this Council giveth them hope that some kingdom may one day require that priviledge, and that the Pope then shall consider whether the request may be granted. For the Council referreth not the judgement of that point to the Pope, but in case that a Nation or a whole Kingdom demand the restoring of the Chalice, leaving it to the Popes discretion to judge whether it shall be expedient to grant the use of the Cup, not to Christians in general, but only to some people or kingdom, that should be urgent for it: for as for the general of the Christians, they give no hope at all of that restitution. As indeed, if any of the people in our days asked for the priviledge of participating the cup, he should become suspect of Heresie, as one that would pick a quarrel, and control the Laws of the Church.

But in that obscure hope given by the Council there is a lurking impiety. For if the Pope had given to some man a permission to have the use of the cup (as it was given to the *Bohemians* in the Council of *Basil*) it would be an impious permission; for thereby he should permit the man to obey Gods commandment, and grant him out of grace and special priviledge leave to do that which God hath commanded, as if God could not be obeyed without the Popes leave. So that if God get some servants, he shall be obliged for it to his Holiness, which might by an expresse prohibition hinder him from being obeyed, declaring (as that Council doth) that Christs institution is not binding, and that Christians are not obliged to subject themselves to it.

The Cardinal goeth on, and saith in summe that participating the two kinds serveth indeed for the integrity of the signification, which is more expresse and entire when the two kinds are received, *bicause* (saith he) *every one of them that take the body and blood of Christ under the two kinds, is more expressly and particularly admonished that his body was divided from the blood in the sufferings of the Cross.* But he saith, that this serveth not for the integrity of the Communion; because whole Christ is received as well with one kind as with two.

The Reader is desired to observe this with care; for this is a great concession, that in the Roman Church the signification of the Eucharist is diminished, and is not in its integrity. For when a Christian takes the Cup, it represents to him, and assureth him that the blood of Christ was shed for him. And the receiving of the two kinds, represents and signifies to us, that in Christ dead for us our souls find a most entire food. Since then the word Sacrament is as much as a Sacred sign, when the signification of the Sacrament is diminished, the Sacrament also is diminished, and becomes less a Sacrament, since it is less signifying. For the Sacrament as a Sacrament is signifying, and was instituted by Christ to be the remembrance or commemoration of him. So by the Cardinals confession the Sacrament is mutilated, and the integrity of the same diminished in that very thing for which Christ did institute it. And these words of Cardinal *du Perron* ought to be graven in brasse for a memorial to posterity (d) that *Christs institution that we should take the Sacrament distinctly under the two kinds, belongs to the integrity of the signification.* A Prelate so famous freely acknowledgeth that Christ hath instituted that we should take the Sacrament distinctly under the two kinds. What can we ask more? For who can dispense us from the command of the Son of God? Why shall not the command of Christ remain firm about the integrity of the signification as well as about the integrity of the Communion, seeing that the integrity of the signification serveth for the integrity of the Spiritual communion by faith, which is the only saving communion? For the instruction of the understanding serveth to strengthen the faith by which Christ is apprehended unto salvation.

Here then the Cardinal puts two commandments of Christ, the one concerning the signification, the other concerning the Communion; and saith, that the first commandment injoyneth all Christians to communicate under the two kinds,
but

but that the second which concerns the Communion, obligeth not all Christians to take the two kinds. Wherefore he saith, that of these two precepts of Christ the one is dispensable, the other indispensable; And that unto the Church to which the dispensation of the mysteries of Christ doth belong, it belongs also to judge which mysteries of Christ are dispensable. Upon which I say first, that it is a fault against common sense to find in these words, *Drink ye all of this*, two commandments, seeing that it is but one single commandment; one and the same commandment may serve for many ends. If this precept, *Thou shalt not kill*, serveth to preserve the life of our neighbour, and to maintain humane society, and to honour the Image of God shining in our neighbours, it followeth not that therefore they are three precepts.

But that doctrine which giveth unto the Church (that is, to the Pope) the power of dispensing with Christs commandments, is the highest degree of impiety and of the spirit of pride, which spits against heaven, and attempts to pull Christ down from his Throne. Whosoever hath lawfull power and authority to dispense the French from the Kings command, is greater then the King. He that can say unto Christians, *Christ hath commanded you that, but I dispense you from it, and make a contrary Law*, must be greater and of more authority then Christ.

Is not that Church which the Cardinal speaks of, subject to Christs commandment? And if she be subject to him, doth it belong to subjects to dispense themselves, or others, from Gods commandments? What obedience can a King hope from his Subjects, if the Subjects have power to tell him, *Thou hast indeed made us such a commandment, but we are judges of the sense, and of the strength of thy commandments? It belongs to us to judge which of thy commandments are dispensable.*

But yet what is that Church but the Pope alone, to whom the Council referreth that power, to constitute what he shall think good concerning that point? And why shall the Roman Church have the power alone of dispensing with Gods commandments, rather then the Greek and the Syrian, more ancient then the Roman? These Churches as well as the Ethiopian hold themselves tyed by the Commandment of Christ; and give the Communion unto the people under the two kinds. When we ask where, and when, and upon what terms, God gave to the Roman Church the power of dispensing with Gods Commandment, and to judge what Commandments of God are dispensable; they bring nothing to the purpose. (e) They alledge some text where Christ promiseth to his Apostles, to lead them into all truth; and where it is said to Peter, (f) *I have prayed that thy faith fail not*: But there it is not spoken of the Pope, nor of the Roman Church, nor of dispensing from Gods Commandments.

Hence the Cardinal passeth to the Fathers. (g) He saith that the primitive Church admitted in many cases the Communion under one of the two kinds, namely in them that carried the Eucharist upon the Sea; And in them that kept it at home, or sent it into a forraign Land; a custom condemned by the Council of *Laodicea* 14. ch.

(h) He addeth sick persons: But this Prelate doth according to his custom, which is never to answer directly, and to baulk the question, spending words upon that which is not in dispute. When we dispute of this point by the Fathers, the question is, whether in the Church, or in the Assembly of Christians, the Eucharist was celebrated without administering the Cup to the Christians that are present; Or if ever the Cup was denied to any of the people that asked it, and presented himself to receive it; Or if in the assembly of Christians met together to celebrate the Eucharist, the Priest drunk alone, the people looking on without participating the Cup; Of that the Cardinal brings no example of Antiquity, but some extraordinary actions, made without the celebration of the Eucharist in the Church, which actions the Roman Church hath rejected, and approveth them not; And yet after all, that which he saith is false. For why could they not participate the two kinds in a Ship? Why could not those men and women that carried the Sacrament from the Church to their home, bring

(e) Joh. 14.
(f) Luk. 22.

(g) Pag.
1109.

(h) *περὶ τῶ
μὲν τὰ ἁγία
εἰς λόγον ἐκ-
λογίαν μετὰ
τῶν ἑορτῶν
τῶ παύσα, εἰς
ἐτέρας πα-
ροικίας δια-
κρίματα.*

wine to their houses as well as bread? The passage of *Gregorius Nazianzenus* alledged before, sheweth it. If she had (saith he) laid up somewhere as a treasure some part of the venerable body and blood, she mingled it with her tears.

That it was the ancient custom everywhere, and without exception to receive the people to the participation of the Cup, it is undeniable. The Apostle, 1 Cor. 1. 28. speaking to the people of Corinth, Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat this bread, and drink this cup. And 1 Cor. 10. 17. the version of

(i) Omnes qui de uno pane et uno calice participamus.

(k) εἰς ᾧ πάντες ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἑστῆς ἑστῆς, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ποτίσθημεν τοῖς ἁγίοις διακρίσιν.

(l) οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ παρ' ἡμῶν διδόντες τὸ δίδωσιν ἐκαστῷ τῷ παρ' ἐστῆς καὶ ποτίσθημεν πάντες ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ποτίσθημεν.

(m) Cum frangitur hostia, cum sanguis de calice in ora fidelium infunditur.

(n) Ibi vos estis in mensa, et in calice nobiscum vos estis; simul enim sumimus; simul bibimus, quia simul vivimus.

(o) Paschas. lib. de corpore Christi, cap. 15.

Tam Ministri quam alii credentes.

(p) Dist. 2. de Consecr. Can. Comperimus.

Comperimus quod quidam sumpta tantummodo corporis sacri

portione à calice sacrati crucioris abstineant. Qui procul dubio (quoniam nescio qua superstitione docentur astringi) aut integra Sacramenta percipiant, aut integris arceantur. Quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire. (q) Baron. An. 496. Sect. 20. 21. At revera nullo ibi de sacerdote sacrificante mentio habetur, ut plane quod generaliter esse dictum apparet, ad sacerdotes minime restringi debere satis intelligi possit. Rejicimus igitur frigidam ejus modi solutionem, (r) Conc. Const. Sess. 13. Quod licet Christus post cenam instituerit, et suis discipulis administraverit sub utraque specie panis et vini hoc venerabile Sacramentum, &c. Licet in primitiva Ecclesia hoc Sacramentum reciperetur à fidelibus sub utraque specie, &c.

kinds

kinds unto his Disciples, &c. And although in the Primitive Church this Sacrament was received by the faithfull people in both the kinds, &c. Yet the Council saith, that in some parts of the world some persons rashly presume that the Christian people ought to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist in the two kinds. And constituteth that (f) the custom of communicating in one kind, brought in with good reason be held for a Law, and that such as maintain the contrary be expelled as hereticks, and grievously punished, &c. so far as to call the help of the secular arm. Whether these Fathers were led by the Spirit of God, or by the spirit of blasphemy, and whether they put not Christ in the rank of Hereticks, that deserve to be punished, let the Reader judge.

Our difference then with the Romanists, is not, whether Christ hath instituted that Christians, both Pastours and People, receive the communion in the two kinds, nor whether the ancient Church did so practise it; for our adversaries confess both; But whether the Roman Church might, or ought to have changed Christs institution; or (to speak with the Cardinal) whether that commandment of Christ be dispensable, and whether the Roman Church can dispense with it, and exempt the Christian people from it. The Cardinal goeth about to prove that the Church hath that power, and proveth it by examples.

He saith that Christ instituted the holy Eucharist after Supper. That Baptism in the beginning was done by immersion and dipping, not by aspersion, and sprinkling. Whence he gathereth that if in those points the Church had the authority to alter Christs institution; the same Church might also alter his commandment concerning the cup, by not giving it to the people.

I answer, that we have the Lords commandment, both clear and expresse, which saith, *Drink ye all of it*, and that of the Apostle, who speaking to the people of Corinth, will have them to examine themselves, and so to eat that bread and drink that cup. But we have no command for celebrating the Communion after Supper. Christ celebrated the Eucharist after Supper upon occasion, because he did substitute it unto the Pascheover, which at the same time he ate for the last time. But for the hour of that celebration he gave no command: Had he given any, we should have been bound to obey it, and to tie our selves to the hour prescribed by him, as *Austin* saith, Epist. 118. (c) *Had Christ given us that order that the Sacrament should be always taken after other meats, I believe that no man would have altered that custom.* Herein then the Church hath not changed Christs institution, because this is not of his institution: By the same reason one might say, that the Church celebrating the holy Communion in a Temple, changed the Lords institution; for he instituted this holy Sacrament in an upper room.

It is certain that when the Apostle *Paul*, Act. 20. celebrated the holy communion in an upper room (u) on the third loft: he did it not to follow Christs institution, nor to conform himself to his example, but because such was the convenience of the place. The like we may say of the hour; since there is no hour appointed by Christs institution for this holy celebration; no wonder that the Church used the Liberty of choosing such an hour as was judged most convenient.

Neither is either the hour or the place part of the Sacrament, or essential to it. But the participation of the cup is part, yea the just half of the Sacrament, and of the essence of the same. And by consequence one cannot deprive the people of the cup, without depriving them of the half of the Sacrament, and without diminishing the signification thereof, as the Cardinal himself acknowledgeth.

The same we say of Baptism. No command can be found for dipping the whole bodies of baptized persons, no more then for be-sprinkling them. In vain it is alledged that baptizing signifieth dipping, not be-sprinkling; for that word signifieth washing also, as *Mark* 7.4. it is spoken of the washing of pots there is in the Greek, the baptizing of pots. And in the same place it is said, that the (w) *Pharisees when they come from the Market, eat nor, iav mē βαπτίσαντες, except they wash,* for it is not credible that every time that a Pharisee had past through the Market,

(f) Consuetudo rationabiliter introducta habenda est pro lege. Perinaciter asserentes oppositum, tanquam heretici arcendi sunt et graviter puniendi, &c. invocato etiam auxilio brachii secularis.

(c) Nam si hoc ille monuisset ut post cibos alios semper acciperetur, credo quod eum nemo variasset. (u) Act. 20. 9. ἐπεσεν τῷ τριτῷ ὀρόῳ.

(w) ἀπὸ ἀγορῆς εἰς τὴν βαπτίσαν. οὐκ ἐδίψουν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν εἰς τὴν πάλαιον κρητὴν, βαπτίσαντες ποτίζονται. ἢ ἔσονται.

OR

or through the croud of the people, he thought himself obliged to dip himself whole in water before he ate. For this cause baptism is also called *washing*, (x) *Tit.* 2.5. And Scripture affords us examples of persons baptized without dipping. For it is more like that the Eunuch of *Queen Candace*, *Act. 8.* was baptized by *Philip* in a brook where he could not be dipt; for in the road where he was travelling, which was from *Jerusalem* to *Gaza*, there is no River. The same may be said of *St. Paul's* baptism, who was baptized by *Ananias*. It is not credible that *Ananias* brought him out of the house to the River, or had prepared a Bath to baptize him. In the ancient Church many would receive Baptism (y) on their death-bed; among others, the Emperour *Constantine*, who being in that case, would not have suffered himself to be dipt whole in water. And hardly can we believe that in cold Countreys, as *Pontus* and *Bulgaria*, they ever dipt whole children in the Winter time to baptize them.

Observe also, that the Apostle *Peter* calls the purgation of our sins in Christs blood (z) an *asperersion*, alluding to the custom of making an asperersion of water in baptism.

Here the Cardinal must not be pardoned a gross fault: (a) He saith, that *St. Paul*, *Tit. 3.* calls Baptism the Bath, or Laver of regeneration: This Prelate confounds *λυσαν* *λυσαν* with *λυσαν* *λυσαν*. The first signifieth *washing*, the other, *a laver*, or *bathing tub*: The first signifieth in Latine, *Lotio seu ablutio*, the other *labrum, balneum*: *St. Paul* calls Baptism a *washing*, not a *laver*, as the Cardinal thinks.

(z) 1 Pet.
1.2.
βαπτισμὸν.
(a) 1. Book
in the 2. In-
stance, p. 961

But although the Church in the Apostles time had made some alteration in the institution made by Christ (which yet we do not grant at all) it would not follow that the Pope and the Roman Church of this time have the like authority. If the ancient Church in the first Ages tyed her self as much as she could to the dipping of the whole person, after the example of *Iohn the Baptist*, who dipt in *Jordan* those whom he baptized; yet Christ gave no command that binds the Christians to that custom: Which if he had done, that command ought to be kept inviolably. But as for the communion under the two kinds, both for the Pastors and the people, the Cardinal acknowledgeth that Christ hath commanded it; but he maintains that the Church, that is the Pope, can dispense from that command.

To the foresaid reasons the Cardinal adds some inconveniences and difficulties, which moved the Roman Church to make that alteration. Namely, that they feared that the cup should spill: Then the length and difficulty to give the communion to a great multitude in one only cup. And the loathing of drinking after so many persons, especially in the time of contagion. And the difficulty of getting wine in some countreys, as at *Calecut* and *Goa*, where a Hogs-head of wine costs eight hundred or a thousand crowns. Others add that the cup was taken from the people, because men dipt the hair of their upper lip in the cup; whence it happened that Christ remained whole, hanging on every hairs end of so many beards. Others that this was done to honour the Clergy, and give them a privilege above the people.

To all these I answer, that when Christ and his apostles commanded that the people should drink the cup, they knew all these inconveniences, and had at the least as much foresight as the Roman Church.

If it be an evil to let the wine fall, it is a worse evil to fall from the obedience due unto Christs command. In the time of the four first Councils, when the Christian Church was infinitely populous in great Cities, as *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Constantinople*, the multitude of the people did not hinder them from participating the cup. They did not hold it necessary that there should be but one cup, it being sufficient that the people should drink of the same wine; for it is not the cup that we partake, but that which is within.

We read, *Act. 6.* that Deacons were created to serve the Tables; if there were many tables, there were many cups. For the *Agapes* were made at the same Tables, upon which the holy Communion was administered.

As

As for the loathing, and the contagion, experience sheweth the contrary. For in our Churches, where many thousands of persons participate the cup together, we never saw or heard of any inconvenience, no more then in the ancient Church.

As for Countreys where there is no wine, it were better to follow the example of the Churches of *Ethiopia*, who make use of another drink used in that Countrey, then to want the cup in the Lords Supper. As in Countreys where there is no bread, we doubt not but that the Church might use that which is used for bread. For the essence of the Sacrament consisteth in the relation between the signs and the thing signified. Now the end and essence of the Sacrament is to assure us, that the body and blood of Christ are the whole food of our souls, To signify that the most common food is the most proper.

As for dipping so many beards in the blood of Christ, if there be profanation in it, we must say, that the Church of the Apostles, and that of the first ages was profane; for the people drunk in the cup without shaving their upper lip. They were not so stupid as to think that when the beard was dipt in the cup, the body of Christ remained hanging at every hair. The opinion of the Transubstantiation is employed to breed that vain fear, and one error serveth to propagate another. To which I add that it were better to be without a beard on the upper-lip, then to violate Christs institution.

But these are not the true reasons that moved the Pope and his Prelates to make that alteration, but the pride of the Clergy to exalt themselves above the people. This appeareth in that the Pope admitteth Kings to the Chalice, and yet obligeth them not to shave their upper lip. For by that means Priests are become Kings fellows. As also the Pope to exalt himself above the Clergy, and above Kings, (b) hath reserved to himself that custom, which in old time was practised in divers places, to drink out of a covered Chalice, held by a Cardinal Bishop on his knees, sucking part of the drink with a small reed or pipe.

Here then, as in all things, we must return to Christs commandment, who administering the cup said, *Drink ye all of this*, and, *Do this in remembrance of me*, commanding his Disciples to do to others, what he had done unto them, and by consequent to administer the two kinds unto others. It is observable, that Christ said not, *Eat ye all of this*, but speaks more expressly of the cup, as foreseeing the abuse that should follow. And if these words, *Drink ye all of this*, are not a command, to the obedience whereof the people be obliged; the same must be said of these words, *Take eat*. So there will be nothing in the institution of this Sacrament that obliges the people to take either the bread or the cup.

Or if these words, *Drink ye all of this*, are address'd only unto Pastors, because they to whom Christ spake were Pastors and Apostles, I will say the same of these words, *Take eat*; for both the Commandments are made to the same persons: yet it is certain, that the Disciples hearing the words of the Lord, and receiving the Sacrament from his hand, did not keep the rank of Pastors, but of sheep, and were to be considered as Disciples.

That which the Cardinal saith, is most false, that Christ did not say, *Eat ye all of this*, because he gave to each of his Disciples the bread separate and divided. For they being thirteen persons at the table, his arms could not reach to the other end of the table, and it was necessary that the dish where the bread was, should be given from hand to hand.

But we have Pauls express words, (c) who contents not himself to say to the people of *Corinth*, *As often you eat this bread, and drink this cup*; but adds a pregnant injunction, *Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat this bread, and drink this cup*. As the examining of ones self before receiving the Sacrament, so the receiving of the cup is equally commanded to all.

Also we ask the Romanists, whether Christs speaks of the Eucharist, when he saith, *Joh. 6. Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you*? If the Eucharist be not meant there, why do they use that text to prove transubstantiation? If the Eucharist is meant in that Text, why do they deprive the people of life, by denying them the cup? The Cardinal answereth,

(b) Lib. 2.
Sacram. Cere-
rem. cap. 14.
Episcopus
Cardinalis
porrigit Papæ
calamum
quem Papa
ponit in ca-
lice, in mani-
bus Diaconi
existente, et
sanguinis
partem sugit.

(c) 1 Cor. 11.

(d) Pag. 118. swereth, (d) *that he that takes the body, drinks his blood, as for the effect, not as for the manner; for the blood is not severed from the body.* This answer, that to take bread is drinking, expresseth either a desperate cause, or an abusive mind. If that be true, the Priest drinks twice in the Mass, once when he takes the Host, another time when he takes the cup: And to speak with this Prelate, once as for the manner, twice as for the effect. Besides drinking is the manner of participating: Christ then saying, *Except ye drink*, prescribes to us the manner of participating; and thus the Priest transgresseth the commandment of Christ, who by saying, *Drink*, instituted the manner of the Sacramental Communion.

The Cardinal useth another shift, saying that when Christ said, *Except you eat my flesh, and drink my blood*, he meant, *Except you eat my flesh, Or drink my blood*: But that being an alteration of Christs words, and a depravation of Scripture, deserveth no answer. By the same reason one might abstain from the bread, and participate the cup only.

It is to be noted, that 1 Cor. 10. 17. the Vulgar version, the only approved and authorized by the Council of Trent, hath these words, *We all are partakers of the same bread, and of the same cup*; which words should be false, if the people of Corinth had not participated the cup.

Thirteenth



Thirteenth Controversie,

OF THE

SEVENTH BOOK.

OF

Private Masses.

CHAP. I.

Of Private Masses ; And the shamefull Traffique of the same.



Cardinal *Du Perron* going about to defend private Masses, made a full point at the first line ; God having cut off the thred of his labour, and that of his life. Having said in the Chapter of the Communion in the two kinds that the Roman Church can dispense of Christs Commandments, and that it belongs to her to judge what commandments of God are dispensable : God suffered him not to go further, or to enter upon another Controversie, where it should be necessary for him to use that abominable Maxime. This only he saith, *It is wrongfully that Masses without Communicants are called private*; and there he endeth.

He saith that after others, who maintain that all Masses are publick, because in them the Priest prayeth for the Church in general. By that reason a womans prayer that prayeth in her closet for the general good of the Church, is a publick prayer. We call those publick actions which are done for the publick good ; for one may labour in private for the good of the Commonwealth, and a publick person in a publick place can make private actions, as when a Pastour of the Church prayeth alone in a corner of the Temple. (a) Our adversaries themselves call those particular Masses, that are in particular offered for some person. Now I see not why the word of private Mass should be more odious then that of particular Mass.

(a) Eman.
Sa. Aphor.
in verbo
Missæ. §. 43.
Missæ plus
illis prodest
pro quibus
particulariter
offeruntur.

Kkkkk

But

But what? this dispute whether Masses without Communicants and without assistants, sung in a corner of the Church, to the intention of some particular person that payeth for them, ought to be called publick or private, is but a contention about a word, leaving the matter untoucht. For still the question remaineth, whether Masses without Communicants and without assistants, said for a private man, ought to be approved? and whether they be conformable unto the Word of God, and to Christs institution? And whether that custom of the Roman Church, that began a few ages since, (to dispatch so many small Masses in one morning in several corners of the Church) be receivable?

When I lived in Paris I did often consider that with compassion I saw in the place of Greve, before S. Johns Church a multitude of poor Priests that get their livelyhood by those private Masses. They stand there waiting a whole morning till some come to hire them to sing a Mass to his intention: Some one going to travel, or having a sick horse, or fearing the frost to his vineyard, or the death of a friend, calls for one of these Priests, and for a small hire makes him sing a Mass, upon one of those petty Altars which are in great number in several corners of that Church, for the success of his journey, or the healing of his horse, And that solitary Mass is huddled up in great haste. He for whom it is said needs not to be present or to think of it; For they hold that the Mass is profitable for him for whom it is sung, although he be absent or sleeping, if only he make no resistance against it. And this is the canting of their Doctors that the Mass hath efficacy *ex opere operato*, that is, by the bare action, for which the attention of the person for whom the Mass is said is not necessarily requisite. It is enough with them that he that celebrates the Mass, hath an intention to do that which the Church doth, and yet it is not necessary for him to have an actual intention, or to think of it, or to have any attention to it when he celebrates it; but if he thought of it before, and had an inclination to think of it, it is enough. This is that which Sophisters call an habitual or virtual intention, which is an intention without intention, and may be in a Priest when he is drunk or asleep. And as for him for whom the Mass is sung, neither his attention, nor his presence is necessary; no more is necessary for his part but that he resist not the action or intention, and set not himself purposely to put an obstacle against it.

Covetousness and filthy lucre have brought in this abuse, For a man for whom in particular a Mass is said, payeth also in particular. And they that will have annual Masses said for them, will also found annual rents for that use. Never was a private Mass sung for a man that had given nothing. Were the Eucharist celebrated nowhere but in Ecclesiastical congregations, it were a hard matter to fetch money from so many purses at once, and to fit the general Masses to the profit and intention of each particular man. Hence these base Maximes maintained by our adversaries, *That the Mass doth most good to them for whom it is offered in particular.* (b) *And that if it be offered for many, it doth not so much good to the several persons, as if it were offered for one alone,* as the Jesuite Emanuel Sa affirmeth. (c) And Cardinal Tolet cleareth that by an example, saying, *that a Mass said for many persons profits not so much to every one, as if it were applied to one alone.* As if I fast for four men, that fast availeth not so much to satisfy for every one, as if I had fasted for one only. They hold then, that a Mass said for two souls in Purgatory, doth not ease them so much, as if every one had his several Mass. And it is thriftily done of them to speak so. For if a Mass said for two souls eased them as much as if each of them had his own Mass, the same might be said of three souls, and of six, and of twenty, and so on, till it were found that one Mass doth as much good as a hundred. Thus instead of paying for a hundred Masses, the buyer would pay for one only: Whereby many Priests should want their dinner, for want of being hired to sing a Mass in the morning.

The same Jesuite addeth, (d) *It is certain that a Priest if he oweth a Mass to*

(b) Loco citato.

Quod si pro multis offertur, non tantum singulis prodest, ac si pro illis solis offerretur, docent Sylvester, Navarrus, Soto, Tolet, Suarez, Scotus.

(c) Tolet de Inst. Sacerd.

l. 2. c. 8.

Si ego jesu-

nem pro quatuor, minus prodest ad satisfactionem singulis quam uni prodesset si pro uno tantum jejunassem. (d) Eman. Sa loco citato. scilicet 44. Illud certum est sacerdotem sibi debet unam missam, & alteri alteram, non satisfacere si unam dicat pro utroque simul. Iidem Doctores qui supra.

one, and another Masse to another, makes no satisfaction if he saith one Masse for both together, as the forecited Doctours affirm. The Jesuite Gregorius de Valentia saith the same in the first book of the sacrifice of the Masse in the last Chapter.

Nevertheless many Doctours say that a Priest may be twice paid for one Masse, as the same Emanuel Sa affirmeth, and calls that which the Priest receiveth to sing a private Masse (e) *an alms*; (f) Tolet calls it *pitantia*, saying that a poor Priest may receive two pittances at least for a Masse to sustain himself. The same Cardinal saith (g) that *to them who in their life-time have furnished money to celebrate Masses for them, the same Masses profit by way of satisfaction and justice*. This is the rule of justice by which these Gentlemen will tie God and oblige him to shew grace to him that hath paid for particular Masses; for why should the poor man lose his money? If the same man had wanted money, and had bought no Masses, God had not been bound to shew him the same grace. From the same bank comes the custom that Masses are sold more or lesse according to the ornaments and the splendour wherewith they are dressed.

But this exceeds all impudence, and is of the same Jesuit Emanuel Sa (h) *The Priest to whom a certain sum of money is given to say Masses, may hire others that help him for a less price, and keep the residue of the money*. Was there ever a more fordid traffick? By this means a Priest having received ten pence to sing a Masse, shall provide one that shall sing it for six pence, so he shall get four pence clear. And why are private Masses used against frost, against the murrain of cattel, and for the success of a journey, but to draw money from all sides? Whereas Christ instituted the holy Communion for the remission of sins, and to announce his death till he come? 1 Cor. 11. When a Priest makes Christ in the corner of a Church for six pence or two groats; if there be no Communicants, he sells Christ and delivereth him not. Or if there be some Communicants, he may speak as Judas, who said, *What will ye give me and I will deliver him unto you*? Had it not been a goodly sight, if the Apostle having administered the Communion to a multitude of Christians, as Act. 20. had withdrawn himself into a corner, to sing a Lords Supper, in favour of a private man, for a piece of money? Doubtless such a gain might have exempted him from sowing tents to relieve his necessity.

(e) Ibid. *Duas cleemosynas pro unica Missa accipi posse ait Soto.*
(f) Tolet. de Instr. Sac. l. 2. cap. 8. *Soto tenet quod pauper potest saltem duas pittantias recipere pro una Missa ad sustentationem.*
(g) Tolet eodem libro, cap. 6. *Nisi mortui dum vixerunt ad Missas sibi celebrandas pecunias erogarunt: Tunc enim per modum satisfactionis & justitie conferunt.*
(h) Loco citato. Cui

datur certa summa pecunia pro Missis à se dicendis, potest alios pro minore pretio conducere qui adjuvent, et reliquum sibi retinere.

CHAP. II.

That Masses without Communicants and assistants, said to the intencion of a private man that payeth for them, are repugnant unto the Word of God.

THIS strange and odious abuse seems to be brought in purposely to overthrow the institution of the Lord Jesus, and to contradict his Word. 1. For what likeness is there between Christ sitting at the table communicating with all his Disciples in the two kinds, and the Priest making in the corner of a Church a sacrifice without Communicants, without assistants, for a private man absent, who payeth for that sacrifice? Where is in that solitary Masse the least trace of the Lords Supper which the Apostles did celebrate by the fraction and distribution of bread among Christians! Act. 2. 46. and 20. 7. And of that participation which S. Paul spake of, 1 Cor. 10. 17. saying, *We are all partakers of that one bread*. 3. The same Apostle in the same place calls the Lords Supper the Communion of the body of Christ, saying, *The bread which we eat, is it not the Communion of the body of Christ*? Now where is that Communion where none Communicateth?

K k k k k 2

For

(i) 1 Cor. 11.
16, & 17.

(k) Conveni-
entibus ergo
vobis in unum
jam non est
dominicum
cœnam man-
ducare.

(l) Pie cre-
dendum est
quod Angeli
Dei comites
assistant oran-
tibus, secundum
illud proph-
eticum, in con-
spectu Ange-
lorum psal-
lam tibi.

For all Communion is of necessity among many. 4. Wherefore the Apostle declareth in the same place that this Communion is among many, and that it is a testimony of concord among the faithful, and of the union of the Church in one body. (i) *The bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the body of Christ? For we being many are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread.* Nothing of all that is found in private Masses. No Communion there, no breaking of bread among many, no testimony of the union of the Church in one body, no participation of the same bread. 5. No wonder then that the word *Cœna* displeaseth our adversaries, because the word signifies a *common supper*, and by consequent imports Communion. Why then did they not blot out of their Bibles the word *Cœna*? Why is the language of Scripture become odious unto them? How comes it to pass that the word *Masse* which is barbarous and unknown to the Churches of *Greece, Syria, Armenia, Ethiopia, &c.* hath taken the place of *Cœna* or Supper of the Lord? For even in the Bible of the *Roman* Church these are the very words of *S. Paul*, 1 Cor. 11. 20. where chiding the *Corinthians* for the abuse which they committed in the holy Sacrament, (k) *When ye come together into one place, this is not to eat the Lords Cœna or Supper.* 6. But that which is most important, and which we must especially stand upon, is the institution of Jesus Christ our Lord, who said when he instituted his holy Supper, *Take eat, drink ye all of this*, and to oblige us to follow him he said *Do this*, as also the Apostles followed that example. Can the Priest say *Take eat*, when no body is present to take or to eat? Can he say *Drink ye all of this*, when he drinks alone? 7. And upon that it is good to hear the excuse of *Innocent* the third in the 25. *ch.* of the mysteries of the Masse. He makes a question to himself how the Priest can say in solitary Masses, *Orate pro me fratres, Pray for me brethren*, seeing that he is alone, and without assistants: and who are these brethren to whom the Priest is speaking? his answer is, (l) *We must piously believe that the Angels keep company with those that pray, according to that sentence of the Prophets, I will sing praises unto thee in the presence of Angels.* By an ill translated text of *Psal.* 138. he proveth that the Priest is never alone: but he doth not untye the knot and solve the main difficulty. For suppose that the Angels are assistant there as praying, yet they assist not there as eating and drinking, and as Communicants. Wherefore it is not to the Angels that the Priest speaks, saying, *Accipite & manducate ex hoc omnes, Take and eat all of this*, unless they will say that the Angels being come from far have taken exercise enough to have good appetite. They should indeed have put out of private Masses these words that condemn them. 8. Here to alledge the peoples want of devotion for an excuse, and that the people ought to present themselves to these Masses to Communicate, is a confession that in these private Masses there is much abuse, which they are forced to tolerate because they can bring no remedy to it. But if that abuse so lucrative unto Priests had diminished their profits, they would soon have found how to mend it. And if it be an abuse, they ought to labour to correct it by exhorting the people to come to the great and publick Masses where all the people might Communicate, rather than to buy private Masses. An exhortation which is never used. We have reason to believe that if the people were taught that Masses said for many, are as profitable to every one as if every one bought his own Masse apart, the people would chuse rather to go to publick Masses than to put themselves to uselesse cost. It is certain that if the Masse was as good and holy as it is full of abuse, the multitude of those to whom it should be administred would not diminish the benefit of every particular person. For the saving grace of God in Christ (which is or ought to be presented in it unto all) is offered to every one to be possesst by every one whole and undivided, and is not cut into pieces; being like the light of the Sun which every one that hath eyes enjoyeth full and whole, and if there were ten times more men in the world each of them should have never the lesse light.

But

But that which I represented in the first chapter, sheweth evidently that the Clergy is purposely labouring to entertain that abuse. For the Council of *Trent* saith not that Masses without Communicants ought to be tolerated, but establisheth them by an expresse command. (m) *The holy Council* (say these Prelats) *condemneth not the Masses in which the Priest alone sacramentally communicates, but approveth and recommendeth them.* And how should the solitude of the Priest in a Masse be imputed to the peoples indevotion, seeing that the people knoweth not when it is done? Neither is warning given abroad when a Priest is hired with a piece of money to sing a Masse presently in some corner of a Church. How could the people attend private Masses, seeing that many are sung together in one Church at the same time, so that the most devout cannot be present at the fourth part of them. It is not the peoples want of devotion, but the covetousnesse of the Priests that causeth that multitude of solitary Masses.

(m) Sess. 12. cap. 6.
Nec tamen si id non semper fiat, propterea missas illas in quibus sacerdos solus sacramentaliter communicat, ut privatas et illicitas damnat, sed probat atq; adeo commendat.

It is then with small reason that this excuse is alledged, that in a feast the invited cannot be constrained to eat against their will. For in private Masses no ghest is invited. And if there were some commandement of God to oblige the invited to eat (as in the Lords Supper this commandement is laid upon us *Take eat*, and let a man examine himself, and so let him eat this bread) and ghests ought to be constrained to eat.

In vain do they bring some sacrifices of the Law, where the people did not eat. It is a great abuse to take the ceremonies of the Law for rules in a point where we have Christs institution, and his expresse command, and the examples of Christ and his Apostles. Besides, they hold that Christians communicate to the Eucharist, not as it is a Sacrifice, but as it is a Sacrament. A Sacrament and a Sacrifice differ as much as taking and giving. For by a Sacrifice we offer unto God, but in Sacraments we receive of God, and God imparts his graces unto us. Wherefore in this question about the Communion to the Sacrament, the example should be to some purpose if it were taken from the Passover, which was a Sacrament of Communion, that never was celebrated without many Communicants, and to which every person of *Israel*, of a competent age, and not unclean, was obliged to participate. But the example taken from Sacrifices considered as Sacrifices, is improper.

The ancient Church in the fourth and fifth ages took no notice of such considerations. They wanted not profane and indevout members. The writings of Fathers are full of lamentations about that. And yet no constitution is found in the whole antiquity that recommended the Eucharist without either Communicants or assistants, nor any example that ever the holy Communion was celebrated without assistants, to the intention and at the cost of some particular person, as we will shew in the next Chapter.

CHAP. III.

That the Ancient Church did not know private or particular Masses, and did not celebrate the holy Sacrament without Communicants and assistants to the intention of a particular person.

Cardinal *Bellarmin* in the second book of the Masse chap. 9. doth acknowledge so much, saying, (a) that no expresse testimony is found among the ancient Writers, that ever they offered any Sacrifice without the Communion of one person or more besides the Priest.

(a) Nusquam expresse legitur a

veteribus oblatum sacrificium sine communione alicujus vel aliquorum prater ipsum sacerdotem.

If

all we that shall take of the participation of this Altar, &c. And in another place, (n) *The Sacraments which we have taken:* And (o) *Pray for me brethren.* All these plural expressions ought to be razed out of the Canon of the Masse; for in most Masses of the Roman Church they are become ridiculous.

In the third book of (p) *Burchards* Decree there is a Canon attributed to Pope Soter, in these words, *Let no Priest presume to celebrate the solemnities of the Masse, unless there be two persons present that answer one another, and let the Priest be the third. Because when he saith in the plural, the Lord be with you, and that which is said in the Secrets, Pray you for me, it is very convenient that this salutation be answered.*

And ch. 43. of the Council of Mentz held in the time of *Charlemagne*, (q) *No Priest, as it seems to us, can well sing the Masse alone; For how shall he say, The Lord be with you, or exhort them to lift up their hearts, and many other the like things, when there is no body with him?* This was in the year 813. Whence it is evident, that Masses without either Communicants or assistants are of very late date.

spondentibus, et ipse tertius habeatur. Quia quum pluraliter ab eo dicitur Dominus vobiscum, et illud in secretis, Orate pro me, aptissimè convenit ut et ipsius respondeatur salutationi. (q) Nullus Presbyter, ut nobis videtur, solus Missam cantare valet recte. Quomodo enim dicet, Dominus vobiscum, vel Sursum corda admonet habere, et alia mille his similia, cum alius nemo cum eo sit?

(n) Sacramenta quæ sumptimus:
(o) Orate pro me fratres.
(p) Burchard. Decret. l. 3. c. 64. et Decret. Grat. Dist. 1. de Consecrat. Can. Hoc quoque.
(q) Nullus Presbyterorum Missarum solemniam celebrare presumat nisi duobus presentibus, sibi que re-



Fourteenth Controversie,

OF THE
SEVENTH BOOK.

THE ANTIBARBAROUS,

OR,

Of unknown Language,

both in the Prayers of private persons, and
in the publick Service.

Where also the principal Clauses of the Mass
are represented, which might offend the people
if they understood them.

To my dear Nephew Monsieur BOCHART,
Pastor of the Church of LAEN.

Dear Nephew,

IF the Church of God receive some benefit by this labour of mine, she may thank you for it; for in my answer to Cardinal Du Perron, having unawares omitted his Chapter about the use of unknown language in Gods service, you have given me advice of that defect, and exhorted me to supply it. I have followed your counsel, and made this Treatise, which I here present unto you, beseeching you to receive it as a testimony of my hearty love, and of the joy I receive seeing you serve in the work of the Lord with so much praise. It is no small consolation to me among so many desolations, to see that God is raising lights to shine in the darkness which groweth thicker every day. For since God sends us good labourers, he sheweth that he will leave us yet some harvest. Having endowed you with his fear from your infancy, and now set you apart for his service, he will arm you with strength and courage, that you may not sink under the burthen. For you are involl'd in this sacred

Mili-

Militia in a time when you shall have need of double provision of zeal and holy magnanimity. It will be a great honour to you to be set upon the breach, and in the hottest conflict, and to be a burning and shining lamp in the dismal night of our Age. In this great work you shall have a blessed experience of the help that God promiseth to them that love him, and hold it a great gain to lose their lives and estates for his service. As he hath given stronger roots unto trees that stand in the top of rocks, because they are more exposed to the impetuosity of winds, he will also proportion your strength to the measure of the combats unto which he will expose you. Indeed the match between us and our Adversaries seems to be very unequal, and the enterprize on our side no less hard and unlikely then if we went about to undermine a rock with pins. But we ought to remember that we fight Gods cause, who useth commonly weak Instruments for admirable works, that the glory of his success may not be attributed unto mans vertue. We must also put on this confidence, that the heavenly truth, though it were cast into the deepest bottom of the sea, will rise and come up to the top again: And that the Church stands faster then the world, since the world was made for the Church. To which may be applied that which is written of the City of Jericho, that he that founded it, laid the foundations thereof upon his first born. This same God, who with the sound of Joshuah's trumpets made the walls of the enemy to fall, will one day make the wall of Babylon to fall down at the sound of the trumpets of the Gospel. And if God for the ungratefulness of this hard age defers that excellent work unto another time, we that have sowed in earth with little success, shall nevertheless reap a plentiful harvest in heaven. We carry this light like Gideons soldiers, in earthen vessels, that is, in frail bodies; the breaking whereof shall be happy and honourable, if it may serve to make the light of the Gospel to appear. For should we that preach the cross of Christ be exempted from it? Should not we that bear this Ark enter the first into this Jordan, being patterns to Gods people that followeth, not only in doctrine, but also in zeal and all vertue? As for me, having almost ended my race, and aspiring with all my soul to the rest which God hath promised unto them that fear him, I rejoyce to leave after me persons endowed with a greater measure of his graces, and especially mine own Nephew, whom I have loved with a fatherly affection; one who treading upon the steps of a vertuous Father, whose memory is blessed in Gods Church, will go beyond his predecessors, and shall leave an example unto posterity. But while I remain yet in this earthly house, you owe me the help of your prayers, as I for my part beseech God that he strengthen you with his grace to be his faithful servant, to fight the good fight, and to be fruitful to his glory. I rest

At Sedan, August 6:
1629.

Your best Uncle, and very humble brother and servant,

P. Du MOULIN.

L1111

A



A
TREATISE
OF
The use of an unknown Tongue in Prayers
and Gods Service.

CHAP. I.

That false Religious love obscurity; but true Religion brings her doctrine to light, and keepeth nothing hidden.



It is a received opinion that ignorance is the Mother of Devotion. In matter of Gods service men admire that most which they least understand, and obscurity increaseth reverence. And as the world goeth, it is with Religions as with Beauties, which when they are but obscurely seen, are more desired.

Negligence and profanity contribute to that evil. For man having no natural inclination to be instructed in Gods knowledge, is easily perswaded to put that care of knowing God to them that profess to teach. Rather then he will take the pains to learn, he will chuse to believe without knowing, and follow without enquiring. And that affected ignorance put on the title of respect to the Church and Catholick docility. If it be question for one to place his money, he will look for good securitie, and men in that point are very cautious and difficult. But in the business of their salvation they will refer themselves to the faith of another, and blindfold themselves with a wilful ignorance.

Satan, who will take hold of men by the natural handles, makes use of that inclination to seduce them: And it is easie for him to make men that fly from the light, to lose their way. It was he that taught Magicians to mingle barbarous and unintelligible words among their conjurations. It was he that taught Pagan Priests to cover mysteries with a religious silence, and to keep off from them the profane, which now are called the *Laity*. Thus the (a) *Toscan* discipline, wherein the ancient Religion of the *Romans* was contained, and the (b) *Saliar* verses sung by the Priests of *Mars*, consisted of rude and barbarous terms, not understood by the people. *Epiphanius* in the heresie of the *Offenians* (c) saith, that those

(a) *Hetrusca disciplina.*

(b) *Quintilian. lib. 1.*

Carmina Salliorum vix

sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta, sed quæ mutari vetat religio. (c) *μὴδεῖς ἑνὸς τῆς ἐρημίας ἀλλὰ ἢ μό-
νον ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ λέγονται.*

Here-

Hereticks taught their Disciples to pray in obscure words, forbidding them to seek the interpretation of them. *Austin* in the 16 Ch. to *Quod vult Deus*, saith the same of the *Heracleonites*. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* saith (d) that men hold that prayers pronounced in a barbarous tongue are more effectual. *Hierome* in the Epitaph of *Lucinius Andalusian* (e) They fright simple people with a barbarous sound, so that they admire that most which they understand least. The *Mahumetans*, both *Turks* and *Persians*, have their service in the Arabick Tongue, which the people understand not. And the *Jewes*, whom God hath delivered unto a reprobate sense, read in their Synagogues the Law and the Prophets in Hebrew, which the most part of their people understand very little, or not at all.

(d) Clem.
1 Strom.
ἡ δὲ εὐχὰς
ὁμιλοῦσιν
οἱ ἀθεοπο-
εῖναι διὰ τὰ
πρωτόεως
βαρβαροῦ
φωνῇ λεγέ-
μεναι.

They that have the charge of conducting and teaching the people, have been careful to foment and increase that evil: For they labour to retain the people in ignorance, keeping to themselves the key of knowledge, as *Christ* saith, (f) and keeping others from entering. By this means they get themselves respected as the only capable to understand divine things, and having alone a familiar communication with God. By this means they hide their game, and suffer none to look into their affairs, and get the liberty to shape Religion to their profit; doing like thieves, that blow out the candles that they may not be seen: For they fear lest that things that are admired afar off, become contemptible being looked upon near hand; like painted women, that will not be seen but at a distance. And they have learned by experience, that ignorant persons are more easie to be ruled; that it is easie to pick a blind mans purse, and that a man that will know the reason and origine of things, is hardly perswaded.

(e) Barbaro
simplices
quosque ter-
rent sonus, ut
quod non in-
telligunt plus
mirentur.

Hence it is that the people are dissuaded from reading Scripture, and that the tradition of the same into vulgar tongues is bindred. Hence it is that so much labour is taken to make Scripture suspected unto the people as a dangerous book, the reading whereof is the cause of Heresies. Hence came Images, which serve to amuse the eyes, while the minds are blindfolded, and to give recreation, while instruction is withheld. Hence that great heap of Ceremonies, which are shadows that grow when the night of ignorance draweth nigh. Hence that implicate faith, which commits the business of salvation to the faith of another, and believeth that which the Church of the Land believeth, without knowing what the Church ought to believe, serving God out of custome, following the crowd, and going with the great stream. Hence Liturgy in a barbarous tongue, and not understood, as if our Mother-tongue were too low and trivial for the Divine Service. Hence the custome of praying to God without knowing what is asked of him, as if a man were afraid to understand himself. Whence it comes to pass, that as in the publick reading of Scripture God is made barbarous unto men, so in publick prayers the Priest is barbarous unto the assistants, and in the prayers of particuliar persons every one is barbarous to himself.

Occasions and alterations of times and businesses have often contributed to that. For the vulgar tongue of a Countrey being corrupted by the lapse of time, or being suddenly changed by the mixture and inundation of strange Nations, the Pastors, and Leaders of the people were not careful to fit the publick service to the intelligence of the new inhabitants, and to the usual language. So that the Liturgy in less then fifty years is become unintelligible unto the people. This happened in *Italy*, where Latin was vulgar in the time of the Apostles, and many Ages since; but Latin being corrupted by the inundation of the *Goths*, *Lombards*, and *Franks*, and by the extinction of good letters, Bishops retained the service in the ancient tongue, and suffered the people to lose the intelligence of it. The like happened in *Gauls* and in *Spain*, as we shall see hereafter.

True Religion takes a quite contrary course: It resisteth that natural inclination of man to fly from instruction, and to fear to learn the will of God, for fear of being obliged to obey it. Truth dissipateth the Kingdom of the Prince of darkness with the light of the Gospel. For the people ought to be clearly instructed in the doctrine of salvation, since they have as much part in salvation as their Pastors, who shall not answer for the people in the day of judgement.

Math. 15. 14 ment. *If a blind man lead another blind man, both shall fall into the ditch.* Habakuk teacheth us, that *the just shall live by his faith*, not by the faith of another. Hab. 2. 4. He that believeth in God by Attorney, deserveth that another be saved for him, as another believed for him. Between the true and the false Religion, there is the same difference as between two Temples, the one without windows, the other receiving light on all sides. In the one the people professeth a blind obedience, in the other the people calls for instruction. The one rejoiceth in the Sun-shine of Gods word, the other suppressing that spiritual light, sets up candles at noon. As the light that smote *Peters* side when he slept in prison, made the chains to fall from his hands, and opened him the prison; so the light of true doctrine breaks the bonds of superstition, and sets a man at liberty; as Christ teacheth us, Joh. 8. *You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.* Wherefore God was saying, *Isa. 5. 13. Therefore my people are gone into captivity because they have no knowledge.* And Christ, *Matth. 22. 29. I say, Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures.* Wherefore he commanded the Jews to *search the Scriptures*; A command which the Pastors of the Roman Church never recommend to their people. And God himself by his Prophet *Jeremy, 31. chap. ver. 34.* promiseth a happy time when *they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord, for they shall all know me from the least of them unto the greatest.* God rejecteth a zeal without knowledge, *Rom. 10. 2.* And the apostle prayeth, that the love of the Philippians may *abound in knowledge, and in all judgement.* For *this is the condemnation of the world* (saith the Lord Jesus) *that light is come into the world, but men have loved darkness better than light.* God indeed will have us to be simple, but he will have us also to be prudent. He forbids a curious search of things which he hath hidden from us. But hence it follows not that we must be ignorant of things necessary and manifested by himself in his word.

For these reasons we have removed Images out of our Churches, and in the place of Images that speak not, we have put the holy Scriptures in which God speaks to us. These Images are fallen before the doctrine of the Gospel, as Dagon before the Ark of the Covenant. And we have translated Scripture into our vulgar tongue, and bestowed intelligible words upon Gods service. For since we teach no other doctrine, but that which is contained in the holy Scriptures, we are not ashamed of our Religion, and desire that our doctrine be known unto all and examined by Scripture, having learned of holy Scripture that faith consisteth in knowledge; That Christ will have us to know before we believe, and that faith is of hearing the word of God. Whence it follows that we must hear the word of God, and be instructed in it, before we can have faith. We reject the counsel of our Adversaries who will have us to believe before we choose the way of salvation, whereas we ought to know that we may choose well. Can there be any stronger abuse then to make the faith of Christians to consist in ignorance, as Cardinal *Bellarmino* (g) doth, who saith, that *faith is distinguished* (not from, but) *against Science, and is better defined by ignorance then by knowledge?* Wherefore also Cardinal *Du Perron* holds (h) that the greater the ignorance is, the greater is the merit of faith, saying, that when one understands not the publick service, because the Priest speaks in an unknown language, that defect is recompensed by the merit of the endeavour and greater exercise of faith; a new kind of merit to study to know nothing! a strange endeavour of faith consisting in negligence! if we may call that faith which consisteth in having no faith, since faith proceeds from the hearing of Gods word; for it is not hearing Gods word to hear a sound, and not to understand it. By the Cardinals doctrine the Apostle was destitute of reason when he gave God thanks because the Corinthians were enriched in all knowledge: And his wish that the Philippians might abound in knowledge and all judgement, was an inofficious wish, because by that knowledge the effect of their faith relented, and their merit was diminished. Upon that we have an excellent passage of *Chrysostom, Hom. 61. upon John*: There, having with many words upbraided the people with their ignorance & incapacity to defend

(g) Bell. l. 1. de Iustificacione, c. 7. Sect. Iudicium, Fides distinguitur contra scientiam, & melius per ignorantiam quam per notitiam definitur.

(h) 6. Book, 1. ch. pag. 1089
1 Cor. 1. 5.

CHAP. III.

Of prayers of particular persons in a tongue unknown to the very persons that pray.

I. Prayer is a request or supplication which man presenteth unto God, suggested by the sense of our want and need. It is begging alms at Gods hands. Hence it followeth, that he that prayeth, must do it according to his sense, and fit his prayers to his need. This cannot be done by him that prayeth, not understanding himself. Many times it comes to pass, that he who hath an intention to ask something at Gods hands, saith in his Latine prayer things remote from his intention. Thus Gallants and Ladies that understand Latine as well as Greek, say their seven Psalms in Latine, in which *David* being sick, complaineth that his wounds stink and are corrupt, and that his loyns are filled with a loathsome disease, or being persecuted by *Saul*, complaineth that he is confined to a dark Cave. It is like that poor woman pronouncing these things in Latin thinks that she asketh salvation, or the remission of her sins.

Pl. 38. &
143.

II. The Apostle *James* chap. 1. will have him that asketh something of God, to ask it in faith, nothing doubting. Now it is not possible to ask any thing at Gods hands in faith, and with a full certainty, when a man doth not know what he asketh of God; for Faith implyeth knowledge. Wherefore also the Lord *Jesus* commonly joyneth knowledge with faith; As *Ioh. 10. 38.* *That you may know and believe that the Father is in me;* And *17. chap. ver. 8.* *They have known and believed that thou hast sent me.* Wherefore whereas *St. Paul* saith so often, that we are justified by Faith, *Isaiah* saith that we are justified by knowledge.

Isa. 53. 11.

III. One cannot call a man an ideot in clearer terms then by saying to him, *You know not what you say.* But all things which in the civil conversation should be held absurd, pass for good in the Roman Religion; As if Religion were made to overthrow common sense, and to be a receptacle of absurdities; And that which in other cases is folly, is here devotion. God then shall do justly to grant nothing to him that knoweth not what he asketh, and by consequent knoweth not what God grants or denieth him.

IV. Here experience and necessity correct men whether they will or no. For a man that hath made his prayers in Latine all his Life, not understanding what he said, will alter his Language in sudden afflictions, and in sharp pains. Then he will send up fervent prayers unto God in his ordinary tongue. A man in the last agony or tyed already to the gallows, will not (unless he be altogether brutish) say the *Beati quorum*, or the *Pater noster* in Latine.

V. Is it not a pretty Pageant, when a woman saith a Latine prayer which she understands not to *St. Mary* the Egyptian, or to *Mary Magdalen*, which never understood Latine? And though they had learned Latine in Paradise, yet it is nothing to understand the voice without knowing the heart. He that is prayed to, must know the faith and the repentance of the person that prayeth, else he may grant the prayer of an hypocrite. Now the word of God teacheth us that God alone knoweth the hearts of men, *2 Chron. 6. 30.*

VI. What an object of compassion is a woman, or a mean tradesman who prayeth to *St. Ursula*, or *St. Margaret*, or *St. Katherine*, or *St. Christopher*, or *St. Martial*, or *St. Longinus*, or *St. Lazarus*, Patron of the Lepers, or the eleven thousand Virgins, which are Saints, that never were men or women, and are put in heaven, having never lived on earth? By this means he that prayeth speaks to a Saint that is not, in a tongue which the man that prayeth understands not, which is the superlative degree of absurdity. *Hi non sunt vituli labiorum, sed labia vitulorum.*

VII. If to a man that prayeth in Latine, not knowing what he saith, one had

had given a Fable of *Esope*, perswading him that it is a Prayer to the Virgin *Mary*; such a man pronouncing that Fable with fervent affection, should pray in Faith according to the Doctrine of the *Roman Church*, and should not lose the merit of his Prayer.

VIII. If a *Frenchman* that understands not *High Dutch*, came to petition his King in that Language, the King, though himself understood *High Dutch*, would either think himself abused by that discourse, or would think the man to be out of his senses.

IX. In this point Christs example ought to be our rule; For when he prescribed a Form of Prayer to his Disciples, he gave them one in their mother Tongue, saying, *when you pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven, &c.* He gave them not that Prayer in *Welsh* or in *Arabic*, for he would have them to know what they asked of God in their Prayer, and what the things were of which they stood in need.

X. That Prayer is made with such an excellent Art, that the Christian speaking to God speaks also to himself, and that every Petition is a Precept. For as Gods Commandments are the matter of our Prayers, and teach us what we ought to ask of God, so the questions which God hath prescribed unto us contain Commandments. By asking of God that his Kingdom come, we oblige our selves to labour for the advancement of that Kingdom. By asking that the name of God be hallowed or sanctified, we are taught to sanctifie it. And we are instructed by that Prayer not to covet the bread of another; to pardon those that have offended us, and to flye the temptations of the evil one. Which instructions cannot be apprehended by him that understands not himself, and prayeth in a Tongue which he understands not.

XI. It is true that God understands all Languages, but he requireth also that he that speaks to him know what he saith, and speak as a man and a reasonable creature, that is, with reason and understanding. God indeed understands thy *Latin*, but he understands also that thou understandest not thy self. It is a great abuse to think that we speak unto God that he may understand our Language; for before we open our mouth he knoweth our thoughts; and it is he that puts Prayer in the heart of those that fear him. Now it is the heart that must move the lips, and suggest unto our mouth things conformable unto our thought.

XII. Thus did the Prophets pray. *David* prayed in his own Tongue, and left to the *Israelites* Psalms in a Language which they understood. And they reading *David's* Psalms had that holy comfort, of which the *Roman Church* hath deprived herself; for what comfort is there in reading *David's* Psalms privately, or hearing them read publicly, when they are in an unknown Language?

XIII. The Prodigal Son returning to his Father, and saying, *Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son*, understood himself. And so did the poor Publican beating his breast and saying, *God be merciful to me a sinner.* Luke 15. 21.

XIV. Thus did the antient Christians pray. For the Apostle, *Col. 3. 16.* had taught them to admonish one another in *Psalms and Hymns*. So prayed *Paul* being at *Philippi*, by a river side where Prayer was wont to be made. For *Lydia* the Seller of Purple had not had her heart touched, neither with his prayers, nor with his exhortations, if he had prayed or preached in a Language which she understood not. And none hitherto hath doubted that the Church of *Jerusalem* in the Apostles time prayed in their vulgar tongue, when they prayed for the deliverance of the Apostle *Peter* out of prison; and that Fathers praying in their Family were understood by their children. Luke 18. 13.

XV. The Apostle *Paul* in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, bestoweth a whole Chapter upon this matter. It is the fourteenth, where he condemneth prayers in unknown Language. If (saith he) *I know not the meaning of the voyce*, *I shall be unto him that speaketh a Barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a Barbarian unto me.* If he forbid Christians to be Barbarians to others, how much more to be Barbarians to themselves? And in the 15. verse, *I will pray with the Spirit,* Vers. 11.

Spirit, but I will pray with understanding also. But of that Text we shall treat more at large, when we speak of publick Prayers.

XV 1. *Thomas Harding an English Doctor of Lovain*, and a buckler of Popery in *England*, in his Treatise of Prayers in a strange Tongue, in the 33 Question, is forced by the evidence of truth, and makes a self-condemning confession, saying, (b) *It were to be wist, that the people should say publick prayers in their vulgar tongue*. And in the 29 Section he acknowledgeth (c) *that the people cannot so easily say Amen to the Priests blessing as if they understood Latin perfectly*.

(b) Est opia-
bilis ut po-
pulus preces
publicas ver-
naculâ suâ
lingua recitare
quam perfecte

(c) Non potest populus fateor dicere Amen, ad benedictionem Sacerdotis neque ac si Latinam lineret.

CHAP. IV.

That in the Antient Church every one prayed in his own Tongue.

WE have already alledged in the first Chapter, many Antients that deride the Superstition of those, who think that prayers in a Barbarous tongue have more virtue.

Origens in the 1 Book against *Celsus* (a) *The Grecians in their prayers use Greek words, and the Romans Roman words, and so every one prayeth to God according to his own Language, and praiseth him as he can.* Observe, that he saith, not only his own opinion, but represents the custom of the Christian Church.

Chrysostome Hom. 35. upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians (b) If one speak only in the Persian Language, or some other strange Language, not knowing what he saith, he shall be barbarous unto himself, and not to another only.

Hierom in the 18 Epistle to *Marcella* (c) *In the whole village of Christ there is none but country people. But for Psalms there is a silence among them. Which way severer thou turn thy self, the Labourer holding the plow sings 'Praise ye the Lord'; and the Reaper sweating casteth his labour with Psalms; and the Husbandman with his crooked pruning hook pruning his Vine, sings something of David.*

That neither is done nor can be done among the common people of the Roman Church. As for singing *Latin* Psalms at their Plough or in their Shop, how can they since they understand them not? And to sing them in *French* or another common Language, is in their Church a mark of Heresie.

The same Father in the Epitaph of Paula saith, that in the Funeral of Paula, Hebrew, Græco, Latino, Syroque sermone Psalmi in ordine personabant; One might hear Psalms sung in order in Hebrew, in Greek, in Latin and in Syriack; each singing according to the tongue of his Countrey.

And that I may not tire the Reader about such an evident thing, *Thomas* himself the Angelick Doctor, whom the Pope hath Sainted, in his Comment upon 1. Cor. 14. in the fourth Lesson hath these words, (d) *It is certain, that he that prayeth and understands what he saith, profits more then he that prayeth only with his tongue, that is, he that understands not what he saith. For he that understands is fed both in his mind and affection; but the mind of him that understands not, is without fruit of reflection.* In the same Lesson he acknowledgeth that the ancient Church prayed in the vulgar Tongue, but that it was altered since.

It would be a recreative conceit to imagine the Virgin *Mary* or her Cosen *Elizabeth*, saying their houres in a Bar barous and unknown Language, turning their

se advocat; et curva attendens vites false vinitor aliquid Davidicum canit. (d) Constat quod plus lucratur qui orat et intelligit quam qui tantum lingua orat, scilicet qui non intelligit quæ dicit. Nam ille qui intelligit reficitur, et quantum ad intellectum, et quantum ad affectum; sed mens ejus qui non intelligit, est sine fructu reflectionis.

beads

beads or Rosary, according to the custom of the *Roman Church*, where the people say their hours, turning the grains of consecrated beads. Good wives will rub these beads against the feet of an Image. Chest-fulls of blessed grains, consecrated by the Pope are brought from *Rome*, and they are sold dearer, as having more vertue. *Cardinal du Perron* returning from *Rome*, brought a cloak-bag full of such superlative blessed grains, that one of them being put among beads got a hundred years of pardon every time it was kissed. But that priviledge was for the *French* only. It is ordinary to see women say their *Pater Noster* in *Latin* going to market. The *Spaniards* speaking of businesses, turn the grains of their beads gently, saying upon every grain a *Latine Prayer*, which is fifty times repeated, mingling *Pater's* with *Ave's*, and saying five *Ave's* for one *Pater*. For in our daies the vertue of the Prayer consisteth in an iterated number of the same words not understood; And the simple people saying the *Ave*, think that they pray to the Virgin *Mary*, whereas they pray for her. All this practice is defended with saying *It is the Church*, and *It is an Apostolical Tradition*. For this word *Church* is become a cloak to cover a multitude of errors.

CHAP. V:

That the Publick Service in a Language not understood, is contrary to the Word of God, and to Reason.

I. **T**He abuse in the publick Service is more pernicious then in private devotions, because they make use of God himself to help the abuse; for they make him Barbarous unto men, and his Word not intelligible, as if they would frustrate God of his intention, which is to speak to us to instruct us; As if Christ had descended from Heaven purposely to speak unto men, so that he may not be understood. For in the Mass you have not only prayers unto God, but Texts of Scripture in which God speaks to men.

For Prayers in an unknown Tongue they use this impertinent excuse, That God understands all Languages, as if we spake with our mouth that we might be understood of God. But here where it is question of God speaking to us, that excuse can have no place. For when God speaks unto men, he will be hearkened unto and understood. And indeed when they bring that excuse, that God understands all Languages, they presuppose that he to whom they speak, must understand that which is said to him.

II. Wherefore Scripture tells us, that when God is angry with a people, he makes their eares heavy that they may not hear, and that their heart may not understand; as God himself saith by his Prophet *Isa. 6. 10.*

III. And it is one of Gods curses whereby he punisheth mens unthankfulness, and the contempt of his Word, when he speaks unto a people in a Language which they understand not, as the Apostle teacheth, *1 Cor. 14. 21.* where he alledged God speaking thus by his Prophet *Isaiab*, *With men of other tongues and other lips will I speak unto this people, and thus they shall not hear me saith the Lord. Wherefore tongues are for a sign, not for them that believe not, but for them which believe.* This threatening is fulfilled in the *Roman Church*, in which God punisheth the hardness of men, by speaking to them in a tongue which they understand not.

IIa. 25. 12.

IV. In this matter this Maxime taken from the nature of man, and the intention of the Creatour, must be laid for a ground, that the tongue was given unto man to be the interpreter of his thoughts, and the messenger of his conceits. Whence it follows, that to use the tongue for a contrary end, and to speak that one may not be understood, is overthrowing nature, and as far as in us lyeth, frustrating the Creatour of his intention, changing mans speech into an useles

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sound,

found, and a voyce beating the air. And if that be true in him that speaks to others in a Tongue which they understand not, it is yet more true in him who is neither understood by himself nor by others.

V. From the same Maxime it follows, that when the Priest speaks *Latin* in the Church, he ought to speak to be understood of some. Let our Adversaries tell us whether he speaks to be understood by the assistants, or by himself, or by God; for there is no fourth. He speaks not to be understood by the assistants, since he speaks low and in a Language which the people understand not; and in private Masses he speaks alone and without assistants. Neither doth he speake to be understood by God; for God understands us without our speaking, and before we open our mouth. It cannot be said also, that the Priest in the Mass speaks that he may understand himself, for he knew his own thought before he spake. Speech was given unto man, not to make him know his own thought, but to make it known unto others. That man is altogether senseless, who speaks to himself that he may understand himself.

VI. To this add, that in many places of the Mass the Priest speaks unto the people, saying *Oremus*, and *Orate pro me fratres*, &c. and many the like passages, in which the Priest commands the people to ask of God such and such things, and to joyn their prayers with his. But the people is far from obeying that command, not knowing what the Priest commands them. The people might say to him with good reason, *Make thy self understood to us, if thou wilt be obeyed.*

VII. Wherefore in the Church of the Old Testament all the publick Service was done in the vulgar tongue; and the Prayers which *Aaron* and his Successors made for the *Hebrew* people were in *Hebrew*, which tongue being altered since the Captivity of *Babylon*, yet was understood by the people, as we will shew hereafter.

VIII. The Lord Jesus instituted and celebrated the holy Communion among his Disciples in the vulgar tongue, intelligible to the assistants. He commanded them that *as often as they eat this bread and drink this cup, they should announce the Lords death till he come.* To obey that command, they must so speak that they may be understood when they announce the Lords death; for a thing is not announced when it is propounded in an unintelligible tongue.

IX. To the same end he gave to his Apostles the gift of divers Languages, that in all Nations they might establish the Service of God in the Language of the Country, and that in every tongue God might be served. So that the diversity of Tongues, which in the building of *Babel* was a curse, in the building of the Church became a blessing.

X. The Apostles followed their Masters example; For *St. Paul* writing to the *Corinthians*, who were *Grecians*, giveth them in their Tongue the Form of the celebration of the Lords Supper, *1 Cor. 11.*

XI. Is it like that Christ who is the light of the World, came to pour darkness upon the World? And since God spake to his People by *Moses* in an intelligible tongue, would he now delight to propound his Word, and give his Sacraments in a barbarous and strange Tongue?

XII. But the strongest weapon in this combat, and the sword that cuts the knot, is the Apostles Authority, who imployeth the 14. Chap. of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians* wholly almost upon this matter, even to condemn the use of strange Languages not understood in the Church. If (saith he v. 8.) *the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battel?* So likewise you, except ye utter by the tongue words easie to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? but ye shall speak into the air. And v. 11. *If I know not the meaning of the voyce, I shall be unto him that speaketh a Barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a Barbarian unto me.* And v. 16. *When thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?* For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. Whence he concludeth, v. 19. *In the Church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, than by my voyce I might teach others also, then ten thousand words in an unknown Tongue.*

(a) Cardinal

(a) Cardinal *Du Perron* answers, that *St. Paul* speaks not of an unknown tongue ordinarily used in the Church, but of infused and miraculous tongues; and that *St. Paul* by *tongues*, signifyeth *unknown tongues*. This I readily grant, for it increaseth the strength of the Text, against the ordinary service in an unknown tongue; for these miraculous gifts of tongues were rare, and given unto some Christians for a short time, to make Gods vertue to appear: And by consequent the use of them in the Church brought a benefit, which the Mass in Latine cannot yield. Yet the Apostle forbids them to use that miraculous gift in the Church, without expounding presently, because he will have nothing said in the Church that is not understood. How much more doth he condemn strange Language in the ordinary Service, where that extraordinary evil, which the Apostle will avoid, becomes ordinary? The Apostle forbids not the use of an unknown tongue in the Church, because it is miraculous, but because it is not understood, and because he that speaketh becomes barbarous unto him that heareth, and because that which is said is not understood; and because speaking thus is beating the ayr, and because the people cannot say *Amen* to a thanksgiving which they understand not, and because the hearers are not edified: Which are true reasons, whether he that speaks an unknown language in the Church, hath learned that language by miracle or study. Here the question is not of the manner, how a man hath learned a tongue, but of the instruction of the people. *St. Paul* had learned Hebrew without miracle, yet he would not have celebrated the Lords Supper at *Corinth*, or at *Rome*, among the Gentiles in the Hebrew Tongue. Upon the whole matter he giveth two general rules without exception; the one, that it is better to say five intelligible words in the Church, then ten thousand unintelligible: The other, that it is a curse of God, when he speaks to a people in a language which they understand not.

(a) 6. Book.
1. ch. pag.
109.

XIV. Others try another way to escape. They say, that *St. Paul* speaks not of the ordinary service which was said in the Church, but of certain hymnes and spiritual songs. By speaking thus they will persuade us that such hymns were to be pronounced in a tongue understood of all, but that the rest of the service was spoken in a language not understood by the Corinthians; which they know to be most false; for it is a thing known that in *Greece* the publick Service was always done in Greek, and so is done to this day. If those hymns and spiritual songs were to be pronounced in a known tongue, much more the ordinary prayers, and the reading of Gods word, from which the people receiveth more edification.

XV. But it is easie for us to prove that the Apostle in this Text speaks of other things than hymns and spiritual songs: for when he saith that strange tongues are for a sign, not to believers, but to Infidels, and puts this among the threatenings and curses of God, when God threatens to speak to a people in a strange language that he may not be understood, it is clear, that he speaks not of hymns and songs in which men speak to God, but of the word of God directed unto men.

XVI. And when the Apostle saith, that he had rather speak five intelligible words in the Church to instruct others, then ten thousand in an unknown language, it is evident that he speaks of all that is pronounced in the Church.

XVII. And these words, *If I know not the meaning of the voyce, I shall be unto him that speaks a Barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a Barbarian unto me*, are as true, no doubt in respect of him that reads Scripture in publick, as of him that pronounceth hymns; for all those are held barbarians whose language is not understood: Which is that which *Ovid* saith of himself, exiled among the *Getes*:

(b) *Barbarus hic ego sum quia non intelligor ulli,
Et ridet stolidi verba Latina Getæ.*

(b) *Ovid.
Trist. l. 5.
Eleg. 10.*

XVIII. Also when the Priest pronounceth prayers in the Mass, where the

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people

people understands nere a word, may we not, and indeed ought we not to apply unto him the sentence of the Apostle, *How shall the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?*

Chrysostom expounding this Text, understands it as we do; for he personates the Apostle speaking thus, (c) *Unless I say that which may be intelligible to you, and that may be evident, but shew you only that I have the gift of tongues, you shall go away without any benefit from that you have heard of unknown tongues.*

For what benefit do you get by a voice which you understand not? (c) Chrysostom, Hom. 35. in 1 Cor. εἰς τὴν μὴ πᾶν τοῦ δυνάμε-
νον εἶναι ἐν-
ἀποστολῇ γινέ-
σθαι, καὶ δὲ
καρμὸν ἐν-
ταυ σαφὲς
αὐτῷ ἐπιδεί-
ξοναι μόνον
ὅτι γλωτ-
τῶν ἐξου-
σίαν.

(d) Ambrose in his Comment upon this place understands it so. If (saith he) you assemble your selves to edifie the Church, such things must be said as the hearers may understand. For what good doth it when a man speaketh a tongue which he alone understands, that they that hear may get no good by it? And a little after, The Apostle saith, (e) *I choose rather to speak five words in the Church according to the Law, that I may edifie others also, then to make a long speech with obscurity.*

Hierom in his Comment upon the same place, (g) *If any speak to not understood, is judged barbarous. And in the same place, (g) If any speak to others in unknown tongues, his mind is made unfruitfull, not to himself, but to the hearer; for he understands nothing of that which is said.*

Basil in his Asketicks is very expresse upon that, in the 278. answer of his brief definitions; He asketh, *How is it that the Spirit of a man prayeth, but his understanding is without fruit?* Then he answereth, (*) *This was said (by the A-*

postle) concerning those that make their prayers in a tongue unknown unto them that hear: For, he saith, If I pray in a tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understand- ing is fruitless: for when the words of the prayer are unknown to the assistants, the mind of him that prayeth is unfruitfull, doing no good. But when the assistants understand the prayer, which may profit them that hear it, then he that prayeth hath this fruit, the bettering of those that have got profit thereby. The same is in all declarations of the word of God: for it is written, if there be some good words for the edification of faith. This holy man understands this Text, not on- ly of the hymns and songs, but of any prayer, and of any reading or pronoun- cing of the word of God.

Upon that, we have a Law of the Emperour Justinian, in the 123. Novel, in the Greek Editions, in these words, (h) *We command that all Bishops and Priests ce- lebrate the holy oblation, and the Prayers added to the holy Baptism, not with a low, but with a clear voice, which may be understood by the faithfull People, that thereby the minds of the hearers be raised with a greater devotion to set forth the praises of the Lord God. For thus the Apostle teacheth in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. This Imperial Law is found in the Greek exemplaries of Haloander, and is alledged at large by Cassander a Divine of Collen, and is acknowledged by Cardinal Bellarmine in the 2. Book of the Mass 12. chap. Wherefore the fraud and perversity of those that have raised it out of the Latine versions of the Novels of Justinian, is to be detested.*

To this Law Bellarmine answereth, that it belongs not to an Emperour to give Laws concerning sacred things. But if that Novel is not received for a Law, at least it is a witness of the custom of the Church in the Roman Empire, untill the time of that Emperour, who died about the year of Christ, 565.

Bellarmino saith also, that this commandment was made only to the Greek Churches: but Bellarmine could not be ignorant that the City of Rome, and the Bishop of the same were at that time under the subjection of the Emperour Ju- stinian: which appeareth in the same Novel, in which the Bishop of Rome is taxed

by

(*) Τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν γλώσσῃ ἀγνοούμενῃ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν τὰς προσευχὰς ἀναπαύειν τὸν ἰσθμὸν, &c. ὅταν μὲν ἀγνοῶσι τοῖς παύσει τὰ ῥήματα τῆς προσευχῆς, ἀκαρπὸς ἐστὶν ὁ νῦν τῷ προσευχαμένῳ, καὶ ἐνδὸς ἐκείνου. ὅταν δὲ ἐν σαφὲς τοῦτο τῷ προσευχῶν, ἐπείγειν δυναμὲν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, τότε προσευχόμενος ὁ ἀκούων ἐστὶν τῷ ᾧ δευνοῦντι βαλτιώσῃ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἐκφώνησιν ὅτι τῷ Θεῷ ῥήματων.

(h) Ad hoc jubemus ut omnes Episcopi pariter et Presbyteri non tacito modo sed clara voce qua a fidei populo exaudi-

atur, sacram oblationem & preces in sancto baptismo adhibitas celebrent, quo majore exinde devotione in depromendis

Dei laudibus audientium animi effervantur: Ita enim & Divus Apostolus docet prima ad Corinthios Epistola.

by the Emperour in four thousand crowns for the entry of his charge, and the other Patriarchs in three thousand; for in those days the Bishops of the principal Sees paid the Annuat unto the Emperour: And the same Emperour created two Bishops of *Rome, Sylvester* and *Vigilius*.

Truly this text of *St. Paul* of *1 Cor. 14.* whereby he condemneth the use of strange languages in the Church, doth so vex our adversaries, that some of the most conscionable among them freely condemn their cause in this point.

Nicholas de Lyra in his Notes upon this chapter speaks thus, (i) *Here consequently the Apostle sheweth the same of publick prayer, because if the people understand the prayer or blessing of the Priest, he is the better brought unto God, and answereth Amen more devoutly. Again, If the Priest blesteth in Spirit, that is, not being understood by the people, what good doth that to the simple people that understand not?*

Anselmus whom the Pope hath Sainted, in his Exposition upon this chapter, (k) *That which thou sayest is good; but another is not edified by thy words which he understands not. Wherefore since you meet in the Church for edification, things must be said in the Church which may be understood by men, and that bring edification to the hearers.*

Thomas, the Prince of Schoolmen, in his Comment upon this first Chapter of the Apostle, in the fourth Lesson is brought to such a perplexity about this Text, that in the end he is brought to say, that this command of the Apostle was good for the Primitive Church, but that now it is practised no more, because the faithful are better instructed: (l) *Why (saith he) are not the blessings given in the vulgar tongue, that the people may understand them, and conform themselves better unto them?* His answer is, that perhaps it was done so in the Primitive Church, but after that the faithful have been instructed, and know the things which they bear in the ordinary Service, the blessings are done in Latine. In the fifth Lesson he saith, that in the Antient Church it would have been a folly to pray in a Language not understood, because then men were rude, but that now all are instructed. Wherein he is very wide of the truth, for never was the people more ignorant then it was in the Age of *Thomas*, and the two following Ages. Even in our Age, in which Scripture is brought to the sight of the world, and humane Letters are flourishing, scarce of a hundred men in the Roman Church ten are to be found that know what is contained in the Mass, or that do so much as to enquire about it. *Harding* in the 3. Article of his Dispute against *Jewel* in the 30. Section, hath followed the impiety of *Thomas*, speaking thus, (m) *As for that it seemeth that St. Paul condemneth the custom of praying in [unknown] Language in the Church, as being void of fruit and edification, and preferreth five words or sentences understood, whereby the people be instructed, unto ten thousand pronounced in an unknown and strange Language; all these things must be referred to the condition of those times which is far different from the condition of the Church in our days. Mark the impiety and audaciousness of the man which cuts down the authority of Gods word at the root. For if it be permitted unto men to say, This Law was in the beginning, and so they taught in the Apostles time, but now it is altered, and the Church being better instructed doth otherwise; What remaineth but to alter wholly the word of God, and to give unto the Pope the authority of abrogating Divine Laws, and pulling God from his throne to raise the Pope above God.*

Cardinal *Cajetan* was ashamed of that; for in his Comment upon the 14. chap. of the first Epistle to the Corinthians he speaketh, as wishing that Latine were banisht out of the publick service, and that the Service were made in the vulgar tongue. (n) *By this doctrine of St. Paul (saith he) it is gathered, that it is better*

(i) *Hic consequenter i-ndem ostendit in oratione publica, quia si populus intelligat orationem seu benedictionem Sacerdotis, melius reduci- tur in Deum, et devotius respondet Amen.*
(k) *Bonum est quod lo-queris, sed alter non adifi- catur in ver- bis tuis quae non intelligit. Ideo cum ad Ecclesiam propter adifi- cationem con-veniat, ea debent in Ec- clesia dici quae intelli- gantur homi- nibus, et pra- stent adifica- tionem audien- tibus.*
(l) *Sed quare non dantur benedictiones in vulgari, ut intelligantur a populo et conformet se magis eis? R. Dicendum est quod hoc forte fuit in Ecclesia primi- tiva, sed postquam fi- deles instructi sunt et sciunt quae audiunt in communi officio, sunt benedictiones in Latino.*
(m) *Quod autem Divus Paulus morem precandi lingua in Ecclesia tanquam fructus et edificationis expertem improbare videtur, et quinque verba aut sententiam intellectas et perceptas ex quibus reliquus populus instituitur, decem millibus peregrino et incognito sermone pronuntiatis antepone; ista omnia ad illorum temporum conditionem referenda sunt, quae hodierno Ecclesiae statui longe dissimilis est. (n) Ex hac Pauli doctrina habetur quod melius ad edificationem Ecclesiae est orationes publicas quae audiente populo dicuntur dici lingua communi clericis et populo, quam dici Latine.*

for the edification of the Church to have the publique prayers (which are said in the hearing of the people) said in the common tongue, both to the Clergy and the people, then said in Latine. This is indeed a notable confession, from a Cardinal so eminent, and of such authority in the Roman Church.

CHAP. VI.

The same is proved by the example of the Church of the Old Testament.

BY all that we said of this question it is evident, that we have the word of God, reason, and the confession of our Adversaries on our side. To which we must add the example of the ancient Church, both of the Old and the New Testament, which must be our rule.

I. To take the matter from the beginning, God gave his Law in an intelligible tongue, and the form of prayers and blessings which God prescribed unto Aaron to use in publick, were in the vulgar tongue of Gods people. Such prayers and blessings we read, *Numb.* 6.23. and in the following verses, and in the 10. ch. *ver.* 35. and 36. And the form of thanksgiving in the offering of the first fruits, *Deut.* 26.3. And the form of prayer after the paying of the tythes in the third year, *Deut.* 26.13. In a word, all the publick prayers which were done by the Priests, or by the people, were done in a tongue understood by the people. And David gave Psalms unto the people, which were sung in the Temple with instruments of Musick in Hebrew, the vulgar tongue of Israel.

II. Under the captivity of Babylon, the Hebrew tongue degenerated from its purity. Yet that alteration was not so great, but that Hebrew in which Moses and the Prophets have written was understood by the Jews. Not only because the people exercised themselves in the reading and hearing of these books both in private houses, and in the Synagogues every Sabbath; but also because the corruption was not so great, but that the common people understood Hebrew easily, because of the proximity between Hebrew and the vulgar Jewish tongue. Wherefore also in the New Testament, the Jewish tongue is often called the Hebrew tongue, as *Matth.* 27.33. where *Golgotha*, which is a word of the Jewish tongue, is said to be an Hebrew word: whereas the right Hebrews said *Golgoleth* that is, the skull: And *Joh.* 19.19. It is said that *Gabbatha*, in Hebrew, signifieth *Pavement*, although *Gabbatha* be a Syrian word. That the Jews after their return from the captivity of Babylon understood Hebrew, and the text of the books of the Law, it appears by the 8. chapter of *Nehemiah*, in the 2. verse, where it is said, that Ezra the Priest brought the Law before the congregation of men and women, and of those that were capable to hear. And it is added that Ezra read in the book before the men and the women, and those that could understand, and the ears of all the people were attentive unto the book of the Law. The vulgar version agreeth to this, *Et legit in libro aperte, in platea, &c. & aures omnis populi erant arrecta ad librum.* And a little after, *Et legerant in libro legis distincte & aperte ad intelligendum, & intellexerunt cum legeretur*, that is, *They read in the book of Gods law distinctly and openly to understand it, and they understood the reading.* That is not done in the Roman Church, in which the Deacon reads the Gospel, and the Sub-Deacon the Epistle, in Latine, before women, peasants, and tradesmen, who understand nothing in it, and by consequence cannot be attentive unto it.

The exposition which the Levites added unto that reading, of which the following Texts speak, was not to expound the terms of the Law in another tongue,

tongue, but to expound the sense, as *Nicolas de Lyra* acknowledgeth upon *Nehem. 8.* (a) *Ezra read in the Book, openly, that is intelligibly, declaring the things which seemed obscure.*

II I. (b) *Josephus* in the 12. and 16. *Ch.* of the *Book of the Empire* of reason, describeth the martyrdom of the seven brethren, and of their mother by the cruelty of King *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and saith that the mother exhorteth her children, the youngest especially, to dye constantly for Gods Law, and that she spake to them in *Hebrew*, that she might not be understood by *Antiochus* who was a *Grecian*. And since she spake so to the youngest, it appeareth, that then among the *Jews*, women and children spake *Hebrew*.

IV. Luke 4. 16. &c. the Lord *Jesus* being in the *Synagogue of Nazareth*, takes the *Book of the Prophet Isaiah*, and reads before the People a long Text of that Prophet; Then he adds, *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears*; which words shew, that the assistants had well understood the words of that Text. Is it credible, that in the *Synagogues* of the *Jews* they read Scripture in a language not understood, seeing that in the Scriptures God speaks to the people that he may be understood?

V. Acts 22. 2. The Apostle *Paul* makes a speech to the *Jews* in *Hebrew*, And when they heard that he spake in the *Hebrew* tongue to them, they kept, the more silence, Which they had not done if they had not understood it. And the Apostle would not have spoken to the common people in a language which they understood not. As also the rest of the Chap. the 12. verse especially, sheweth that the *Jews* understood it very well.

(a) *Esdra* legit in eo aperte, id est intelligibiliter declarando ea quæ videbantur obscura. (b) *Joseph.* ὅτι αὐτὸν ἑρπύσθη, cap. 12. ὁ δὲ τῆς μητρός αὐτοῦ τῇ ἑβραϊστῶν γλώσσῃ ἐλάλει, &c.

CHAP. VII.

That the Antient Christian Church over all the world used an intelligible tongue in the publick Service.

Here we have all the ancient Church on our side. It is a thing out of question and testified by the Antients, that every Country and Nation, even the most barbarous, had the Holy Scripture translated in the Vulgar tongue, that the people might get instruction by the reading of the same. (*Chrysostom 1. Hom.* upon *John* speaks thus. (a) *The Syrians, the Egyptians, the Indians, the Persians, the Ethiopians, and other infinite Nations, having translated in their tongues the doctrines propounded by this [John], being barbarous, have learned to discourse like Philosophers.*

Theodoret in the fifth Sermon of the way of correcting the indispositions of the *Grecians*, (b) *Hebrew* was not only translated into *Greek*, but also in the tongue of the *Romans, Egyptians, Persians, Indians, Armenians, Scythians, and even of Pontians*; and in a word, into all languages which Nations use in our days.

(c) *Hierome* hath translated the Bible into the *Dalmatic* tongue, as himself testifieth in the Epistle to *Sophrenius*.

Austin in the *Book of Christian Doctrine*, ch. (d) 5. *Whence it came to pass that the holy Scripture which is the cure of so many sicknesses of mens will, having begun to be set forth in a tongue which might opportunely be dispersed over all the World, was spread far and wide, and made known to the Nations unto salvation, by the means of the several languages of Interpreters.*

Ulfilas a *Goth* Bishop, translated the holy Scripture into the *Gothick* tongue, as (*) *Sozomenus* witnesseth in the 6 *Book* of his History, ch. 37.

It appeareth, that the holy Scriptures were very common among the common

(a) ἀλλὰ καὶ Σύροι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Ἀρμενιοὶ καὶ μυρία ἑτέροι ἐθνὴς τῶν αὐτῶν ματαβαλόντες γλώττω τὰς διὰ τούτου δογματὰ εἰς ἀχθόντα ἑκάστων αἰθροῦ βαρβαροῦ φιλοσοφῶν. (b) καὶ ἡ ἑβραϊστὴν σαφὴ καὶ μόνον εἰς τῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεταλλάξαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς

τῶν τῶν Ρωμαίων καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ ἑτερόων, &c. (c) Quorum translationem diligentissime emendatam olim lingua mea hominibus dedevim. (d) Ex quo factum est ut etiam Scriptura divina quo tantis morbis humanarum voluntatum subvenitur, ab una lingua profecta, quæ opportunè potuit per totum orbem disseminari per varias interpretum linguas longe lateque diffusa innotesceret Gentibus ad futurum. (*) *Sozom.* Οὐφίλλης ἑρπύσθη γερμανῶν εὐερεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρηστέα καὶ εἰς τῶν ὀκταίων φωνῶν μεταφράσαι τὰς ἑβραϊστὴν γλῶσσας.

people,

(c) *Dens bo-
ne quo illa
servore, quo
studio intenta
orat divinis
voluntatibus!*
(f) *Ita Scrip-
turas sanctas
lege ut semper
memineris Dei
illa verba esse.*

(g) Athan.
Tom. 2. p.
249. adver-
sus eos qui
nec querenda
nec lo-
quendum de
Scriptura
precipiunt.
Edit. Commet.
ἀπειρομα-
των γὰρ ὡν
προσβαλεῖ τὸ
μὴ κατὰ το-
μὴν ὥς
ἀπειρομα-
των ὡς
ἀπειρομα-
των τὸ φε-
ρεῖν τὸν ἑ-
αυτοῦ ἑλε-
γος.

(h) In vita
S. Martini.
Inter Episco-
pos qui affue-
rant precipue
Defensor
quidam nomi-
ne dicitur re-
sistisse, &c.
Nam cum
fortuito lector
cui legendi eo
die officium
erat interclu-
sum, à populo
defuisset, tur-
bati Mini-
stros, dum ex-
pectatur qui
non aderat,
unus è cir-
cumstantibus
sumpto Psal-
terio quem
primum ver-
sum invenit
arripuit:
Psalmus au-
tem hic erat,
Ex ore infan-
tium, &c.

(i) Hinc fida silentia sacris instituta sunt ab hominibus callidis ut populus nesciat quid colat. (k) August. lib. de Magistro c. 1. Quare non opus est locutione cum oramus, id est, sonantibus verbis, nisi forte sicut sacerdotes faciunt signifi-
cande mentis causa, non ut Deus sed ut homines audiant. (l) Quoniam in plerisque partibus intra eandem civitatem,
atque Diocesis permixti sunt populi diversarum linguarum habentes sub una fide varios ritus & mores, districte precipi-
mus ut Pontifices huiusmodi civitatum sine diocesum provideant viros idoneos qui secundum diversitatem rituum, &
linguarum divina officia illis celebrent, et Ecclesiastica Sacramenta ministrent instruendo eos verbo pariter et exemplo.

diversity

people, since *Hierom* in his Epistle to *Lata*, exhorts her to exercise her daughter *Paula* to read the holy Scriptures; And commendeth *Fabiola* (e) for her assiduity in the lecture of sacred Books, especially the Prophets, the Evangelists, and the Psalms. Thus *Chrysostom* in the 3. Hom. upon *Lazarus*, and 2. Hom. upon *Matthew*, and in the third Homily upon the second Epistle to the *Thessaloni-ans*, and in many other places exhorteth the Trademen, the women, and the unlearned to read often and carefully the holy Scriptures.

The Epistle to the Virgin *Demetrias* which is the 141. among *Austins* Epistles, ch. 23. (f) So read the holy Scriptures, that thou remember alwaies that they are the Word of God.

(g) *Athanasius* in the second Tome, pag. 249. saith that Hereticks dissuade the People from the Scriptures, saying that they are not accessible; But in effect, that they may avoid to be convinced by them.

All that presupposeth that Scripture in the vulgar tongue was in the hands of the people; for otherwise the exhortation to read it would have been vain and un sincere. Scripture was then read in the Church in a language understood by the people, as it appeareth by those frequent words in the Homilies of *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, As it was read to you this day. It would have been a great absurdity to call upon the people to remember the reading of words which they understood not.

(b) *Sulpitius Severus* relateth, that one called *Defensor*, opposed the reception of *Martin* into the Office of Bishop, saying that he was a nasty base fellow; But that one day in the Deacons absence some of the people taking the Psalter began to read in the Church the 8. Psalm, where it is said, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger. What we translate the avenger, the *Latin* version then read in the Church calls the *Defensor*. At the reading of that word *Defensor*, the whole people did shout aloud against *Defensor*, *Martins* adversary, as if that place of Scripture had been intended and read against him by Gods providence.

Our Adversaries themselves acknowledge, that in the Church of the Apostles, and many Ages after, the Service and the Prayers were made in a language understood by the people. *Lyranus* upon 1 Cor. 14. In primitiva Ecclesia benedictiones & cetera omnia fiebant in vulgari. In the Primitive Church the blessings and all other things were done in the vulgar tongue. We heard before how *Aquinas* and *Harding* acknowledge, that in the ancient Church they prayed in a language that was understood; but (say they) that use was good for that time, and that custome was altered since because men are better instructed.

Lactantius in the third Book of Divine Institutions, ch. 20. laughs at the Pagans hiding their mysteries unto the people, for fear of being laughed at if their fopperies were known. (i) Hence it is, saith he, that crafty men have instituted a sacred silence to be kept in the sacred Service, that the People may not know what they worship.

(k) When we pray (saith *Austin*) there is no need of words, that is, of sounding words, unless it be perhaps as Priests do, to express their mind, not that God, but that men may hear them.

In the Council of *Lateran* held under *Innocent* the III. in the year 1215. in the ninth ch. this constitution is found (l) Because in most places in the same City or Diocesis Nations of divers languages are mingled, having under the same Faith diverse ceremonies and customs; we strictly command that the Bishops of such Cities or Diocesses provide fit men to celebrate unto them Divine Service, according to the

diversity of ceremonies and tongues, and administer the Sacraments of the Church, instructing them by word and example. Here is a Council which our Adversaries put among the Universal, authorized by the presence and approbation of such a famous Pope, which not only permitteth but also commandeth, that divine Service be celebrated in another language than *Latin* among Nations of divers languages. And note that he speaks of Nations divers in Language, but agreeing in the Faith. That one may not think that he speaketh only of the *Grecians* and *Latins*, which then were already of different belief and separated in communion. And that not only in some few places, but in *plerisque partibus*, in most places.

Isidorus in the first Book of Ecclesiastical Offices, chap. 10. (m) Reading is not of small edification to hearers; Wherefore when one saith the *Psalter*, all must say the *Psalter*; when prayer is said, all must pray; when the Lesson is read, all must hearken with silence.

Yet to this day in the *Roman Church* the Order of Reader is conferred by the Bishop pronouncing these words, (n) *Study to pronounce the Words of God, that is, the sacred Lessons distinctly and openly to the intelligence and edification of the faithful, without any untruth of falsehood.* And a little after, so that you may teach your hearers both by word and example. This is found in the Pontifical reformed by Pope *Clement* the VIII. in the Chapter of the Ordination of Readers. That Form of Ordination is more antient than the abuse which came since; and I wonder why that Pope having corrected many things in the Pontifical, did not cause that Clause to be put out, which driveth the Readers of the *Roman Church* into a perjury; for they are obliged in their ordination so to read, that the faithful may understand their reading, and that they may edify their Readers. For by making them read Scripture in *Latin*, they take away from them the means of fulfilling the promise which they made unto God.

Wherefore *John Belet*, as *Cassander* relateth in his Sum of Divine Offices, after he hath praised the custom of the antient Church, in which it was not permitted to say any thing in the Church in unknown language without giving the interpretation, addeth, (o) *What must be done then in our time, when none is found, or very seldom, that either readeth or heareth that which he understands, or that seeth or doth that which he perceiveth? Now the Prophets saying seems to be fulfilled, The Priest shall be as one of the people. It seems then that it is better to be silent then to sing, and rather hold ones peace then to dance.* So he derided the singing and the gesticulations of the Priest.

All the Churches of the World that are not subject unto the Pope, and some also that are subject unto him, are for us in this point. For in *Greece* the Service is said in *Greek*; and for a thousand years after Christ and more, the tongue of the Liturgy was the vulgar tongue. Now that by the domination of the *Turk* and the putting down of Schools the language is altered, yet the vulgar *Greek* is not so corrupted but that the *Greek* of the Liturgy is intelligible unto the people. And though it were otherwise, yet the example of antiquity, for the space of a thousand years and more, is more considerable then the corruption happened of late.

Cassiodorus who writ about the year 520, or 530. hath an excellent passage upon this Subject upon the 44. Ps. (p) *Let us carefully search why the Church of God is praised for her raiment of divers colours, whereas all simplicity and unity is convenient to her. But this signifieth the variety or multiplicity of tongues, because all Nations say the Psalter in the Church according to the language of their Country to shew to the author of virtues a most beautiful diversity.*

(q) *Harding* acknowledgeth, that the *Muscovites*, *Armenians* and *Ethiopians*, had

adum quam tripudandum. (p) *Perseveremus cur Ecclesia Dei de vestis varietate laudetur cui totum simplex convenit atque unum; Sed hic varietatem aut linguas multiplices significat, quia omnes gentes secundum suam patriam in Ecclesia psallunt ut auctori virtutum pulcherrimam diversitatem demonstrant.* (q) *Hardingus lib. de precibus linguarum peregr. Sect. 38. Quae gentes preces publicas vernaculo semper sermone habuerunt, &c. quales sunt Muscovitae, Armeni et Ethiopes, &c. Russi, Moravii alijs; quibusdam ante 600. abhinc annos permixtum fuit ut Missam lingua Dalmatica celebrarent.*

N n n n n

alwaies

(m) *Est autem lectio non parva audientium edificatio. Unde oportet ut quando Psallitur, ab omnibus psallatur; cum oratur, oretur ab omnibus; quando lectio fit, facto silentio, eque audiat a cunctis.*

(n) *Studete verba Dei, videlicet lectiones sacras distincte et aperte ad intelligentiam et edificationem fidelium absque omni mendacio falsitatis proferre, &c. quatenus auditores vestros verbo pariter et exemplo vestro docere possitis.*

(o) *Quid autem in nostris temporibus est agendum, ubi nullus vel rarus invenitur legens vel audiens quod intelligat, videns vel agens quod animadvertat? Jam videtur esse completum quod à Propheta dicitur, Et erit sacerdos quasi de populo unus.*

Videtur ergo potius esse tacendum quam psallendum, potius silen-

alwaies their publick Prayers in their vulgar tongues; And that to the *Russians* and *Meravians* and other Nations, it was permitted fix hundred years ago to have the Service in the *Dalmatick* tongue.

(r) Franc. Alvarez. hist. Ethiop. ch. 3. Et in tanto consecra nella sua lingua con le proprie nostre parole & non la lingua. Et il medesimo fauel calice et non Patra. Dice sopra quello le proprie nostre parole nella sua lingua. (s) In singulis Templis unicum tantum altare, & in dies singulos unumquodque sacrum faciendum putant. Totum sacrum seu Missa gentili ac vernacula lingua apud illos peragi solet. (t) Ad similitudinem celestis tonitruum Anna rebatur. (u) Tunc quia Christiani erant pauci, omnes simul psallabant in Ecclesia, & respondabant in divinis Officiis: at postea crescente populo divisa sunt magis officia, et solis Clericis relictum est ut communes preces et laudes in Ecclesia peragant. (*) Disp. 22. Sect. Ac Subdit. Ne benedicens sacerdos dicat, Ego quidem intelligo cum gratias ago peregrina lingua; respondet Apostolus: At alter non edificatur, id est, inde nullam derivari edificationem Ecclesia cuius imprimis ratio habenda erat. Nam omnia tum ad edificationem Ecclesie fieri solebant, ut docet Apostolus; ita ut nolit ullas preces publicas in Ecclesia celebrari ignoto profuso sermone.

The *Abyssine* or *Ethiopian* Churches have their Service in the *Ethiopick* tongue, as *Francis Alvarez* a *Portughes* Monk testifieth, who lived seven years in the Court of the great *Neguz* of *Ethiopia*; (r) Then he consecrateth in his tongue with our very words, and makes no elevation. He doth the same of the chalise, and doth not elevate it; And saith upon it our very words in his tongue. *Cassander* in his *Liturgica* translated these words of *Alvarez* into *Latin*.

The same *Cassander* in the fifteenth ch. of the same Book alledgeth the Commentaries of *Sigismundus Liber de rebus Muscoviticis*, speaking thus (s) The *Muscovites* have but one Altar in every Temple, and think that one celebration of the Sacrament must be done every day, and the whole Service or Mass useth to be done among them in the vulgar tongue.

Shortly, no Church and no Nation hath Divine Service in *Latin*, but such as are subject unto the Pope. Yea some Churches that acknowledge him, yet would not in this point conform themselves unto the example of the *Roman* Church.

Bellarmin in his recognitions of the Books *de verbo Dei* confesseth, that among the *Moscovites*, *Armenians* and *Maronites*, there are *Roman Catholcks* that have not the publick service in *Latin*.

The custom of the Antient Church both in the East and West, was, that the Priest and the People answered one another, the Priest saying *Lift up your hearts*, and the people answering *We have them unto the Lord*. The Priest saying *The Lord be With you*, and the people answering *And with thy spirit*, and every where answering to the Prayers of the Priest with a great noyse like a thunder, as it may be seen in the Liturgies attributed to *Basil* and to *Chrysostome*. *Hierom* in his Preface upon the second book on the Epistle to the *Galathians* saith, that at *Rome* (t) the Amen of the People did sound like a thunder from heaven. Which *Bellarmin* acknowledgeth in the sixteenth chapter of the second book of the *Word of God*, (u) Then (saith he) because *Christians* were in small number, all sung together in the Church, and answered one another in divine Offices. But since that time the people growing, the Offices were more divided, and it was referred unto the Clerks only to celebrate in the Church the Common Prayers and Praises. This he saith with his wonted truth; For he knew that the most populous Churches that ever were in the World, were the Churches of *Constantinople* and *Rome* in the fourth and fifth Ages, in which these answers of the people were used as well as in the small Churches, and where the whole service was done in the vulgar tongue. Neither was that dividing the Office or service when the Romanists brought the people to silence, and suffered none to speak but the Clerks.

I say then, that these answers of the people are an evident proof, that the people understood what the Pastour said; for how could they have answered words which they understood not? But this custom ceased in the *Roman* Church, when the people lost the intelligence of the divine Service. The Priest being become a *Barbarian* unto the people, the people also is become dumb and deaf unto the words of the Priest.

Hereupon it is good to consider the words of the Jesuite *Salmeron*, in his Comment upon *1 Cor. 14.* (*) Left that the Priest giving the blessing say, I understand well what I say when I give thanks in a strange tongue, the Apostle answereth, but another is not edified thereby, that is, no edification thereby accreth unto the Church, which ought to have been considered before all things. For then all things used to be done for the edification of the Church, as the Apostle teacheth; so that he will not have any Prayer to be done in the Church in a language altogether unknown. If such was the Apostles constitution, as this Jesuite acknowledgeth,

who

who hath given power to the Pope to break it, and to prohibite the saying of divine service in vulgar tongues? (x) as *Bellarmino* acknowledgeth, that it is forbidden to read or sing the Scriptures in the Church in a vulgar language. But if in the time of the Apostles all publick Prayers were to be said in a known tongue, because (saith *Salmeron*) all things were to be done for the edification and consolation of the Church, have we not the same necessity in our dayes? and should the Pastours of the Church be less careful of the edification of the Church?

Wherefore when the Council of *Trent* (y) in the ninth Canon of the 22. Session doth thunder out Anathema's upon all that say, that the Eucharist which they term *Mass*, ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, do they not involve the Apostle *St. Paul*, and the Prophets, and the Apostles, and the whole Ancient Church within that excommunication?

Sixtus Senensis in the sixth book of his Library, in the 263. Annotation, to confute Cardinal *Cajetan*, who saith, that publick Prayer ought rather to be said in a known language then in *Latin*, alledgeth *Ambrosius de Compso* (z) who saith, that this tradition was invented by *Luther*, or rather by the Devil, who spoke in *Luther*. And yet *Luther* taught no other thing in this point, but what the Apostle himself taught, by the confession of our very Adversaries, as we proved before.

But *Polydorus Virgilius* a Learned man among our Averfaries, complaineth of the abuse practised in the Roman Church, saying, (a) Our singing men make a noyse in our Temples, so that nothing is heard but the voice, and the by-standers being contented with the harmony of such voyces wherewith their ears are warmed, care not for the sense of the words; and so far we are gone, that among the people the whole Divine Service seems to consist in those singing-men; and that most people come to the Church to hear them as if they came to a stage for playes.

Yea *Sixtus Senensis*, in the forealledged place, after *Ambrosius de Compso*, acknowledgeth, that very often in the Roman Church the Priests themselves understand not what they say. (b) Not only (saith he) they that supply the place of the ignorant, understand not for the most part that which is said in the Prayer, but even the Priests themselves, or the Deacons that pray or read, very often understand it not, which is an abuse, &c. (c) Cardinal *du Perron* could not dissemble this, saying, that if there be Churchmen that want learning or understanding, the fault lyeth upon them that ordain them. For he know well enough that the Country is full of Priests that can hardly read, and are far from understanding *Latin*.

Estius a Doctor of *Dorway* in his Comment upon the fourteenth chap. of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, defends with all his strength the use of an unknown tongue in the publick service. Yet this Confession comes from him. (d) In it self it is a good thing that Divine Offices be celebrated in a language understood by the people; for this serveth of it self unto the edification of the people, as it is well proved by the Text of *St. Paul*. Wherefore *Cajetans* opinion being formally and abstractly considered, is true.

nis divini cultus ratio in istis cantoribus sita esse videatur. (b) Illud potius vituperandum erat quod non solum qui suppleant locum idiotæ plerumque non intelligant quid oretur, verum etiam sapenumero nec ipsi presbyteri aut diaconi qui orant aut legunt. (c) In his sixth book ch. 1. p. 1079. (d) Quamvis per se bonum sit ut divina officia celebrentur ea lingua quam plebs intelligat, id enim per se confert ad plebis edificationem, ut bene probat hic locus.

(x) *Bellar.*
l. 2. de verbo
Dei. c. 15. At
Catholica.
Prohibetur ne
in publico &
communi usu
Ecclesie
Scripturae le-
gantur vel
cantantur
vulgaribus
linguis.

(y) Si quis
dixerit lin-
gua tantum
vulgari Mis-
sam celebrari
debere, ana-
thema sit.

(z) *Movatus*
sum *Cajeta-*
num non esse
detrictum
a fructu bu-
jusmodi tra-
ditionis que
primum a *Lu-*
thero, immo à
diabolo in *Lu-*
thero loquen-
te inventa est.

(a) *Polidor.*
Virgil de In-
ventor re-
rum lib. 6.
Cantores no-
stri in templis
nostris con-
strepunt ut
nihil præter
vocem audia-
tur; et qui
interfunt,
ejusdem vo-
cum concentu
quo eorum au-
res maxime
caleant, con-
tenti, de vi-
verborum ni-
hil curant.

unde veniunt
eo est ut om-

CHAP. VIII.

Two causes that move the Pope and his Clergy to maintain the celebration of the Mass and of the ordinary Service in the Latin Tongue.

POpery is a bulk of doctrines and ceremonies built up with marvellous art. All the deepest craft of humane prudence was set on work to contrive and maintain it. No wonder then that the Apostle calls the structure of the Kingdom of the son of perdition, *the mystery of iniquity*.

In the point we have in hand, the Pope and his Clergy proposed to themselves two ends. The first is, to keep the people in ignorance, and use them to believe without knowing, to follow their leaders with blindfolded eyes, and to obey without inquiring. This is evident, in that the leaders of the Church were afraid that even the *Latin* should be too intelligible, and therefore they would have the principal parts of the Mass to be said with such a low murmur, that the voice of the Priest cannot be heard. To the same end tends the prohibition of reading Scripture, and the Images, and the implicate Faith, and that Maxime that the Pope cannot err in the Faith. For in effect his Empire is grounded upon the blindness of the people, and the ignorance of the people is his strongest prop.

The second end of the Pope in establishing the *Latin* tongue in the publick Service, was, to plant the marks and standart of his Empire among the Nations which he had conquered. The custom of great Monarchs is to give their tongue to the Nations brought under their power, to tame them and inure them to their dominations. So did the *Romans* in *Gauls* and in *Spain*. And the King of *Spain* obligeth the *Indians* to speak *Spanish*; and those *Indians* being become *Spaniards* in language, become also *Spaniards* in affection. The Pope doth the same, giving to the Kingdoms which he hath subdued his tongue with his religion. The simple people believe that their Religion must be *Roman* as well as the tongue which is used in Religion, and that both Christian Faith and the Language come from the same place.

CHAP. IX.

A third cause why they will not have the Mass to be understood by the people. Some clauses of the Mass which would offend the people if they were understood.

BUt the chief cause why the Pope will not have the Mass to be understood by all, is that the Mass contains many things which would either instruct or offend the people, if the people understood them.

For the Mass is full of Clauses, some of which are contrary to Popery, and are conformable with our Religion; Some evidently contrary to the doctrine of the Gospel, and some contrary to common sense.

I. For example, the People might be taught not to believe Merits, if they understood the words of the Mass which condemn them, when the Priest prayeth that God receive us into the company of the Saints, *non aſtimator meriti, ſed gratia largitor*, not *Weighing our merits, but granting us pardon*.

(a) *Memento etiam Domine famulorum et famularum tuarum, qui nos preceſſerunt cum ſigno fidei, et dormiunt in ſomno pacis.*

II. Also the people being instructed to pray for the Souls of the dead that are frying in Purgatory, would be amazed to hear the Priest praying for the dead in these words, (a) *Lord remember thy ſervants and handmaids that went before us in the ſign of Faith, and are ſleeping in the ſleep of Peace*. He that hath given money to a Priest to recommend one of his friends in the *Memento* of the Mass, would

would say, I had given money for a soul which I thought to be tormented in a burning fire; but now I learn that my friends soul is laid down in a peaceable sleep. I will take heed another time of giving my money for a soul that is sleeping quietly.

III. Likewise the people being taught to believe, that after the consecrating words, the bread is transubstantiated into the Lords body, and that the thing which the Priest holds is no more bread, but the natural body of Christ, would be amazed to hear the Priest saying these words over the consecrated Host, *Per quem [Christum] hac omnia Domine semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedixisti & prestatas nobis.* By which [*Jesus Christ*] O Lord, thou createst always all these goods, and sanctifiest them, and blessest them, and affordest them unto us. For they should find it very strange, that the Priest calls the body of Christ, all these goods. And that the Priest saith, that God createth always *Jesus Christ*, seeing that God createth only those things that were not before they were created, and that God createth no more the glorious body of his Son *Jesus Christ*. And that it is a great abuse to say that God creates always a thing that is always in its perfection. They would wonder that God quickeneth Christ always, as if God at every moment did raise him from the dead. Scruples would arise in the minds of the people, hearing the Priest saying these words unto God, *Per Christum hac omnia bona creas & prestatas nobis, Thou createst and affordest these goods to us by Christ.* For he that hath some liberty of Judgement, would reason thus in himself, It must needs be acknowledged that these goods which the Priest hath before him, are not Christ himself, since God giveth them unto us by Christ. Neither doth God create and quicken Christ by Christ. Upon that any person of good sense would say, No doubt but that this prayer was said by the ancient Church in another sense; for every word is fit and proper to be said over a quantity of bread and wine set upon the Table, but not over the body of Christ.

IV. Neither would the people be less amazed, seeing the Priest offering unto God the consecrated Host in these words (b) *Upon which things be pleased to look with a propitious and serene face;* For a man that hath his wits about him, would say, How comes this to pass, that Christs body, which is but one, is called, these things, as if Christ had many bodies? And what an abuse is this, that the Priest prayeth, that God will look upon his Son *Jesus Christ* with a propitious and serene face; as if he was afraid that Christ should not be acceptable unto his Father? or as if Christ had need of our recommendation to God to be accepted of him. For note that the Priest by these things, understands the Host which he hath in his hand, not the faith or the devotion, or the prayer of the people, as it appears by the words next before, where he saith, that he offereth unto God an immaculate Host, a holy bread, a cup of perpetual salvation; Then he addeth, *Upon which things, &c.*

V. The people would not take lesse offence at the following words (c) *Upon which be pleased to look with a propitious and serene face, as thou wert pleased to accept the presents of thy righteous son Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham.* For they would inquire what those presents were which *Abel* offered unto God; and finding that it was a Lamb or a Calf, they would be angry at the heart to hear that comparison whereby Christ is compared unto a beast, and whereby the Priest asketh of God, that the body of Christ be as acceptable unto him as a Bullock or a Lamb offered by *Abel*; for we have already shewed that by these things he understands the consecrated Host and Cup, which he compareth with the presents of *Abel*, not our faith and devotion with that of *Abel*.

VI. The like matter of scandal should be found in the following words, in which the Priest addeth, (d) *We humbly beseech thee Almighty God, command these things to be carried by the hands of thy holy Angel, to thy high altar, in the presence of thy Divine Majesty.* This indeed is sufficient to offend a mind that hath some clearness of judgement. What? (may he say) Do we ask of God that

(b) *Supra
que propitio
ac sereno
vultu respi-
cere digneris.*

(c) *Supra
que propitio
et sereno
vultu respec-
te digneris, et
accepta ha-
bere, sicut*

*accepta habe-
re dignatus
es munera
pueri tui iusti
Abel, et sa-
crificium pa-
triarche no-
stri Abraham.*

(d) *Supplices
te rogamus,
Omnipotens
Deus, jube
hac perferviri
per manus
sancti Ange-
li tui in sub-
lime altare
tuum, in con-
spectu divina
Majestatis
tue.*

that the Angel come and take the Host from the Priests hands? Must the eternal Son of God be presented to his Father by an Angel? Doth he stand in need of the mediation of Angels to be acceptable unto his Father? Or if the Priest pray that the Angel come, and take the Host from his hands, why doth he eat it presently after these Words? Why doth he not stay for the Angels coming? He seemeth to be afraid to have his prayer granted. Besides when he calls Christ *these things*, he speaks manifestly against his knowledge and intention; for Christ is not *these things*, but one person.

And here one may have here again the same thought as before; That these prayers are good, being said over Alms, and over a quantity of bread and wine not transubstantiated, laid upon the table according to the custom of the ancient Church; but are absurd being spoken of Christ. Doubtless these prayers, more ancient then the doctrine of Transubstantiation, have lost their first signification by the change of the doctrine.

VII. The following words give the like subject of offence, when the Priest addeth, *Ut quotquot ex hac Altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus sumserimus, That as many of us as shall take by the participation of thine altar the sacred body of thy Son.* For to what purpose is that language when no body participates? Seeing that in most Masses the Priest eats alone, and in all Masses drinks alone? and that in private Masses no body is present? and yet the Priest speaks as if many had received.

VIII. Also the words, whereby they hold that the consecration is made, might give offence; for they are said only *recitative*, that is, in a form of relation, as when an History is related. As *Gabriel Biel* observeth in the 48. Lesson upon the Canon of the Mass, saying, that the Priest pronounceth these things, *non enuntiative sed recitative*, not by form of enuntiation, but of relation. Whereas the Roman Church will have these words to be said *effectively*, as if God by them declared that he will have this bread to become flesh. When God said, *Let the light be, and let the earth bring forth herbs, &c.* these words were effective and operative, and brought forth light and plants; But he that relates that God said, *Let the light be*, doth not bring forth light. Yet the Priests words are but a bare relation of that Christ said: The Priests words are these (e) *Who* (that is Christ) *the day before he suffered, took the bread in his holy and venerable hands, and lifting up his eyes unto thee, his Father Almighty, giving thee thanks, blessed, brake, and gave to his Disciples, saying, Take, and eat of it you all; For this is my body.* All that is but a bare relation which cannot have any effective vertue: Which is confirmed by these words, *Accipite, manducate*: whereby it is evident that the Apostle expresseth not what he doth, or will do, but only what Christ hath done; for ordinarily when the Priest pronounceth these words, there is no body that takes or eats after the Priest, and private Masses are without Communicants.

(e) *Qui, prae-
die quam pa-
teretur acce-
pit panem in
sanctas et
venerabiles
manus suas,
et elevatis
oculis in cae-
lum ad te
Deum Pa-
trem suum
Omnipoten-
tem tibi gra-
tias agens be-
nedixit, fre-
git, deditque
Discipulis
suis, dicens
Accipite et
manducate ex
hoc omnes,
Hoc est enim
corpus meum.*

IX. Perhaps also some one of the people more curious then his fellows, having made bold to look into the holy Scripture, might observe, that the Apostle *Paul*, 1 Cor. 11. 24. affirmeth that Christ said, *This is my body which is broken for you*, and upon that by a curiosity, which is now held the way to heresie, would inquire why the Priest leaveth out these words, *which is broken for you*; For they are words that decide the difference, It being evident that as the Lords Body in the Eucharist is not really broken, but Sacramentally; also the Lords body is not really but Sacramentally in the Priests hands. No reason can be given why these words, *which is broken for you*, should be a Sacramental and figurate expression, and the words, *This is my body*, should be taken otherwise; for it is certain, that the bread of the Sacrament is in the same manner the body of Christ, as the body of Christ is broken in that Sacrament. Now the body of Christ is not really broken in it; then the body of Christ is not really in the same. But Satan did labour to stop that window, by which such a clear light comes unto us, having taken away that word out of the Bibles of the Roman Church, where instead of *frangitur* there is *traditur*: instead of *is broken*, they have put, *shall be delivered*.

X. From

X. From the bread the Priest comes to the cup, and relates the words of the Lord, saying that Christ having taken the Cup, said, *Accipite, Bibite ex eo omnes, Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi & aterni Testamenti, mysterium fidei*; that is, *Take, drink all of it; for this is the cup of my blood of the New and eternal Testament, a mystrie of faith*. Here also there are many subjects of offence: For since the Priest witnesseth, that Christ said, *Drink ye all of it*: why is it the priviledge of Priests and Kings only to drink the Cup? If to Kings and Priests only that word *drink* is directed, the same must be said of the word *eat*; for these words are directed unto the same persons. By that reason none but Priests and Kings must eat in the Sacrament. Besides, the Apostles being in Christs Company, did not in that action keep the rank of Pastors, but of sheep and disciples. Wherefore the Apostle will have the people of *Corinth* to *examine themselves, and so eat of this bread, and drink of this cup*.

XI. In this especially these words give matter of offence, that the words of the Mass are found neither in Saint *Paul*, nor in any of the Evangelists. St. *Paul* relateth that the Lord said, *This cup is the New Testament in my blood, do this in remembrance of me*: Excellent words; For these words, *This is my body*, and these, *This cup is the New Testament*, must be understood in the same manner. Now neither a Cup, nor that which is within it is really a Testament, but Sacramentally, and in signification; no more then is the bread (which they call the Host) really the body of Christ, but Sacramentally, and in signification. Wherefore that this might not be perceived, the words of the Lord were changed in the Text of the Mass: For instead of these words, *This cup is the New Testament*, the Priest saith, *This is the cup of my blood of the New and eternal Testament*.

XII. To the same end, instead of these words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, the Priest saith, *a mystrie of faith*, which is a strange depravation, done purposely because the word *remembrance* expounds these words, *This is my body*, namely that the bread is called the Lords body, because it is the remembrance of it, according as Scripture nameth signs and commemorations, with the name of things signified.

XIII. Here is another subject of scruple and scandal which the people should receive, if the Mass were said in a known tongue: For long before the words, which they call consecrating words, there are prayers in the Mass, in which the bread not consecrated is called the sacrifice, and the immaculate Host offered unto God for the sins of the living and the dead in these words, (f) *Receive this immaculate host, which I thine unworthy servant offer unto thee my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, and offences, and negligences, and for all that stand about me, but also for all the faithfull Christians, both living and dead*: The like things he saith over the Cup, not consecrated. All that is full of difficulties; for the bread not consecrated, is not the same Host as that which is consecrated, which they say to be the true body of Christ. By this means two Hosts of divers nature, and two sorts of sacrifice are in the Mass; and that which is most strange, and of hardest digestion, is, that the Priest offereth bread not consecrated unto God in Sacrifice for satisfaction for his sins, which is giving a piece of bread for payment for our sins, and for the price of our redemption.

(g) *Bellarmino* in the second Book of the Mass, 17. chap. seemeth to be angry with these Collects; for he saith, that they are not very antient, and that before five hundred years, they were not said in the Roman Church. Now there are five Collects or Prayers together of the same nature in that part of the Mass which they call the Offertory, which this famous Cardinal made bold to accuse of novelty, and observeth that *Innocent* the third, who writ of the Mass in the year 1214. makes no mention of them.

(f) *Suscipe hanc immaculatam hostiam quam ego indignus famulus tuus offero tibi Deo meo vivo pro innumerabilibus peccatis & offensionibus et negligentis meis, & pro omnibus circumstantibus, sed & pro omnibus fidelibus Christianis vivis atque defunctis.*
(g) *Bellarmino* l. 2. de Missa c. 17. Sect. Offertorium.

Quinque ille orationes, Suscipe sancte Pater, &c. Offerimus tibi Domine, &c. Veni sanctificator, &c. In Spiritu humilitatis, &c. Suscipe sancta Trinitas, &c. neque antiquae admodum sunt, neque in Romana Ecclesia ante quingentes annos legebantur.

That

(h) Bellarm.
cap. 27. Sect.
prima.

*Negari non
debet panem
et vinum ali-
quo modo in
Missâ offerri,
et proinde
pertinere ad
rem quæ sa-
crificatur.*

*Hæc proposi-
tio patet pri-
mum ex ipsâ
Liturgia. Nam
cum ante con-
secrationem
dicimus Su-
scipe Sancte
Pater hanc
immaculatam
hostiam, certe
proponem
Hanc demon-
strat ad sen-
sum id quod
tunc manibus
tenemus: Id
autem panis
est. Et simi-
les sunt in
Liturgia non
paucæ senten-
tiæ, quæ pa-
nem offerri
manifestis-
sime demon-
strant.*

(i) Bellarm.
ibid. cæ.

*Deinde. Ve-
teres Patres
passim ita tra-
dunt. Irenæ-
us l. 4. c. 32.
dicit Ecclesi-
am offerre
Deo sacrifici-
um ex crea-
turis id est ex
pane & vino.
Cyprianus, l.
2. Epist. 3.
dicit Christum
obtulisse cali-
cem patri vi-
no & aqua mixtum.*

*Et in Sermone de Elcemosyna reprehendens divites feminas quæ non adferebant panem consecran-
dum, Locuples (inquit) & dives in Dominicum sine sacrificio venit, & partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit ju-
mis. Ubi per sacrificium panem intelligit qui per sacerdotes Deo sacrificandus erat. (k) Oblata Domine munera nova
unigeniti tui nativitate sanctifica. (l) Ut in sacrificio tantum panis et calix offeratur. (m) Ibid. In Sacramento cor-
poris et sanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur quam ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est panis et vinum aqua mixtum.
Nec amplius in sacrificiis offeratur quam ex vis et frumentis. (n) Confiteor Deo Omnipotenti, Beatæ Mariæ semper
Virgini, Beato Johanni Baptista, Sanctis Apostolis Petro & Paulo, omnibus Sanctis, & vobis, fratres, quia peccavi
Virginem, Beatum Michaellem Archangelum, Beatum Johannem Baptistam, sanctos Apostolos Petrum & Paulum,
omnes Sanctos, et vos fratres, orate pro me ad Dominum Deum nostrum.*

That by these prayers the Priest maketh an oblation, and offereth a sacrifice of bread not consecrated, *Bellarmino* doth acknowledg it in the 1. Book of the *Mafs*, 27. chap. saying, (h) *We must not deny that bread and wine are in some sort offered in the Mafs. This appeareth first by the Liturgie it self. For when we say before the Consecration Suscipe Sancte Pater hanc immaculatam hostiam, Receive O Father, this immaculate Host, this word Hanc sensibly demonstrateth that which we hold in our hands: Now it is bread that we hold. In the Liturgie (so he calls the Mafs) there are many sentences which shew manifestly that bread is offered. Here is then in the Mafs an Host offered in sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead, which is not the body of Christ, but bread not consecrated.*

But as for that *Bellarmino* saith, that these prayers are new, and brought in since five hundred years, he saith true in some sort. It is true that it is a very late custom to sacrifice bread not consecrated unto God for the sins of men; but to call the bread and wine of the holy Communion which the people brought, and which the Pastor offered unto God, sacrifices and holy oblations, is a very ancient custom, and a prayer conformable unto the word of God, which calls Alms and Prayers, and all holy actions, sacrifices.

(i) The Fathers of the first Ages speak so. Thus *Irenæus* in the fourth book, 32. ch. saying, that the Church offereth unto God a sacrifice of his creatures, that is, bread and wine. And in the Sermon of *Alms*, rebuking rich women that brought no bread to the Church for the consecration, he saith to them, *Thou rich and wealthy woman that comest to the Lords Supper without a Sacrifice, that takest part of the sacrifice which the poor hath offered. Where it is evident that by the Sacrifice he understandeth the Sacrifices of not consecrated bread and wine, brought by the people; As the same Cardinal freely acknowledgeth in the same place.*

But that which is most expresse in this matter, is, that the Priest upon *Christmâs* day addeth, (k) *O Lord, sanctifie by the new birth of thine only Son the gifts which we have offered unto thee.* He speaketh of an oblation ready made, and yet this is said before the consecration.

The title of the 24. Canon of the third Council of *Carthage* is such (l) *That in the sacrifice nothing be offered but the bread and the cup.* And there is in the Text of the Canon; (m) *In the Sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, let nothing be offered but what the Lord himself hath instituted, that is, bread and wine mixt with water. And that nothing more be offered in the Sacrifices, but that which comes out of grapes and corn.*

XV. That which followeth, would make as deep an impression in the minds of the people, as any thing that we spake of before, and would lay open the errors of the *Mafs*, were it pronounced with a loud voice, and in the vulgar tongue. The Priest beginning the *Mafs*, saith his Confiteor, which runneth thus, (n) *I confess unto God Almighty, to the blessed Mary, always Virgin, to the blessed John the Baptist, to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, to all the Saints, and to you brethren, that I have sinned too much in thought, word and deed: My fault, my fault, my most great fault. Wherefore I beseech thee Blessed Mary, always Virgin, the blessed Michael the Archangel, the blessed John the Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, all the Saints, and you brethren, to pray for me to the Lord our God. In this Confession, the Priest confesseth his sins to the dead, contrary to all the examples of prayers and confessions that are found in Scripture, which are all made unto*

God

God alone. For God alone we have offended. *Tibi soli peccavi*, Psal. 51. 6. *Against thee, thee only have I only sinned.* Wherefore God alone can forgive us our sins; And he alone heareth the prayers of the heart, because he alone knoweth the hearts of men, 2 Chron. 6. 30. (o) Observe that by the 23. Canon of the III. Council of *Carthage* it is expressly forbidden to address any prayer in the Eucharist to another then the person of the Father, permitting not so much as to pray to the Person of the Son. Much less then would those Fathers have suffered that in the Eucharist Prayers should have been offered unto Saints and Angels.

(o) *ut cum altari afflatur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.*

XVI. But that which is worst in that Confession, is, that the Priest calleth upon the Archangel *Michael*, *John the Baptist*, *Peter* and *Paul*, &c. to be his intercessors towards God, without speaking one word of Christs intercession, who yet ascended into heaven purposely to make intercession for us; the Apostle teacheth us, *Rom.* 8. 34. and we learn of *St. John*, 1 John 2. 1, and 2. that *we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins.* Thus in the Letanies they say to every Saint *Ora pro nobis*, but to Christ *Miserere nobis*, depriving him of the Office of Intercessor.

XVII. If the Mass were said in *French* or *Spanish*, should not the people be offended, hearing the people saying in the beginning of the Mass, (p) *We beseech thee Lord by the merits of the Saints whose relicks are here, that thou be pleased to pardon all my sins?* What? (might the people say) Must the Lords Table be changed into a Sepulcher? Is the Mass said over dead mens bones? And why do they ask salvation by the merits of Saints, as if Christ had not satisfied enough for us? or as if to obtain remission of sins there was need that men, that were sinners and stood in need of pardon, should deserve for us the remission of our sins? To what purpose is that payment for debts already payed, and for which Christ hath fully satisfied? If the Saints have merited any thing, God by giving them eternal salvation hath more then sufficiently payed them for their merits. It is unjust to require that the same money serve to make two purchases, when it was hardly sufficient to make the first. Besides, we were told that the Saints are not Mediatours of redemption, but only of intercession; but now we see that the Mass speaks of them as of mediatours of redemption, affirming that they have merited for us salvation and remission of sins.

(p) *Oramus te Domine per merita Sanctorum, quorum reliquie hic sunt, ut indulgere digneris omnia peccata mea.*

XVIII. Did the people know that among those Saints whose bones are set under the Altar, and to whose merits the Priest hath his recourse, there are many whose holiness is very doubtful, although the Pope hath put them in the list of the Saints, with a command to bestow invocation upon them; that most part of those relicks are false and supposititious; And that many of those Saints never were men, but imaginary persons and forged at pleafury, (q) as we have shewed in other places; I say, could the people see all this abuse which is kept hid in the dark, they should be amazed at their religion, and would groan under the yoke of their hard captivity.

(q) See the Buckler of the Faith of this Author, in the ch. of Invocation of Saints.

XIX. Also they should have a just subject of offence in the Priests saying in private and solitary Masses, *Orate fratres*, &c. *Pray brethren.* For who are these brethren that he speaks to being alone? Pope *Innocent* the III. in the second book of the mysteries of the Mass, ch. 25. answers, (r) that these brethren are Angels. But the following words contradict that, *Brethren, pray that my sacrifice and yours be acceptable unto Almighty God*; for this Sacrifice is not made for Angels nor by Angels. Besides, if these words *Brethren pray*, are address'd unto Angels, these words also *take eate*, are address'd unto them, and we must believe that in solitary Masses Angels are present to eat.

(r) *Pie credendum est et sacris auctoritatibus comprobatur, quod Angeli comites assistant orantibus.*

XX. But what would the people say hearing these words of the Canon of the Masse, *Communicantes & memoriam venerantes imprimis gloriosa semperque Virginis Maria, Communicating and venerating, in the first place, the memory of the glorious Mary alwaies Virgin?* Why should the Priest say *communicating* in the plural number, when no body communicates? But who can suffer that the Communion of the holy Sacrament be done in the first place to honour the memory of the Virgin *Mary*, seeing that the institution of the Lords Supper by Christ him-

self sheweth expressly, that it was instituted in memory of Christ, who saith *Do this in remembrance of me*? It seemeth they would have Christ to have said, *Do this in the first place in remembrance of my Mother*. We must speak of the holy and blessed Virgin with all respect and reverence, but we must not alter for her the nature of the Lords Supper, nor turn it from the true end of the same; For it was instituted to announce the Lords death, not to announce the death of the holy Virgin, seeing that she did not suffer for our redemption.

XXI. It would have been some comfort to the hearers, if the Priest having said that the Communion is done in the first place to honour the memory of the Blessed Virgin, had added, that it is also in memory of Christ. But that he omitteth, for these are the Priests words; (f) *Communicating and venerating in the first place the memory of the glorious and alwaies Virgin Mary, Mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, but also of the holy Apostles and Martyrs, Peter, Paul, &c. Linus, Cletus, Clemens, &c. Cosme and Damian, and of all thy Saints. By whose merits and Prayers we beseech thee, that in all things we may be fenced with the help of thy protection by the same Jesus Christ our Lord*. He makes indeed mention of Christ, but saith not that this Communion is done in memory of him. Only he saith, that in the first place he celebrates the memory of the Virgin Mary, and next that of the Saints, among whom he puts in many Popes. It is not enough for him that the prayers of the Saints do us good, unless they have also merited the grace of God for us.

XXII. Towards the end of the Mass the Priest having taken the Host and the Cup, prayeth for himself, (t) *Let thy body Lord which I have taken, and the blood which I have drunk, stick to mine entrails*. He ought rather to have prayed with the Apostle, that Christ would dwell in his heart by Faith, Ephes. 3. 16. And that his body might be a temple of the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. 6. 19. For as St. John saith, 1 John 4. 13. *Hereby do we know that we dwell in him and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit*. But to imagine that the body of Christ sitting at the right hand of God sticks to the guts and entrails of a Priest, it is with dishonouring Christ, defiling a mans soul with carnal thoughts.

To which though our Adversaries give way, teaching that the wicked, yea and beasts also eat the Lords body; so it will follow, that the glorious body of the Son of God sticks in their entrails, and that it stuck to the entrails of Judas after he had received the Sacrament. Pope Innocent the III. in the fourth book of the Mysteries of the Mass, ch. 16. moveth an important question; *If (saith he) one having nothing in his belly but the consecrated Host and the Blood of the Chalice, is taken with a lask, which and of what nature are his excrements?* (u) The solution is, that they are accidents and humours. But he doth not solve the difficulty, whether Christ remains sticking to his entrails.

XXIII. It were infinite to represent all that may be found in the Mass of all the year, and in all the publick Service of the Roman Church, which might scandalize the people if it were spoken in a vulgar Tongue. As that which is said upon good Friday, (x) *Behold the wood of the Cross upon which the Salvation of the World was hang'd. God have mercy upon us, Evoke*: That word *Evoke* is a word of triumph which the Bacchantes, mad and drunken women, used in the honour of their god *Bacchus*. Then the Priest puts off his shoes to worship the wood of the Cross barefoot.

Then also this Anthem is said, (y) *We worship thy Cross O Lord, and praise thy resurrection*. And speaking to the Cross, *Faithful Cross, the only noble among trees, No forest brings forth so much in leaf, in flower, in bud. The sweet wood bears sweet nales, and a sweet Weight*. While these words are said, every one worshippeth the Cross. And when they lift up the Cross they say, *Ave lignum triumphale, &c. Haile triumphal wood*, which is manifestly spoken to the wood. And then also this Anthem is said, (y) *Crucem tuam adoramus Domine et sanctam tuam resurrectionem laudamus. Crux fidelis inter omnes arbor una nobilis. Nulla sylva tantum profert fronde, flore, germine. Dulce lignum, dulces clavos, dulce pondus sustinet*.

upon this most part of the Doctors maintain that the Cross must be worshipped with adoration of *latria*, which is the highest adoration.

XXIV. Upon the Saturday before Easter the Mass is said in Violet, in which Mass they bless incense, and give it vertue to expel Devils, and all the candles of the Church are put out, and lighted again with blessed fire. The Deacon beareth three wax lights on a staffs end, then sets five grains of incense in the figure of a Cross upon a wax light, upon which wax light this blessing is said with singing in a style, the impiety whereof is absurd, and the terms ridiculous. (z) These are the very words, "In the grace of this night, receive Holy Father, the Evening Sacrifice of this Incense, which the sacred Church renders unto thee in this solemn offering of a wax light by the hands of the Ministers of the work of Bees: But already we acknowledge the praises of this pillar, which the bright fire kindleth in the honour of God. Which though it be divided into parts, knoweth not the detriment of borrowed light. For it is fed with molten wax which the mother Bee hath produced in the substance of this precious Taper. O truly happy night which hast stript the *Egyptians*, and enriched the *Hebrews*! Night in which earthly things are mingled with the heavenly, and the divine with the humane! We beseech thee then Lord that this wax light consecrated in the honour of thy Name persevere without failing, to destroy the obscurity of this night, and being acceptable in the odour of sweet savour mingle it self with the supreme Lights. Let the Morning star here find her flames, that *Lucifer* I say, which knows no setting. All that fricassoy of absurd words, which give unto a Taper that which is proper to the doctrine of the Gospel, and puts a wax light made with the works of Bees among the heavenly Stars, is very far from the language of the Holy Ghost.

(z) *In hujus igitur noctis gratia suscipe Sancte Pater incensum hujus sacrificium vesperatinum, quod tibi in hac cerei oblatione solemni per ministrorum manus de operibus apum sacrosancta reddit Ecclesia; Sed jam columna hujus præconia novimus quam in honorem Dei vutilans ignis*

accendit. Qui licet sit divisus in partes, mutuat tamen luminis detrimenta non novit. Alitur enim liquidibus cereis quas in substantiam pretiosam hujus lampadis apis mater eduxit. O vere beata nox quæ spoliavit Ægyptios, &c.

XXV. Upon the same Saturday they bless the Fonts filled with water for Baptism, in these words. "Make this water by the Empire of thy Majesty to take the grace of thine only Son by the Holy Ghost, which by the secret (a) admixture of his Godhead make this water fruitful, prepared for the regeneration of men, That having conceived sanctification by the immaculate womb of the divine Fountain, being born again into a new creature, it may become a celestial race; and that the mother grace bring forth in an infancy all whom the sex discerneth in the body, or the age in the time. Away then hence (thou Lord commanding it) all unclean spirits. Let all the wickedness of devilish fraud stand far. Let not the mixture of the contrary vertue have place here. Let her not flye about laying ambushes. Let her not creep in, hiding her self. Let her not corrupt by infecting. Let this holy and innocent creature be free from all assaults of the impugner, and purged by the parting of all wickedness. Let this water be a living spring, a regenerating water, a purifying liquor, that all they that shall be washt in this salutary laver, the Holy Ghost working in them, may get an indulgence of perfect purgation. Wherefore I bless thee creature of water, by the living God, † by the true God, † by the holy God, † by that God who in the beginning separated thee from the dry ground by his Word, &c. Then he breathes upon the water in the form of a Cross, and prayeth that these waters may be effectual for purifying the understanding. And dipping the Taper three times in the water he saith, *Let the vertue of the Holy Ghost descend into the fulness of the Fountain.* After that, he bloweth three times upon the water in this figure ☩. Then he poureth in oyle and *chrisme* in the form of a Cross. There is as much sense in all these words, as efficacy in the ceremony. I suppose that some fanatical distracted Monk, whose braines were swarming with extravagant conceits, framed these Prayers in an ignorant age; or that some profane man devised these ridiculous expressions to make a sport of God and Religion.

(a) Note, The Godhead mingling it self with the water giveth it the vertue of regenerating Souls, &c. makes the water to become a new creature, & a celestial race, by the immaculate womb of the fountain. How the Priest makes three signs of the Cross.

XXVI. Thus when they consecrate Salt, The Bishop or Priest saith, *I con-*

jure thee creature of Salt, &c. And speaking to the salt, as if the salt understood, he giveth vertue to it against evil Spirits.

In the Missal to the use of *Paris*, in the Mass of the Holy Virgin *Mary*, there is a *Prose* or Prayer in these termes, *O felix puerpera, nostra pians scelera, jure Matris impera Redemptori. O happy child-bed-woman, who expiatest our sins, Command our Redeemer by right of mother.*

XXVII. Could all these things and the like, wherewith the Roman Service is fill, be pronounced in *French* or another vulgar tongue; without amazing and alienating the spirits of the hearers, and moving some of them to loath, some to deride, some to execrate the grossness of the abuse offered unto Christian Souls? Who would not laugh hearing the Priest saying in the Introit of the Mass, *Ad Deum qui latificat juventutem meam, Unto God that makes my youth glad*, Although the Priest have a hoary head.

Truly the whole body of the Roman Service, especially the Canon of the Mass, is so composed, that I make no doubt but that the Popes would gladly alter many things in it, were it in their power; and would do the same with it as they have done in the Masses of the Saints; out of which *Pius V.* and *Clement VIII.* Popes have razed many *Proses* and Prayers to the Saints, which still are extant in most part of the Missals. That which is most displeasing to our Adversaries in the Canon of the Mass, is, that there are many clauses in it contrary to merits, to Purgatory, to Transubstantiation, to private Masses, to the Communion in one kind only, and to the unknown language. Also that it is evident that almost all the Prayers of that Canon were made to be said over alms, and over bread and wine, not over Christs body. But they dare not take in hand the amendment of these things, because (b) the Council of *Trent* in the XXII. Session pronounceth Anathema against any man that will say, that any thing ought to be mended in the Canon of the Mass. They have tyed their own hands with that Law. This only remedy remains to them, to keep the people from understanding the Mass, using for that a barbarous tongue, a low mumbling, and a confused and inarticulate tone.

(b) Syn.
Trid. Sess.
XXII.
Can. 6.
Si quis dixerit
Canonem
Missæ errores
continere,
ideoque abro-
gandum esse,
Anathema
esto.

CHAP. X:

Examination of the reasons of our Adversaries, of Card. Du Perron especially.

UPON the Prayers of private men in a language not understood by the very person that prayeth, our Adversaries yield the bucklers, and abandon their cause. Only they say, *It is the Church*; for this word *Church* is a covering for all sorts of abuses, and a plaister for all sores. This they oppose to the Word of God, and to the whole Antiquity, and to reason, and to common sense, which in this point are contrary to the Roman Church of our age.

But as for the publick Service in a tongue not understood, they bring some few small reasons, which must be examined.

I. They say, that the title of the Cross was written by *Pilate* in three Languages, *Hebrew, Greek and Latin*. They will acknowledge *Pilate* who was a Pagan Judge, for a Law-giver that gave this Law to the Christian Church. For being a man of great prudence, it is to be presumed, that he took care that the Mass should be sung in a convenient Language. Thus the authority of *Pilate* carrieth it above that of the Word of God, and against the examples of Christ, the Prophets, and the Apostles. And if according to the custom of the Romans the title of the Cross had been written in one tongue only, by their reason the Mass should be sung in one tongue only. Or if *Pilate* had written nothing, the Mass ought not to be sung at all.

II. Neither

I I. Neither is their reason better when they say (a) that it is expedient, that the divine Service be celebrated in all Countries in the same language, that strangers may understand it. This second reason contradicteth the first. For if it be expedient that the divine Service be done everywhere in the same language, we must not stand upon the inscription of the Crofs in three languages, and divine Service must be celebrated in one language, over all the Universal Church.

(a) Card. Du Perron. 6. book 1. ch. against K. James.

For the same reason Sermons ought to be preached every where in the same tongue in the behalf of strangers. Certainly the Service in *Latin* is no ease to the strangers that are in *France*; for of those strangers there are three for one at the least that understand no *Latin*; and for one that understands *Latin*, there are ten that understand *French*. And those strangers that understand *Latin*, cannot understand the Mass, a great part whereof is pronounced with such a low voyce, that they that stand by the Priest cannot hear him. But is there any shadow of equity in this, that in consideration of a few strangers that are in great Cities, the whole *French* Nation must be deprived of the intelligence of the divine Service? especially all the inhabitants of Villages and Market-towns, where there are no strangers? whereas the true way to gratifie strangers in a great City like *Paris*, should be to establish for the *Italians* a Church, where they might have the Service in *Italian*, and the like for other Nations. By this means every Nation should have the Service in *Paris* in their natural language.

I II. They add, that having the same tongue everywhere, is a sign of union and concord in the Universal Church. By speaking so, they declare that it should be expedient that the Service should be neither in *Greek* nor *Hebrew*, which tongues nevertheless they affirm to have been authorized by the inscription of the Crofs. But the Union which God recommendeth in his Word, is not the Union in the same language but in Faith and charity, which Union may be between men diverse in language; Whereas persons of the same language many times disagree in the Faith. God is glorified when he is purely and unanimously served and called upon in diverse languages; as God himself saith, *As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow unto me, and every tongue shall confess to God.* Wherefore God gave unto his Apostles the gift of diverse tongues, that in all tongues God might be served and called upon.

Rom. 14. 11. Isa. 43. 23.

I V. They presuppose that the Divine Service was not instituted for the instruction of the people, but only to glorifie God by Prayers and Thanksgivings, and that the people by his presence may give his consent to that which is done in the Church, and partake of the fruits which the Church obtaineth of God by the Liturgy. And upon that supposition they say, that the people that understand not, lose not these fruits, nor the ends for which the Divine Service was instituted, because the authority of the Church is unto them a sufficient security, and that it is enough that their Pastors understand for them.

Du Perron in the same place.

But by those very ends for which they say that Divine Service is instituted, it is easie to convince them. For persons assembled to glorifie God by Prayers and Thanksgivings, must know what they ask, and what they thank God for. These Doctors will have the people to ask, and not to know what; to give him thanks, and not to know for what. And whereas the people assembleth to give consent to that which is said and done in the Church, how shall they give their consent and approbation unto things which they understand not? And if they be assistant to be partakers of the benefits which the Church receiveth by the publick Service, they are then assistant to be instructed and comforted; for it is one of the fruits for which Divine Service is instituted. And whereas in the Mass the Priest speaks unto the people, in vain doth he speak unto those that do not understand him. Also since in the Mass Chapters of Scripture are read, in which God speaks unto men, we must not hinder that God be understood by men. The Apostle, *Rom. 10. 17.* saith that *faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God*; not then by a presence without understanding that which God propounds to us in his Word. The same Apostle speaking to the people of *Corinth*, will have them to (b) announce the Lords death as often as they eat the bread, and drink the cup of the

(b) 1 Cor. 11. 26. *καταγγελλετε*

the Lords Supper; Which cannot be done by persons that are present and understand not what is said. Such as are assistant to a service which they understand not, are deprived of the benefit thereof.

V. As for that the Cardinal saith, that the Church is a security to the people, as if the Church were to answer for the people in Gods Judgment, I say, that to that Church which beareth her self for a security, there is need of another security to assure us that she doth not err, and that God accepteth of her security. Truly in the day of Judgment the Pastours shall not answer for the people. That man shall be deceived that will in that day give his Parson for a security. Those Pastours especially shall not be receivable, who to raise their authority by leading the ignorant which way they would, have kept the people far from all intelligence. But why cannot the *Greek* Church be a security as well as the *Roman*? seeing that it is more antient then the *Roman*, and that the *Roman* Church is her daughter, and hath received Christian Religion from her? For the *Greek* Church boasteth also, that she is Catholick, and hath the chairs of St. *Peter* and of many Apostles.

(c) P. 1079.

VI. But (c) (saith the Cardinal) if to profit at the Mass it was necessary to understand it, the deaf and they that stand far from him that officiate, should receive no profit by it. If this reason be worth any thing, it will follow that we must preach in an unknown tongue. For if it were necessary to preach in an intelligible tongue, the deaf and the persons that stand too far from the Preacher, should receive no benefit thereby. I answer then, that when the defects of Nature keep us from hearing that which is said, we are not accountable for it before God; for God imputes not to us as a crime, that which himself hath done. But we are accountable unto him of the hindrances which we bring our selves unto the understanding of his Word. God supplyeth the defects of Nature by the wayes which are known to him: But man after he hath done evil, cannot (but seldom) bring a remedy to it. If the light of the Sun be useles to the blind, it followeth not therefore that the eyes of them that see must be put out. Likewise if one or two are deaf, we must not therefore deprive the rest of the people of intelligence. And he that stands far from him that officiates speaking in a known tongue, might have profited more if he had been nearer, and he may draw near another time.

VII. He objecteth also the strangers in *England*, that are present at the *English* Service and understand no part of it. To which I say, that such strangers go to that Service perhaps once or twice out of curiosity, not devotion; and that if they understood *English* they might be more edified. Also that the *French* have at *London* and in other Towns their Service in *French*.

VIII. He saith also, that in the time of Christ and his Apostles, the *Jews* had their ordinary Service in their Synagogues, in which they understood nothing; Which we have already shewed to be false. For *Hebrew* was then intelligible among the people of *Judea*. It is not the same of the *Jews* called *Hellenists*, in the sixth of the *Acts*, who were *Jews* transported into *Egypt* by *Ptolemy Lagus*, who also were called *Babelims*, and were spread in very great number over all *Africa*. They were so called, because they were descended from the people that had been transported into *Babylon*. Those *Jews* read in their Synagogues the *Greek* Version of the *Septuagint*. Wherefore also the Apostle to the *Hebrews*, writing to them, alledgeth the Scripture unto them according to their Version. Of those *Jews* was (d) *Philo* a *Jew* of *Alexandria*, a Learned man in *Greek*, but ignorant in *Hebrew*. For in *Alexandria* the *Greek* tongue was so common, that the Bishops as *Athanasius*, *Cyrillus*, *Theophilus* and others, preached there unto the people in *Greek*.

(d) See Scaliger de Emendatione temporum. p. 143.

IX. It is without reason, that the Cardinal objecteth unto us the example of the Priests of the Law, interceding for the people in the Temple, while the people was without in the Court, and by consequent could not hear what the Priest said. For here it is question of the Priest speaking to God in the Mass in the presence of the people, and speaking to the people. Also of the Mass, in the which Chapters of Scripture are read, All that in a tongue which the people understands not.

not. Yea there are many Priests that understand not their Mass. It is then nothing to the purpose, to bring us here the example of a Priest that spake not to the people, and spake not unto God before the people while he was in the holy place, and read to the people no Text or Chapter of Gods Law. Neither do we find in Scripture, that the Priest spake or pronounced any Prayer with his mouth while he made propitiation for the people in the Holy place, or in the Sanctuary. I verily believe, that if that Priest coming out of the Temple unto the people attending in the Court, had spoken to the Congregation in a barbarous and strange tongue, the people would have stoned him.

X. These Doctors confess, that by the unknown language the people is deprived of instruction and comfort: But that defect (say they) is supplied by Sermons, in which the Contents of the Mass are expounded. Suppose that it is so; Is it not a great abuse for one to make wounds that he may apply plaisters? It were better that the Priest should so speak to the people in his Mass as to be understood, then to make the poor people to hope that within some years they should learn the exposition of it in some Sermon. But it is most false, that in their Sermons they expound the Mass, either for the words or the matter. Take me a Peasant or a Tradesman, who hath heard the Mass fifty years, you shall find him altogether ignorant of that which is said in the Mass. Do they make the people understand in Sermons why the Priest praying for the dead, saith that he prayeth for those that sleep in the sleep of peace? Or why the Priest presenting the consecrated Host unto God, which Host they say to be Jesus Christ, asketh of God that he would accept of that gift as he did of *Abels* Sacrifice, which was a calf or a lamb? Or why the Priest prayeth in the Mass, that the Angels may take Christ which lyeth upon the Altar, and carry it up to the heavenly Altar? Or why the Priest calls the body of Christ *these gifts, these presents, which God alwaies createth and quickeneth*? Or why the Priest in his *Confiteor* confesseth his sins unto God, to the holy Virgin *Mary*, to *Michael* the Archangel, and to *St. John* the Baptist, without speaking one word of Christ? Or why in the Mass the holy Virgin is preferred before Christ, in these words, *communicating, and celebrating in the first place the memory of the Virgin Mary*, although the Lords Supper be instituted for the remembrance of Christ only, and to announce his death?

XI. Cardinal *Du Perron* finds, that the incommodity which is in the Service not understood by the people, brings this benefit, that *the merit of the endeavour and exercise of the Faith of the people is thereby the greater*. He thinks, that the less knowledge there is in Faith, the more merit; and that he that hath less intelligence, is he that hath more Faith, and that meriteth more. *Harding* saith much the same thing. That the people indeed understands not the *Latin* of the Mass, (e) *but that their pious affection is so acceptable unto God, that no understanding of words can be compared to it.* By that reckoning there is merit in want of knowledge, and ignorance must be numbred among the blessings of God. Grant that once, we must no more instruct any man in the true knowledge of God, for fear of diminishing the merit and price of his Faith. Yea if this Doctrine may be current, that Faith consisteth in ignorance, not in knowledge; and that Faith is opposed to science, as Cardinal *Bellarmino* told us before: Truly this Maxime is a great prop of the Papal dominion, and of the authority of the Clergy; since it teacheth to believe without knowing, and to follow the Pope and his doctrine, blindfolded, without inquiring of the will of God or of his Word, which is a light that God presents unto us, that we may our selves know the right way. Truly although incurable ignorance diminish the fault, yet it is an evil; as being born blind excuseth going astray, yet going astray is evil. But to study to be ignorant, To fear to learn, To be wilfully blind, and to think that there is merit in wilful ignorance, it is, besides folly, a headstrong obstinacy, and a full purpose to reject the knowledge of Gods will. And I cannot comprehend that great endeavour and exercise of Faith, which the Cardinal saith to be in them that believe without understanding, seeing that there is no labour in not believing, knowing nothing and refusing to learn.

(e) *Harding*
De precibus
peregrina
lingua factis;
Hic pius ani-
morum affe-
ctus tam est
proculdubio
Deo gratus ut
nulla verbo-
rum intelli-
gentia confer-
ri queat.

XII. The same Prelat insisteth very much upon the danger of translating the Liturgy into a vulgar tongue, saying that the alteration of one syllable or one letter only in the the myserie of the Church, may bring an alteration in the Faith, as in the *Opinion* of the *Arians*. That one could not translate Divine Service without running into that danger. That the Phrases of old *French* should be ridiculous in our time, as it may be seen in the Romances; and that *Marot's* translation of the *Psalms* a hundred years hence will appear rude, silly and ridiculous.

If that objection hath any weight, it should have with more reason hindered the traduction of the holy Scripture into *Latin*, and into the vulgar tongues, for fear that some depravation in a word or in a syllable alter the doctrine of Salvation; for the Text of Scripture is far more important then that of the Mass, seeing that changing a word in Scripture is a crime; but the text of the Mass hath received a thousand alterations and additions, as our Adversaries acknowledge. Yet that fear did not hinder the Ancients to make many versions of Scripture both in *Greek* and *Latin*, The multitude whereof was so diverse, that (f) *Hierome* saith that there was almost as many diverse versions as copies of the Bible. And *Austin* saith, that the multitude of *Latin* Interpreters was almost infinite. Our Adversaries confess, that the vulgar *Latin* version is much different from the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Texts; but they acknowledge not, that this diversity hath caused in the Church of *Rome* any alteration in the Faith. That fear did not hinder *Hierome* to translate the Bible into the *Dalmatic* tongue, nor *Vulsius* to turn it into the *Gothick* tongue, nor every Nation of the Church to translate it into their own. And the versions into vulgar tongues were so far from altering in any respect the truth and authority of the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Originals, that the World may thank the Churches that have now Divine Service in their vulgar language, for restoring to the Western Church the purity of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* tongues, for bringing the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Originals to the publick sight, and for the restitution of the integrity of the version of Scripture, which the *Roman* Church had disfigured in the vulgar version.

But why doth the Cardinal apprehend a danger in the translation of the publick Service, and finds no inconvenience in so many alterations that were made in Christs institution; so many new pieces being sowed up to the Mass (h) unto which several Popes have added some clauses? Hath not *Pius* the V. reformed the Missals, and put out many Prayers, *Profes* and *Sequences*, which were in the old Missals, whereby Priests are put to great trouble?

And to what purpose doth he alledge that inconvenience, to which (if one may believe our Adversaries) they have a ready remedy, since they say that the Pope and the *Roman* Church cannot err in the Faith. For whensoever the Pope will examine and approve the Mass translated into *French*, that Translation shall be authentical among our Adversaries, and shall be without exception after his approbation.

As for that he saith that the *French* terms in two or three hundred years would become ridiculous, the like may be said of *Latin* and *Greek*, and of any other tongue. Whence it would follow, that the Mass must never be said in *Latin*, for fear that by the lapse of time the terms of the Mass become ridiculous. The words which by the established form of the Divine Service were preserved, never become ridiculous among them that approve that Service. In the publick Service of the *Roman* Mass there are words truly ridiculous, and such as never were good, as *Evohe*, *Miserere nobis*, and *Stabat mater dolorosa*; and many like these, which yet are not ridiculous in the *Roman* Church, because they are authorized by the Divine Service. And these words *Alleluja* and *Hosanna* are long since become vulgar, and yet are not ridiculous when they are pronounced in the reading of Scripture or in the publick Service.

XIII. Finally, the Cardinal objecteth, that if the Service were no more done in *Latin*, there being no more common language, Universal Councils could be held no more, and so all means should be taken away of deciding the points of

Faith

(f) Hieron. in Evangelistas ad Damasum.

Si Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondere quibus; tot enim sunt exemplaria pene quot codices.

(g) Aug. l. 2. de doctrina Christiana cap. 11.

ut ad exemplaria precedentia reverentur, si quam dubitationem attulerit Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas.

(h) Concerning these Additions

see Platina in the life of

Sixtus the I. and Innocent

the III. in the 2. book

of the Mass, ch. 61. We

shewed before how

Belarmin acknowledged

in the 2. book of the Mass,

ch. 17. that five Prayers

which are in the Offertory,

were not in it 500.

years ago.

Faith with infallible certainty, and the ancient Decrees and Canons should be abolisht. This Objection is confuted by experience; for the *Greek* Church and the *Roman* had not in old time, and never had a tongue common to both, and yet they celebrated Councils together. They chose in *Italy* some Deputies that understood *Greek*; for then the *Latin* Church did accommodate her self unto the *Greek*, because the Emperours lived in *Greece*, and that by their command the Bishop of *Rome* sent his Deputies to the Universal Councils; None of which Councils was held in *Italy*, although the Bishops of *Rome* desired it; and were humble petitioners for it to the Emperours.

If to hold Councils in the West, it is necessary that the *Latin* tongue be common everywhere; So many Academies and Colledges where *Latin* is taught are sufficient to preserve the *Latin* tongue, although the publick Service be in the vulgar tongue: as it is seen in Countries, whence Popery is banisht, though they have Divine Service in their own language. There also the Councils and the ancient Canons are carefully preserved. It is a gross abuse, to think that the barbarous *Latin* of the Mass, serveth for the preservation of the *Latin* tongue, or that the text of the Mass serveth to understand *Virgil* or *Livy*, or to speak in *Tullie's* style. Yea though the *Latin* of the Mass were as elegant as it is rude and barbarous, it would be but a weak help to preserve the *Latin* tongue. The pure *Greek* of the *Greek* Liturgy did not hinder the corruption of the *Greek* tongue, when the *Turks* had once put down Schools. And the Liturgy of the *Armenians* which is in the *Armenian* tongue, and the Liturgy of the *Ethiopians* which is in the *Ethiopic* tongue, have not hindred the corruption of the old *Armenian* and *Ethiopic* languages.

As for grounding Christian Faith upon the decision of Councils which contradict one another, the late Councils being contrary to the old, and the Pope approving nothing but that which is fit for his turn, opposing himself often to Universal Councils, it is another question which is not for this place. The clear Texts of Scripture which need no interpretation, are sufficient unto Salvation. Who so beareth himself as an infallible Judge of the sense of Scripture, sets himself above God, for he makes God to speak according to his will; He may alter Scripture under a pretence of expounding Scripture, and hath a way open to build an Empire to himself: Such a man hath need to be free from all vice, lest he bring an interpretation that serve to colour vices, feed his covetousness, or maintain his ambition.

Such are the reasons of our Adversaries, which are but shifts and humane considerations, without, yea against the word of God, and they are confuted by experience and by common sense.

CHAP. XI:

Examination of the proofs that the Cardinal brings out of Antiquity, for the Service in a strange tongue.

IF the reasons of our Adversaries were weak, their allegations out of Antiquity are no stronger. Cardinal *Du Perron* is he that hath most contributed to the gathering of those allegations.

He saith that (a) in the time of the ancient Fathers, the Service was never celebrated in the Christian Religion but in two tongues, *Greek* and *Latin*. This he affirmeth without proofs, and against truth, and we brought before many proofs to the contrary. Himself in the beginning of the *ch.* acknowledgeth, that the *Syrian* Churches have their Service in old *Syriack*, the *Armenian* Churches in old *Armenian*, and the *Ethiopian* Churches in old *Ethiopic*. He ought then to have proved, that the *Armenians* and *Ethiopians* had sometimes their Liturgy in *Greek*.

(a) In his Book against King James, lib. 6. cap. 1. pag. 1089.

or *Latin*, which shall not be found. The same I say of the *Indian* and *Persian* Churches, who never made use in their Liturgy, no more then in the civil commerce, of the *Greek* or *Latin* tongue; but only in this last age in some corners of the *East Indies*, where the *Jesuits* have brought in the *Roman* Service.

Next he alledgeth the *Jews* who use *Hebrew* in their Synagogues, a tongue which is not vulgar in any Country of the World. So he defends his cause with the authority of the sworn enemies of Christ, whose example if we must follow, we must also be circumcised and renounce Christianity. But we acknowledge in that practice of theirs the fulfilling of Gods curse upon that people, 1 Cor. 14.21. *With men of other tongues and other lips will I speak unto this People, and so they shall not understand me.* For as for the *Jews* of the time of Christ and his Apostles, we have proved in the sixth ch. of this Treatise, that the people then understood *Hebrew*.

(b) Du Perron p. 1977.

(b) The Cardinal makes use of the very *Pagans* and *Mahumetans*, holding that the *Roman* Church hath wisely done to follow their example. He sheweth sufficiently that he finds no help in the Word of God, since he hath recourse to such authorities. He saith then that the *Turks* and *Persians* celebrate their Service in the Grammatical *Arabick*, not in that which is vulgar to the *Turks* and *Persians*; that the Verses of the *Salians* in which the ancient Service of the *Roman* Commonwealth was contained, were hardly understood by the Priests. He might have said also, that the Magicians will add barbarous and unintelligible words unto their conjuring. If in this question the Devil, who seduced the *Pagans*, and now blindeth the *Mahumetans*, must be taken for Judge, we must speak no more of Gods Service or Gospel. That must needs be a desperate and forsaken cause that makes use of such proofs. Note by the way, that this Prelate while he goeth about to shew his learning in History, betrayeth his ignorance. For the *Arabians*, who make well nigh one half of the *Mahumetans*, have their Service and the *Alcoran* in their vulgar tongue. And the Verses of the *Salians* contained but a small part of the *Roman* Pagan Service, namely the Service of *Mars* and of *Quirinus*, for they were Priests of *Mars*. But the body of the *Roman* Religion was contained in the *Tuscan* discipline, brought in by *Numa*.

(c) Pag. 1089.

(c) He saith also, that in the Eastern Church the Service was in *Greek* only, which we have convinced of untruth. The ancient Churches of *Armenia*, *Persia* and *India* never had their Service in *Greek*. And it is without doubt that the Church of *Jerusalem* in the Apostles time celebrated the Sacraments in the same language as Christ instituted them, which was understood by the People. *Durandus* in his *Rational*, in the fourth book, ch. 1. saith that (d) in the Primitive Church the mysteries were celebrated in *Hebrew*; but that in the time of the Emperor *Adrian* they began to be celebrated in *Greek* in the Eastern Church of the Christians, understanding by the Eastern Church that which was subject to the *Roman* Empire in the East, namely *Syria*, *Judea*, *Natolia* or *Asia Minor*, to which also we may add *Egypt*. In all those Countries wheresoever the Service was done in *Greek*, there also Sermons were done in *Greek*. An evident proof that the *Greek* tongue was there the most vulgar, though it differed from the ancient vulgar tongues. Thus *Athanasius* and *Cyrillus* and *Theophilus* preached in *Greek* to the people of *Alexandria*. And *Cyrillus* of *Jerusalem* preached in *Greek* at *Jerusalem*. And *Eusebius* in *Cesarea* of *Palestina*, and *Chrysostome* in *Antioch* the capital of *Syria*, and *Basilus* in *Cesarea* of *Cappadocia*, and *Gregory Nazianzen* at *Nazianza*, and *Gregorius Nyssenus* at *Nyssa*. (e) *Tully* in his Oration for the Poet *Archias* saith, that *Greek* is read almost over all Nations. For the Empire of the *Grecians* successors of *Alexander*, had planted the *Greek* tongue in *Syria*, in *Egypt*, in *Cilicia*, in *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, and had made it so familiar, that the vulgar tongues used before the reign of the *Seleucides* and the *Ptolomees* were less familiar then the *Greek*; for alwaies Sermons must be accommodated to the ears of the plain people. Thus in the Reformed Churches of *Gascoigne* and *Languedoc* Sermons and divine Service are in *French*, though it differ from the language of the Country; But *French* is so well understood there, that the people

(d) In primitiva Ecclesia mysteria Hebraice celebrabantur, sed tempore Adriani Imperatoris Græce in Ecclesia Orientali Christianorum primo celebrari coeperunt.
(e) Cicero pro Archia Poeta. Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus; Latina suis finibus exigua sane continentur.

people prefer *French* before their *Gascon* dialect, and understand it with the like facility. The Cardinal was not ignorant of that, Which he sheweth by maintaining only that in the East *Greek* was not the vulgar tongue, but he maintaineth not that *Greek* was not understood there. So he wanders out of the question. For our difference is not whether the publick Service must be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, but whether it must be celebrated in a language understood by the people.

Hierom in his Preface of the second book upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, saith, that the language of the *Galatians* was like that of the *Gauls* of *Triers*. But there he speaks of the tongue which the *Galatians* had brought to the Country of *Galatia*, not of the tongue which they had learned in it. Yet the Cardinal makes use of that passage of *Hierom* to prove that in *Galatia* *Greek* was not the vulgar language. But he falsifieth that passage according to his custom; Whereas the passage is altogether against him. *Hierom's* words are these, *Galatas accepto sermone Græco quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam eandem linguam habere quam Treviros*. That the *Galatians* besides the *Greek* language which all the East speaketh, have a proper tongue like unto that of *Triers*. This passage plainly affirmeth, that the *Greek* tongue was currant in *Galatia* as in all the East. But the Cardinal alledgeth *Hierome* in these words, *The Galatians tongue was like that of the Gauls near Triers*. The falsification is evident. But *St. Paul* writing to the *Galatians* in *Greek* presupposed that they understood *Greek*. The *Lycaonian* language mentioned, *Acts* 14. 11. was rather a dialect then a diverse tongue. And though they had a diverse tongue, yet it is evident that *Greek* was understood by the *Lyconians*, since *Paul* and *Barnabas* spake to the common people in *Greek*.

CHAP. XII.

How Latin was brought into the Divine Service in France and Spain.

FROM the East the Cardinal passeth to the West, and saith that over all the West the Service was celebrated in *Latin*. But this toucheth not the question. For in all places where the publick Service was in *Latin*, Sermons were also in the same tongue, and *Latin* was understood by women and children. It cannot be found in the antient History that ever the *Latin* Service was used in any place where *Latin* was not understood. Thus in *Gauls* the Service was celebrated in *Latin*, because *Latin* was become more vulgar among the *Gauls* then their antient tongue, which wore away by little and little; so that the *Gauls* were called *Romans*, and are so called by *Gregory of Tours*, and by that name distinguished from the *Franks* and *Burgundians*, who were strangers. The language of the Country was called *Roman*, whereas the language of the Court was *Dutch*, such as they spake in *Gnelders* and *Gulick*. The difference remained yet in the time of *Charlemagne*. For in the third Council of *Tours* held under his Reign, in the year of Christ 812. in the seenteenth *ch.* every Bishop is commanded (a) to have Homilies or Sermons in two languages; In the *Roman rustick* tongue, that is, in the tongue of the common people, and in the *Theotick* or *Tudesk*, that is, in *Dutch*, that all might understand the Sermons. Now this was the time when the *Galicane* Church by the violence of that King began to receive the *Roman* Service, notwithstanding the resistance of the Clergy, whereas they had before the *Ambrosian* Service, and were in nothing subject to the Bishop of *Rome*.

Under the Empire of *Marcus Aurelius* about the year of the Lord 168. Christian Religion began to spread in *Gauls*, and then first began Martyrdoms, as *Sulpitius Severus* saith, (who was a *Gaul*, and lived near that time) in the second book of his Sacred History. (b) Under *Aurelius* son of *Antoninus* the fifth persecution was moved; and then first Martyrdoms were seen in *Gauls*, the Religion of

(a) Et ut easdem Homilias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam, aut Theoticam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere quæ dicuntur.

(b) Sub Aurelio deinde Antonini filio persecutio quinta agitata. Ac tum primum intra Gallias martyria visa, servius trans Alpes Dei religionem transgressa.

God having past very late over the *Alpes*. In that time the *Latin* tongue was so familiar in *Gaules*, that it was more used then the old language of *Gaules*, so that the language of the Country was called *Roman*, and the *Gaules Romans*, as we said before. It is like that the *Latin* of *Gaules* was neither so polite nor so congruous as that of *Rome*. Wherefore *Pacatus* in a Panegyrick to *Theodosius*,

(c) *Tam difficilium progenita atque hereditaria orandi facilitate non esse fastidio rudem hunc et incultum Transalpini sermonis horrorem.*

(d) *Fauchet in the life of King Clovis.*

(e) *Fauchet ibidem ch. 19.*

(c) excuseth himself for not speaking so good *Latin* as those that were born in *Italy*. Then the Contracts, the Pleas, and all the acts of the Law were done in *Latin*. The *Gothick* Laws which were observed from the Streight of *Gibraltar* to the River of *Loire*, abbreviated from the *Theodosian Code* by the *Visigoth* Kings, were *Latin*, as *Fauchet* teacheth, who of all the *French* Antiquaries is the most learned. (d) In the year of Christ 252. under the Emperour *Decius* (as *Gregory* of *Tours* observeth in the first book of his History) *Gratian* came to *Tours*, to preach the Gospel among the *Pagans*, *Saturninus* to *Toulonse*, and *Dionysius* to *Paris*, where he was Bishop and suffered Martyrdom. This is he who is falsely named *Dionysius* or *Denis* the *Arcopagite*. *Saturninus* also was cast down from the Capitol of *Toulonse*. The language of these men being *Latin*, and the people which they preached to, speaking *Latin*, it is no wonder that they instituted a *Latin* Service, and yet it was not after the Roman way, (e) but with divers ceremonies according to the necessity of the time, and the exigence of the places, to tame the *Pagans*. Which diversity continued till the *Ambrosian* Service was received in *Gaules*, which was observed there untill the time of *Charlemagne*, who brought in the *Roman* Service.

The *Franks* being entred into *France*, and having subdued it as far as the River of *Loire* (for the rest as far as the *Pyrenees* was under the *Visigoths* untill the time of *Clovis*, who left no part of *France* to the *Visigoths*, who reigned also in *Spain*, but the low *Langnedock*, which the *Romans* called *Septimania*, and a little part of *Guienne*) the *Latin* or *Roman* tongue was corrupted and fell from its purity; Yet not so, but that the *Latin* Divine Service was intelligible still. We heard before the testimony of *Sulpitius Severus* in the life of St. *Martin*, relating that one of the People having taken the *Psalter* in the place of the Reader then absent, began to read the eighth *Psalm*, where there is *ut destruas inimicum & defensorem*, at which word *defensorem*, the people cried out against one *Defensor*, who opposed *Martin's* election to the *Episcopacy*.

Prosper Aquitanus writ about the year of Christ 450. In his first book of *Contemplative Life*, ch. 23. he prescribeth that the Preachers language *sit simplex & apertus, etiamsi minus Latinus, disciplinatus tamen & gravis*, be simple and plain, though it be not very good *Latin*, yet that it be orderly and grave, that it may hinder no body, though ignorant, to understand it. Now he speaks of the People of *Guienne*.

Almost in the same time lived *Sidonius Apollinaris* Bishop of *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, who had marryed the daughter of the Emperour *Avitus*, by whom he had children. This man who writ all his *Epistles* in *Latin*, preachd also in *Latin*. In the tenth *Epistle* of the second book (f) he complaineth, that in his time among the vulgar the purity and property of the *Latin* tongue decayed, and degenerated into barbarousness. And in the *Epistle* to Pope *Perpetuus* (g) (for then all the Bishops that were a little more respected then the ordinary Bishops, were called Popes) there is a *Latin* Sermon made by the said *Sidonius* unto the People of *Bourges*, a certain proof that the people of *Bourges* understood *Latin*.

Now although the mixture of *Visigoths* and *Franks* among the people of *Gaules* had altered the *Latin* tongue, yet the *Latin* could not be rooted out of the land. And the *Frank* Kings whose language was *Dutch* of *Guelders*, to comply with their people learned *Latin*, as *Fortunatus* witnesseth, speaking of King *Aribert*,

*Cum sis progenitus clara de gente Sicamber,
Floret in eloquio lingua Latina tuo.*

But by the lapse of time *Latin* being corrupted in *Gaules*, and the *Tudesk* language

(f) *ut nisi vel paucissimi quique meram Latinaris lingue proprietatem de trivialium barbarismorum rubigine vindicarent, eam brevi abolitam desiccamus.*

(g) *Quae Epistola est 9. lib. 7.*

language abolished, the *Roman* was so altered that it became another tongue then *Latin*. And already in the time of the second race of our Kings the tongue of the Country was no more *Latin*. And yet through the negligence of Bishops and the ignorance of the people, no care was taken to put the Divine Service in the vulgar tongue. We find that then the study of Bishops was to adorn Churches, lay up relics, and provide Singing men with strong and clear voices to sing the Service with Art, and fill the vaults of the Quires. Images were not yet received in France, nor the celibat of Clerks, nor Purgatory, nor *Roman* Indulgences. But the Wars of the French in Italy against the Lombards in the time of *Pepin*, and of his son *Charlemagne*, caused a strict League of the Kings of France with the Bishop of Rome, who was a mortal enemy to the Lombards. Whence it came to pass that *Pepin*, and after him his son *Charles*, and *Lewis* the Meek son of *Charles*, made great presents unto the Bishops of Rome, and gave him all the Lands and Possessions which the Pope now enjoyeth in Italy, yet reserving the Sovereignty to themselves. *Charles* addeth to his liberalities this favour, that at the request of Pope *Adrian* the I. he banisht the *Ambrosian* Service out of his Kingdom, (h) and establisht in France by force and against the will of the French Clergy the *Gregorian* or *Roman* Office. By this change the *Latin* tongue in the publick Service was fully establisht. For that which was done before only by the negligence of the French Bishops, was done since that time by a Law, as the bondage increased from age to age. It would be now a crime of Herefie, and a manifest rebellion against the Papal Sea, to call for the Divine Service in another tongue then the *Latin* or *Roman*. And I know not whether it was by hazard or by conjecture, or by inspiration, that *Irenæus* in this word (i) *Latin* found the name of Antichrist and the number of 666.

(h) See *Du-*
rand in the
fifth book of
the *Rational*,
ch. 2.
And *Fauchet*
in the se-
venth book
of *French*
Antiquities.
an. 796.
(i) *Λατίνος*.

The like things happened in Spain, where the *Latin* tongue was become so frequent and so familiar, that in the time of the Emperours *Domitian* and *Trajan*, and long after them, it was as familiar in Spain as at Rome, saving only in *Arragon*, and in the *Cantabrian* mountains, (now *Biscay*) and in *Gallicia*. *Seneca* and *Quintilian* and *Martial* excellent Authors of the *Latin* tongue, were Spaniards. *Martial's* Parents were *Fronto* and *Flacilla*, which are *Roman* names, as also the names of *Martial* and *Quintilian*; an evident sign that the language of the Country was *Roman*. No wonder then that when Christian Religion was received in Spain, the ordinary Service was *Latin*. Which yet was not after the way, nor by the order of the Bishop of Rome, who indeed was respected there for the dignity of the City, but yet had no power or jurisdiction in Spain.

In the year of Christ 408. *Genceric* King of the *Vandals* conquered Spain over the *Roman* Empire, and soon after left it, to pass into *Africa*, quitting the place to the *Visigoths*, who reigning before in *Aquitaine* made themselves Masters of Spain, in the year of Christ 417. The Laws of these *Visigoths* were *Latin*, and though their language was *Gotthick*, they were well acquainted with *Latin*. Wherefore also their Councils and general Assemblies spake *Latin*. The ordinary Office or Service of the Orthodox Spaniards (for the *Visigoths* were *Arians* at the first) was called the *Mozarabick* or *Toletan* Office; of which an abridgement is extant in *Isidorus* in the book of Ecclesiastical Offices. This *Isidorus* born at *Sevil*, writ about the year of Christ 630.

In the year 713. the *Saracens* abolished the Kingdom of the *Goths* in Spain, killed their King *Roderick* in battel, and banished Christian Religion out of most part of Spain. They held Spain for many ages, till the residue of the Christians which were fled into the mountains, having taken vigour again, in the end expelled the *Moors*, restored Christian Religion to Spain, and set up many little Kingdoms. Their Service was still *Latin* according to the ancient form, although by the Mixture of the *Saracens* with them, they had lost the ordinary use of the *Latin* tongue. Their Office was the old *Mozarabick* Office which remained in Spain till about the year of Christ 1080. (k) when King *Alphonfus* to please Pope *Gregory* the VIII. did with open force and against the will of the States of the

(k) Vide *Roderic* *Arch-*
epif. Toletan.
lib. 2. c. 23, et
26.

the

the Country establish the *Roman Office in Spain*. Then the *Latin tongue* which before was used by custom, was established by a Law, And so remaineth to this day.

CHAP. XIII.

Of England and Germany, and how the Roman Service and the Latin tongue were received in those Countries,

(a) Etenim circiter non-
gentos. abbin-
anos constat
plebem in-
nonnullis re-
gionibus pre-
ces suas pub-
licas ignota
lingua reci-
tasse, id quod
in Anglia no-
stra fuisse sa-
cristatum fa-
ciam manife-
stum.

(b) Britan-
norum in ac-
cessu loca
Christo vero
subdita.

(c) οἱ ἡμέ-
τεροι ἀνέ-
στειλαν
τοὺς ὁσὺς
τοῦτο
ἀπαρνέ-
σθαι τοὺς
εὐαγγελισ-
τας τοὺς
ἡμεῖς μόνον
Πρωμάς,
ὅς ἐστι Βρ-
ταννός ἐστι
Κιμβρός ἐστι
Γερμανός ἐστι
ἑαδὲς τῶν
γαδδίων τῶν
νόμους ἀνέ-
στειλαν.

(d) West-
monasteri-
ensis & Gal-
fridus.

(e) Hieron.
Oceano,
Scotorum &
Asotorum vi-
tu ac de rep.
Platonis pro-

mi scias uxores ac communes liberos habere. (f) Idem lib. 2. in Jovianum, Cum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia vi-
derim Scotos gentem Britannam humanis vesci carnibus, et cum per sylvas porcorum greges et armentorum pecudum-
que reperiant, pastorum nates et seminarum papillas solere abscondere, et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari. Scoto-
rum natio uxores proprias non habet.

Let us pass into *England*, in old time called *Britain*. Harding in the first Section of his Treatise of Prayers in a strange tongue saith, that (a) about nine hundred years agoe publick Prayers began to be made in some Countries in a language not understood; And that the said custom began then in *England*. That Doctor well read in Antiquity finds not the use of the *Latin tongue* in *Eng-land* more ancient then nine hundred years since, wherein he saith true.

We must know that *England* received the Christian Religion before any Churches were set up in *Gauls*. Nicephorus in the second book ch. 40. saith that *Simon Ze- lotes* the Apostle carried the Doctrine of the Gospel into the *West Sea*, and to the *Britanick Islands*. *Gildas* an English Author who lived in the sixth Age, and *Polydorus Virgilius* in the second book of his History, say, that *Joseph of Arimathea* was the first that preached the Gospel in *Britain*. *Baleus* in his first Century alledgeth many other witnesses. *Tertullian* who writ about the end of the second Age, in the seventh ch. of the book against the *Jews*, saith, that (b) "the inac-

cessible places of the *Brittons* were subjected unto the true Christ. And *Theo- doret* in the ninth book of the means of curing the indisposition of the *Grecians*; (c) "Our Fishermen and Publicans and our Tannar (so he calls the Apostles) have brought unto all men the Evangelical Laws, and have perswaded not only the *Romans* and those that are tributary to them, but also the *Scythians*, the *In-*

dians, &c. and the *Britans*, to receive the Laws of him that was crucified. (d) Some Authors say that in the year 185. *Lucius* King of *Britain* sent to Pope *Eleutherius*, beseeching him that he might be instructed by him in the Christian Religion, and that he abolish Paganisme in all *Britaine*, so that there remained not one Infidel; A story invented in the Popes favour, but manifestly false; for these Historians create *Britain* Kings peaceably reigning in the South of the Island, which was subject to the *Romans*, and had no other King but the *Roman* Empe- rour. The state of this Island under the *Romans* may be seen in *Cornelius Tacitus* in the life of *Julius Agricola*, and in *Xiphilinus* the Epitomizer of *Dion*, in the lives of the Emperours *Nero* and *Severus*. In that time the Christians living in the South of *Britain*, suffered persecution under the *Romans* who were *Pagans*. And for the North of the Island now called *Scotland*, and the Country of *Nor-*

thumberland, it was *Pagan*, and so was long after the time of *Eleutherius*. (e) *Hierome* in his Epistle to *Oceannus* speaks of the *Scots* as of a People that had women common in his time, which was above 200. years after *Eleutherius*. (f) In his second book against *Jovinian* he saith, that he had seen *Scots* eating mans flesh. And *Galfridus* in the second ch. of the third book of his History speaks of them as of *Pagans*.

Besides, the Christians of *Britain* celebrated the Passeeover upon the fourteenth day of the Moon of *March* precisely, contrary to the constitutions of the *Roman* Church. Which they would not have done, had they been brought to Christian Religion by the *Roman* Church.

Britain remained under the domination of the *Romans Pagans* till the year of

Christ 286. in *Diocletians* time, when the *Roman* Senate sent *Caransius* to repress the incursions of barbarous Nations. But *Caransius* made a league with the *Britans*, expelled the *Romans*, and made himself King. And from that time, sometimes the *Romans* prevailing, sometimes the Natives, the Island was but weakly possessed by the *Roman* Empire.

In the year of Christ 307. *Constantin*, son of *Constantinus* and *Helena* a Christian woman, was Governour of the Island for the *Romans*. Being *Pagan*, he took the title of *Roman* Emperour, past into *Gauls*, thence into *Italy*, and made himself an absolute Emperour. Then turning Christian, he gave peace and prosperity to the Churches of *Britain*.

In the year 383. *Maximus* a Christian and Orthodox Prince governed *Britain*; for then all that part of the Island which was subject to the *Romans* was Christian. This *Maximus* invaded *Gauls* with an Army and conquered it, and took the title of *Roman* Emperour against *Gratian* son of *Theodosius*.

In the year of Christ 434. the Empire being fallen in the West, and torn by the *Goths*, *Franks*, *Vandals*, and *Burgundians*, the *Romans* forsook the Isle of *Britain*. Which moved the natives to defer the Kingdom to *Constantin* brother to the King of *Armorick Britain*, as one descended from their Nation, and a Christian vertuous man.

In the year 446. according to the calculation of *Westmonasteriensis*, the *Pelagian* Heresie spreading in the Isle of *Britain*, the Bishops of the Land being assembled in a Synod, sent into *France*, and writ to *German* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and to *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes* in *Champagne*, men famous for their doctrine, and besought them to come and assist them with their help and counsel, which they did, and with success, God pouring a blessing upon their holy endeavour. This Historian saith not that the Pope sent them, as some untruly affirm, but that they came upon the request of the *Britans*.

In the year of Christ 449. three Ships of *Anglosaxons* came from East *Friseland* into the Isle of *Britain* and made way for others that came four years after in great number. They were a *Dutch* and *Pagan* Nation, serving *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, and *Mercury*. Being once landed, they could never be expelled out of the Land, and subdued the South and the East of the Island, and planted Paganism in it, dividing the Country into many little Kingdoms. But besides the Christians that lived under the dominion of the *Saxons*, all the West part of the Island, that is *Cornwall*, and *Cambria* now called *Wales*, was Christian. *Scotland* had already received the Christian Religion, so that the Island was half Christian.

In the year 596. Pope *Gregory* the I. judged the conjuncture of *English* affairs to be a fit time for him to raise the authority of his See. For the Christians of *England* being not fit to give instruction to the *Pagan English* Kings by reason of their continual wars; and those petty Kings being brutish and easie to be led, and the Christians of the Island living under other Laws and other ceremonies then the *Roman* Church, he sent *Austin* a Monk of *St. Benedikt* (the only order of Monks that was then in the West) into *England*, an industrious politick man, to work two ends. The one to reduce the Christians of the Island to the form and service of the *Roman* Church, and induce them to acknowledge his See. The other, to draw if he could some of those *Pagan* Kings to the Christian Religion.

This *Austin* came into *England* with an attendance of forty persons, and presented himself to one of those Kings called *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, who received him honourably. Shortly after having insinuated himself into the Queens favour, he perswaded her to imbrace the Christian Faith. The Queen perswaded her husband to the same. And he was followed by a multitude of *Pagans*. From this King *Austin* got leave to have communication with the Christians of the West part of *England*, whom he exhorted to joyn with him, because (saith *Westmonasteriensis*) *sanctum Pascha et alia per lura unitati Ecclesie contraria faciebant*. They did the *Passover* and many other things in a way contrary to the unity of the Church. These Christians before they communed with him, consulted a man famous

(g) Nihil horum facturos, neque illum pro Episcopo habituros esse respondabant. Baron. An. 604. Sect. 58. Beda ait Scotos & Britannos & Hibernos ne quidem cibum capere voluisse cum Laureatio Augustini successore. Bede Hist. Angl. l. 2. c. 4.

mous for his wisdom and holiness, one that led a solitary life; and asked him, whether at the swasion of *Austin* they should leave their antient customs. The good man answered them, *If he be a man of God, follow him. But* (said they) *how shall we discern whether he be a man of God?* He answered them again, *You shall know it by his humility, and if he induceth you by his example to bear the Cross of Christ.* They then having met with *Austin* in a Synod appointed for that meeting, *Austin* received them with contempt, and would not so much as rise from his seat when they came in. They also repayed his contempt with contempt, and contradicted all that he propounded, taxing him of pride. And although *Gregory* had sent him the *Pallium*, and had named him Archbishop, yet (g) they declared unto him that they did not acknowledge his authority, and would not obey him in any thing. At which *Austin* incensed, threatened them that the *Anglosaxons* would avenge him; And he made his word good; for *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, though a *Pagan*, took his quarrel, and whether out of goodwill to *Austin*, or out of hatred to Christians, he made of them a great slaughter. They had at *Bangor* a great Monastery of about twelve hundred Monks, all poor Tradesmen, getting their living by their labour; Of them this *Pagan* King made a Massacre and a Sacrifice unto *Austin*.

But as for the *Saxon* Christians converted by *Austin* from Paganism, they received the *Roman* Service such as *Austin* would give them, and subjected themselves unto *Austin*, sent by the Bishop of *Rome* about the year 600. of Christ; Which is the time that *Harding* marketh unto us, saying, that since 900. or a thousand years the Service was celebrated in *England* in a language not understood, acknowledging that it was this *Austin* who with the *Roman* Service brought also the *Roman* tongue, which since that time remained in the publick Service of *England* till the time of the Reformation. Every age since that time hath added some piece to the Religion, so that if this *Austin* had risen from the dead seven or eight hundred years after his death, he should have found in *England* and at *Rome* quite another religion then that he had preacht. That which we have said of this *Austin* and his entry into *England* and his behaviour, is found in *Beda*, in the second chap. of the second book of the History of the *Anglosaxons*, in *Galsfridus Monumetenfis*, in the fourth chap. of the eighth book of the History of the two *Britains*. And in the flower of Histories of *Matthew of Westminster*.

Beda in the fourth book of his History saith, that in the year of Christ 668. one *Steven* by Sirname, taught the people of *Northumberland* to follow the *Roman* singing in the publick Service. In that time the *Roman* Service was not yet received in *France* nor in *Spain*. The same *Austin* passing through *France* and finding there the Service different from the *Roman* Liturgy, asked counsel of his Master *Gregory* how he should behave himself in that diversity; *Gregory* answered him, that he should follow that which he thought best, and should comply with the Churches where he should happen to be. This is found in the said *Austin's* Interrogations added in the end of *Gregorie's* Works.

As for *Germany*, Christianity came very late to it. In the year 700. *Radbod* King of the *Frisons* was a *Pagan*, and *Franconia* did then but begin to receive the Gospel. And the *Saxons* against whom *Charlemagne* made so many wars, in the year 775. and the following years, were *Pagans*, and were beaten to Christianity by the sword, as also the *Frisons*.

Snibert in the years 704, 705. and the following years, did very much advance Christianity about the *Rhine* and in the Country of *Brandenburg*; But it appears by no History in what tongue he established the Service.

In the year 719. *Winefrid* an *Anglosaxon* Sirnamed *Boniface*, began to preach the Gospel to the *German* *Pagans*, being sent by Pope *Gregory* the II. the great Patron of Images. This *Winefrid* being altogether wedded to the advancement of the Papal See, I make no doubt but that he gave to the *German*s newly converted from Paganisme, the Service in the *Roman* both form and tongue.

CHAP. XIV.

of AFRICA, and how the Service in the Latin Tongue came to it.

OF Africa (a) *M. Du Perron* speaks thus, (b) *St. Austin* affirmeth, (a) Lib. 6. cap. 1. p. 1091: that "the custom that was among the people to pronounce when they sung the *Psalms*, *Floret sanctificatio mea*, instead of *Florebit*, was so rooted by long use among the people, that there was no possibility to root it out. (b) Aug. de doctrina Christiana, l. 2. cap. 13. "And yet it is certain that the *Latin Tongue* was nowhere vulgar but in *Italy*, "and in the Towns of the *Roman Colonies* scattered here and there in the Empire, such as was *Carthage* in *Africk*, where the *Latin Tongue* was vulgar. "Whence it is that *Austin* that Countryman saith, that he learned *Latin* among the careffes of his Nurfes.

This Prelat doth according to his custom, which is to prove a thing which is not in question. He saith that the *Latin tongue* was not vulgar in *Africk*, but that is not the question. We dispute not here of the vulgar tongue, but of the tongue understood by the people. It is not material whether *Latin* was or was not vulgar in *Africk*; the question is, whether it was understood. In that part of *Africk* which he marketh, the Liturgy was said in *Latin*, because it was there more common and better understood by the people then the *Punick language*, which was the old vulgar tongue. It is much already that the Cardinal grants that *Latin* was the vulgar tongue of *Carthage*, the capital City of *Africk*. The same he confesseth of the Cities of *Africk* that were Colonies. Now the vulgar tongue of the capital City of the Country being *Latin*, where the Court of the Proconsul was, and the Imperial Officers, where the causes were judged in *Latin*, and where an innumerable multitude of people resorted; many other Towns besides being *Roman Colonies*, and over all the Towns those whom the *Romans* called *Civitates*, the *Grecians* *Πολιτεῖς*, and which they call in *France* *les gens du Roy*, the *Kings men*, being *Latins*, it is no wonder if all the people of the Country used themselves to speak *Latin*, and if *Latin* was more familiar with them then their old vulgar *Punick tongue*. Wherefore as in *Carthage*, so in *Bona*, and other Towns of *Africk* subject unto the *Romans*, not only the Liturgy, but the Sermons were in *Latin*. It was in *Latin* that *Cyprian*, and *Aurelius*, and *Austin* preached.

Austin being born in the Town of *Thagasta*, or *Tegesta* in *Numidia*, where the people were half barbarous and remote from *Carthage*, (c) yet saith that he had learned *Latin* among the careffes of his Nurfes, because his Father was a Curial and an Imperial Officer; as *Posidonius* relateth in *Austins* life. Wherefore also in *Austins* Books there are many passages whereby it appeareth, that the *African* people understood *Latin* better then *Punick*. As in the 26. Sermon of the words of the Apostle he speaks thus to the people, (d) "There is a common *Punick Proverb*, which I will tell you in *Latin*, because you do not all understand the *Punick*. And upon the 30. *Psalm*. We know all that in *Latin* they say neither *sanguines*, nor *sanguina*. And in the second Book of Christian Doctrine, Chap. 10. (e) *Cum dicimus bovem*, when we say an Oxe, we understand that beast which all that are with us *Latins* by language call by that name. "And in the first Book of *Retractions*, Chap. 20. (f) Desiring that the cause of the *Donatists* should come to the knowledge of the common people, and of

(c) Aug. 1. Confes. c. 14. *Latina didici sine ullo metu atque cruciatu inter etiam blandimenta nutricum, & joca ardentium.* (d) Serm. 26. de verbis Apostoli. *Proverbum notum est Punicum*

quod quidem Latine vobis dicam quia Punice non omnes nostis. (e) Cum dicimus bovem, intelligimus pecus quod omnia nobiscum Latine lingue homines hoc nomine vocant. (f) Volens causam Donatistarum ad ipsas humillimi vulgi et omnino imperitorum et idiotarum notitiam pervenire, et eorum quantum fieri posset per nos inherere memoria, Psalmum qui eis cantaretur per litteras Latinas feci.

“ the most ignorant and idiots, and that by our means it should be fixt in their
“ memory as much as it is possible, I have put a Psalm in *Latin* letters to sing unto
“ them.

By all these instances it is made as clear as the bright day, that the ancient Church in *Greece, Egypt, Asia, Armenia, Ethiopia, Africa*, subject to the *Romans, Italy, Gaules, Spain and England*, Divine Service was said in a tongue understood by the people : Which *M. Du Perron* doth tacitly acknowledge; for he doth not say that in those Churches the Service was said in an unknown tongue, but only affirmeth that it was said in another tongue then the vulgar : Which yet is false of *Italy, of Greece*; of the most part of *Natolia*, of the City of *Carthage*, and of all the *Roman Colonies of Africk*. But it is true of all Churches without exception, that their Sermons and their Liturgy were in the same language.

THE END.

The



The Authors thanksgiving to God for the finishing of this Work.



O LORD my God and gracious Father, I shut up this Work with humble thanks to thy Sovereign Majesty. I should be ungrateful if this Work done by thine assistance should not end in thy praise. For it is in thy strength O Lord, that I have gone through with it. Thy strength is made perfect in weakness. Thou chooseth poor weak things to confound the strong. In the smallness of the instruments of thy Work thou settest forth the greatness of thy vertue. Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory. For who are we that we should bear such a heavy burden? And what is our strength, that we should be Gods Champions in such a great combat? But this very truth which we defend, giveth strength to them that defend it. And thou refusest not thy help to thy Servants, who in the defence of thy cause have no other end but the glory of thy holy Name. Thou O Lord, who hast been favourable to me from the beginning of my daies, wilt not forsake me in mine old age, and wilt yet make it fruitful to the edification of thy Church. Being beaten with many rods, torn off from my dear flock, lamenting the bruise of thy people, destitute of necessary helps for such a great Work, sore vexed now almost two years with a grievous sickness, which brought me near my grave, and having in my ordinary calling work enough to imploy a whole man; yet against hope I believed in hope, to the undertaking of this great labour, and against all likelyhood I have perfected it by thy gracious help. And now I hope, O my God, that this labour of thy Servant, done by thine assistance, shall be made powerful by thy grace, to bring those spirits to the right way, that go not purposely out of the way, and that err only for want of instruction. Against mine inclination I have imployed in this Work a multitude of humane testimonies; for I know that thy Word alone is the rule of our Faith, and thou receivest not men for Judges in thy cause. I know also that one word of thy mouth is better then all the writings of all men. But we are carried away by the stream, and are forced to yield unto the disease of this age, which having thy Word for suspect as a dangerous Book, seek in humane writings a shelter against Divine rules. We shew unto the patrons of error that they lose their cause even before the Arbitrators whom themselves have chosen. But O Lord, thou art both powerful and merciful, to bring in an age, in which thy Word alone shall be heard, and thy Son consulted alone for the deciding

deciding of all doubts. Do it O Father of mercy, and God of all comfort. Have mercy upon the Nations that lye in deep darkness. Let the light of thy Word shine before the eyes of all people. As for me, after a long tugging, in a way beset with thorns, having notwithstanding my many defects and infirmities, held out against the contradiction of an Age contrary to thy Word; I rejoyce to feel the approaches of my desired rest, and to see my race almost at an end. But thou O Lord, wilt send labourers into thy harvest that will labour with more success, and whom thou wilt endow with a greater measure of the Spirit to defend thy holy truth. Lord it is thy cause, Lord it is for thy sake that we are hated. Stir up thy jealousy, and thine ancient compassions, for thy people which thou hast redeemed; that many souls may be saved, and thy holy Name glorified. For, O Lord, though we be worthy to be forsaken, and unworthy to be helped, yet thou art worthy to be glorified. It were a small thing indeed that we are afflicted, but that in our afflictions thy truth is oppressed, and thy holy Name blasphemed. Hear then O God and Father of all consolation; Hear us and forgive us for thy Names sake. Thou art wise in thy Counsels, just in thy Judgements, powerful to execute thy Will; But together thou art full of compassion, and true in thy promises. Do then O Lord according to thy word. For thou hast promised that thou wilt never forsake us, and that thou wilt be with us even unto the end of the World. Thou that hast redeemed us from the power of Satan by the death of thy Son, wilt deliver us also from the hands of those that oppress us. The time cometh, and now draweth near, when out of our dead ashes, after this fiery tryal of thy Church, a great light shall break forth, and thou wilt confound the tongues of Babel, and pull down the throne of iniquity of the son of perdition. In the mean time give us grace to possess our souls in patience till the measure of iniquity be filled up, and while we expect from heaven our Lord Jesus, who will come to revise our cause, and to give to every man according to his works. Amen.



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